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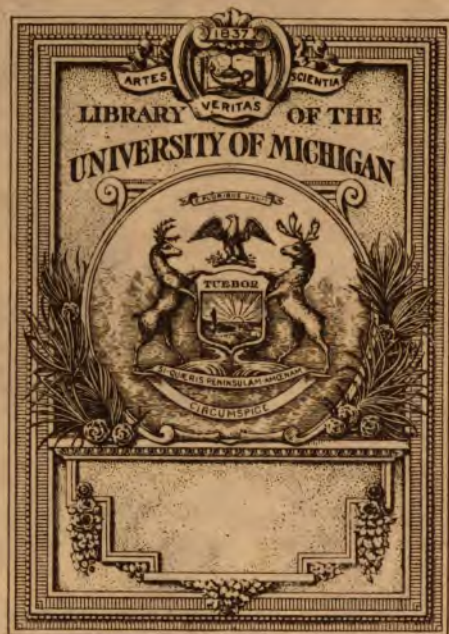
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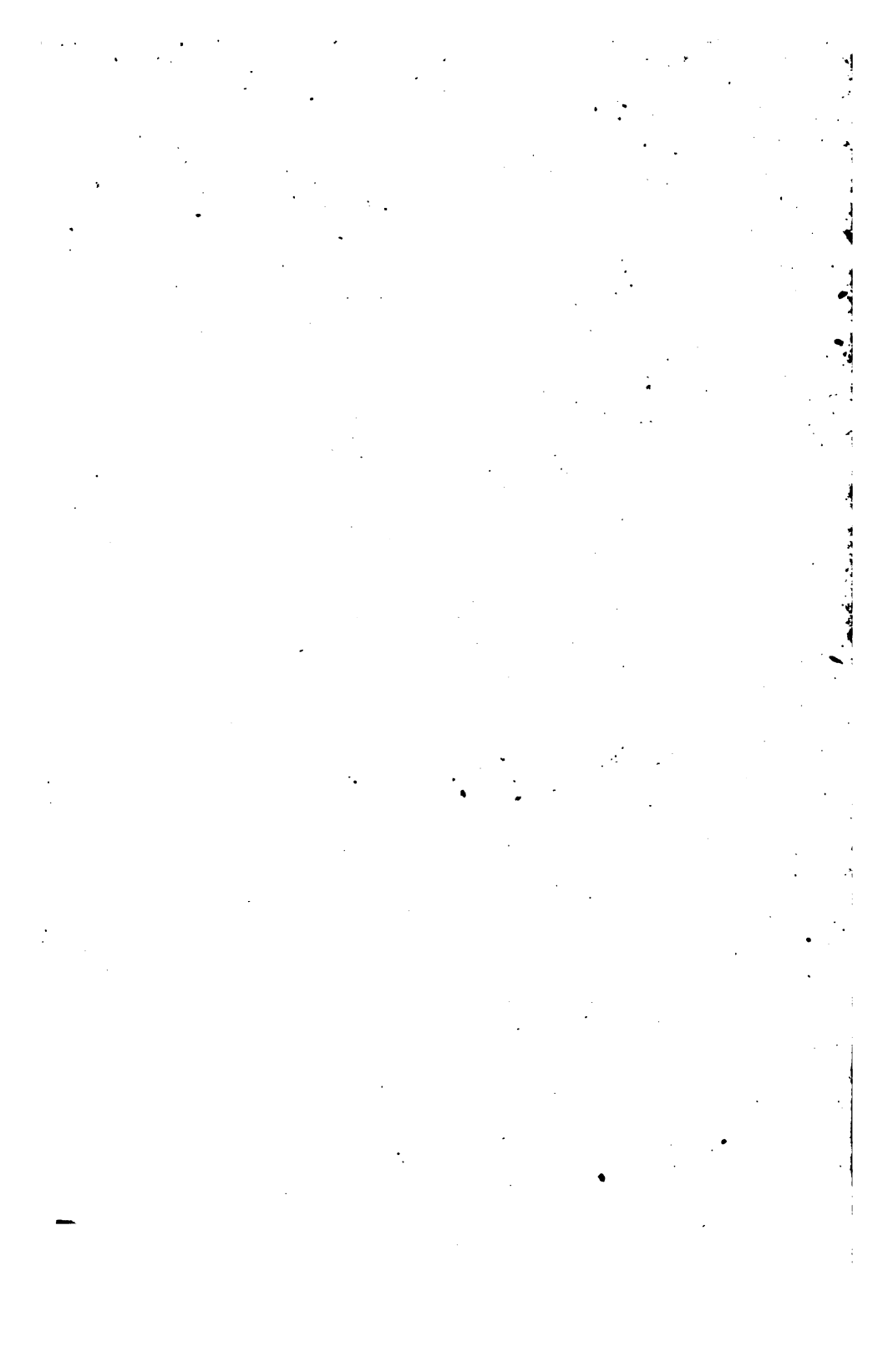
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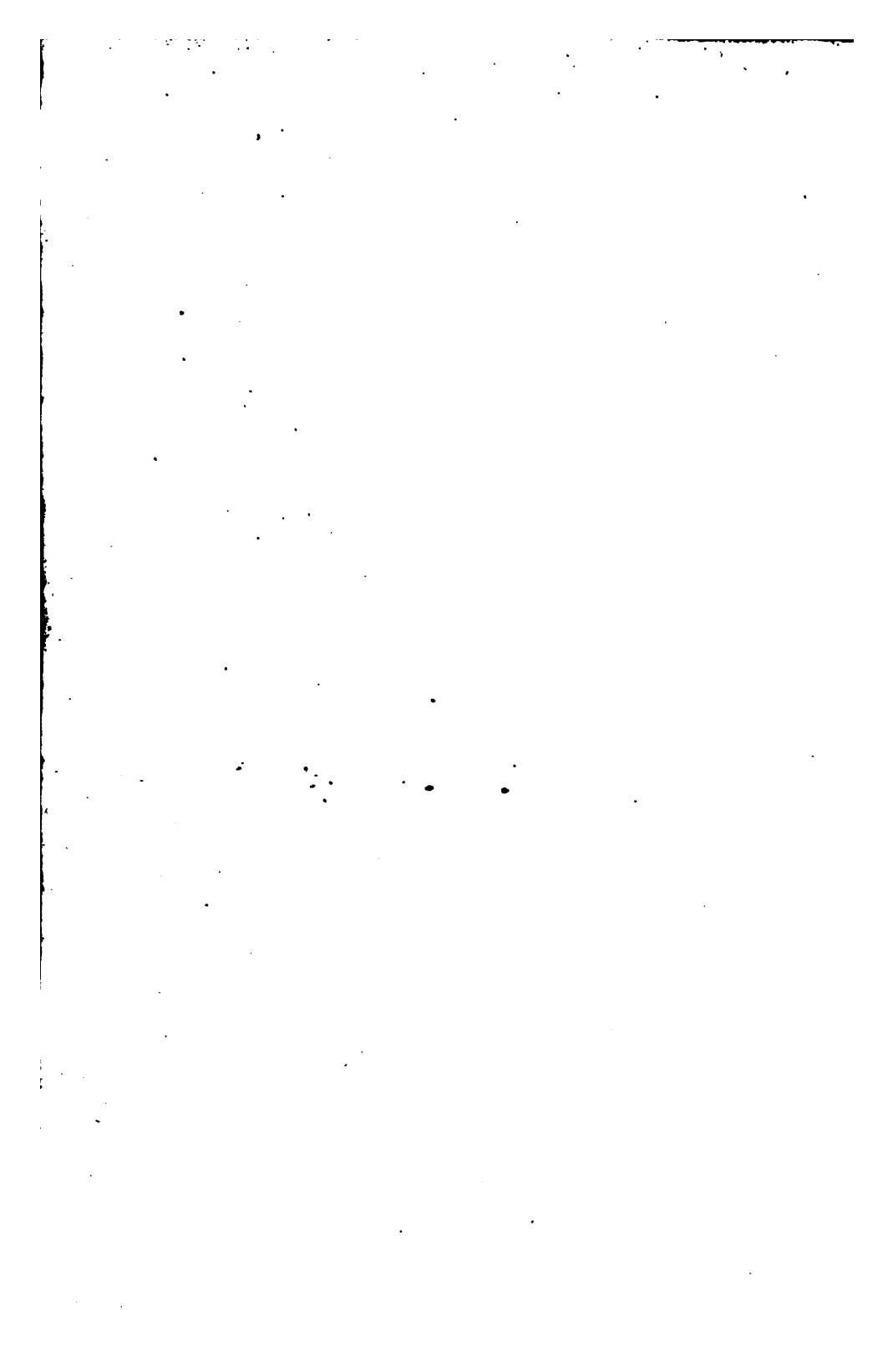
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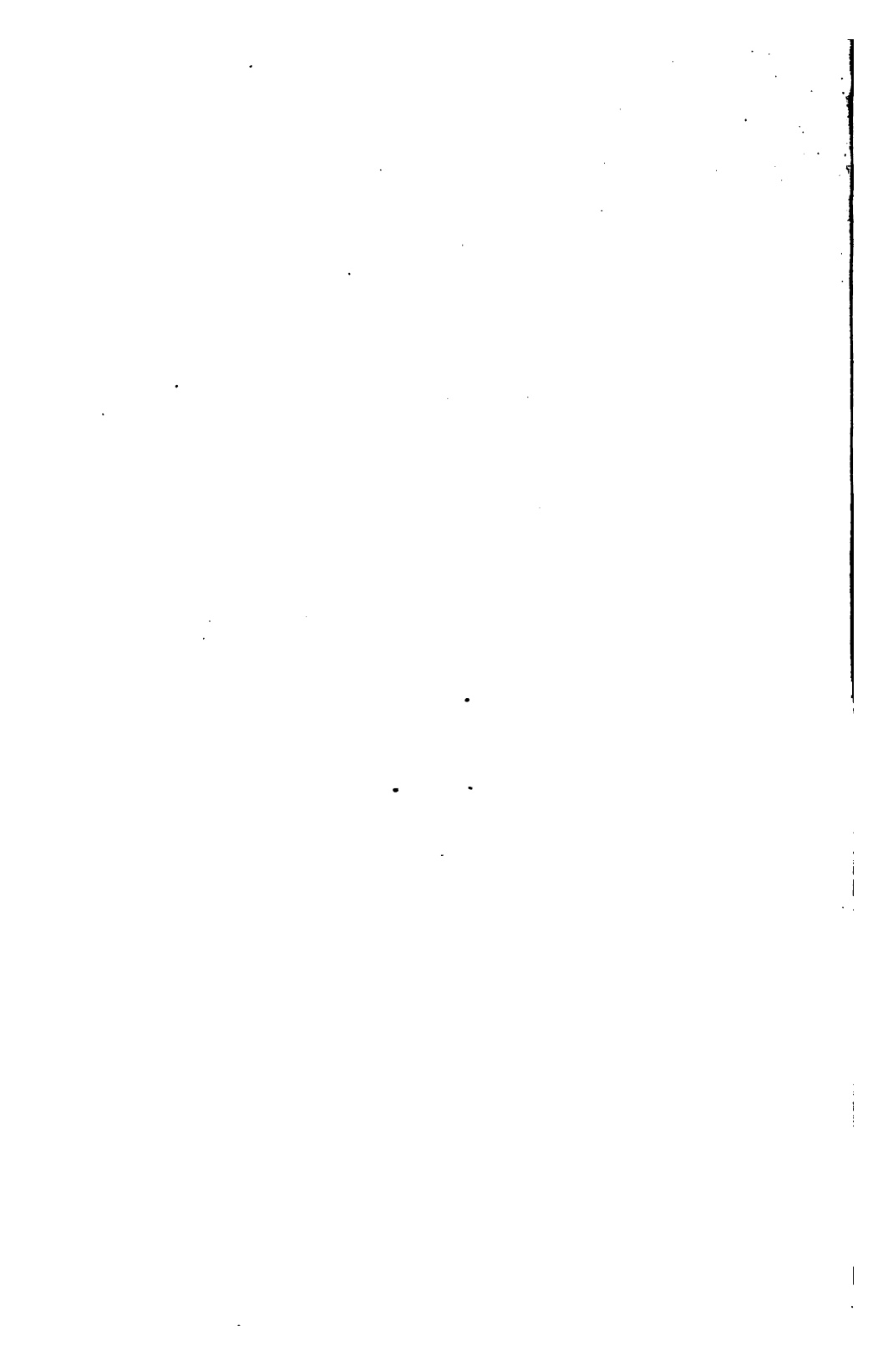


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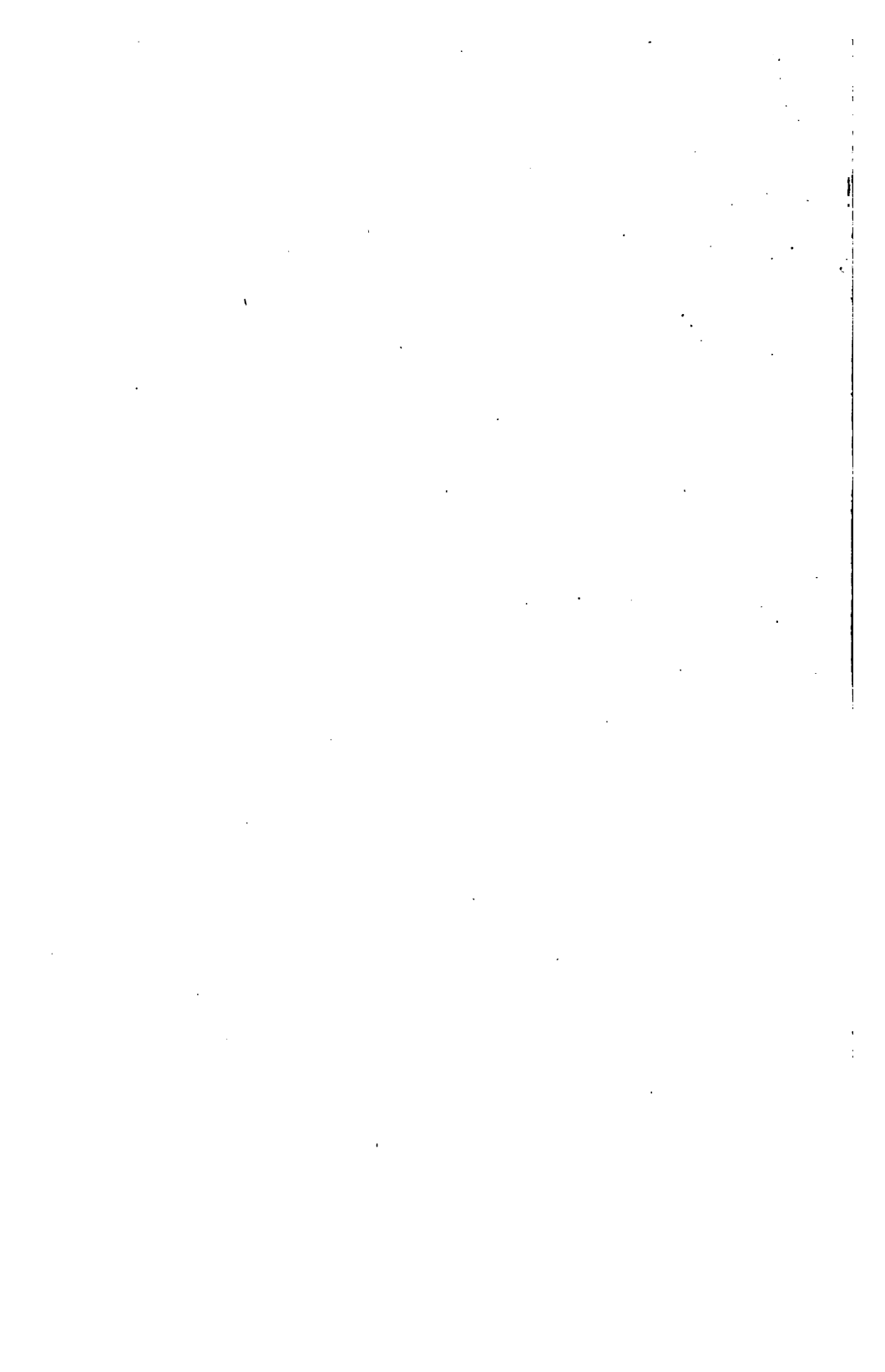








**AUTHORIZED REPORT**  
**OF THE**  
**CHURCH CONGRESS.**



AUTHORIZED REPORT

*Church of England* <sup>OF THE</sup>  
CHURCH CONGRESS



HELD AT NOTTINGHAM

OCTOBER 10, 11, 12, & 13

1871

LONDON

W. WELLS GARDNER, 10 PATERNOSTER ROW  
NOTTINGHAM: R. ALLEN & SON; J. BELL

1990

## PREFACE.

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NOTTINGHAM has for several years been mentioned as a convenient place for the meeting of the Church Congress. It is central, has sufficient rooms, a large church, and a reputation for hospitality.

As soon as it was decided that the Congress should meet at Nottingham this year, a numerous Executive Committee was formed, comprising the principal Clergy of the town and diocese, with an almost equal number of Laity, together with representatives from the neighbouring towns of Derby and Leicester, in the Dioceses of Lichfield and Peterborough, who most kindly and materially aided in the work throughout.

Church Congresses and their work are now so generally known that it seems only needful to mention in what respects the Nottingham Congress slightly differed from its predecessors.

In the first place, it was suggested that as there was a large central church in the town, it would be a very desirable thing if some eminent preachers could be secured for the evenings of the Congress week. It was thought that many members of Congress would prefer an evening service to a third session, and that many of the townspeople who did not care to become members of Congress might be glad of such an opportunity of reaping advantage from its presence among them. These sermons were preached by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Derry, and Dr Benson. The congregations were large, while the meetings of Congress did not suffer. The plan was thought a successful one, and it is commended to the consideration of future Congresses.

The Working-men's Meeting was held on the Monday night preceding the opening of the Congress, instead of the Thursday night, as had usually been the case. This alteration was not intended to be an improvement, and hardly was so. The Committee were rather driven into it towards the close of their arrangements by the multiplicity of subjects pressed upon them, and the impossibility of procuring two rooms of sufficient size for the evening session of Congress and the Working-men's Meeting to be held at the same time.

The plan of sectional meetings, which had been abandoned at some of the previous Congresses, was again adopted, partly because of the

many interesting subjects which could not otherwise have been discussed at all, and partly because there was a doubt whether the principal room was large enough to hold all the members of Congress, and it was thought prudent to draft off some to another room in the same building.

Special mention ought also to be made of the interest taken in the Congress by the Mayor of the Borough, by whose invitation all the members of the Congress were entertained on the last evening at a soiree, in the arrangements of which neither pains nor cost were spared.

It is pleasant to record that, whatever differences of private opinion there might have been in the members of any of the Committees, there was nothing but harmony in the work. There was but one desire—viz., to have a successful meeting. And it has been very gratifying to hear a general acknowledgment that such has been the result.

The number of those who attended is as large, if not larger than at any previous Congress. There were—

Members,	.	.	.	.	2171
Associates,	.	.	.	.	606
Evening Tickets,	.	.	.	.	428
Total,					<hr/> 3205

The financial result is as follows:—A guarantee fund of £700 was raised in the first instance, and 10 per cent. of this was paid up to meet the earlier expenses. But this has all been returned, and there remains in the hands of the Executive a surplus of receipts over expenditure of £280.

Of the religious character of the meetings we can honestly say this—A tone of sincerity and earnestness, of brotherly love and mutual forbearance, prevailed among the speakers. While there was a full and honest expression of opinion, there was manifest care taken to say nothing that might needlessly offend. The desire to speak the truth in love was one of the characteristics of the Nottingham Congress—a result which we trace, with deep thankfulness, to the presence of the Divine Spirit of truth and love in our midst, and for which, under Him, we are indebted very chiefly to the dignity, and the firmness, and the learning, and the love of our revered and admirable President, the Bishop of Lincoln.



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# THE SERMON

PREACHED IN ST MARY'S CHURCH, NOTTINGHAM,

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1871.





# THE SERMON

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

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"I say unto all, Watch."—MARK xiii. 37.

THE picture of the latter days, which the Divine Master unfolded to the gaze of His four apostles, as they sat together that quiet eventide upon the Mount of Olives over against the Temple, was by no means one to reassure men whose hearts were already not free from apprehension at the prospect of the work which lay before them. The walls of the holy city of which He was the divine architect, and they the master-builders, were indeed doomed to rise in troublous times. There would be enemies without—deceivers and traitors within. The hindrances would be many; their mundane supports but few. The signs of the times should be so portentous, so perplexing, as to shake, if that were possible, the faith even of the elect. No doubt, there were lights, here and there, streaming across this dark canvas. There was the promise of the assisting presence of the Holy Ghost; the promise of safety to him that endured to the end; the promise for the elect's sake of a shortening of the days, that the burden of them might not be simply insupportable; the promise of the final revelation of the Son of Man in the plenitude of His sovereign power and glory when it might be hoped the same voice which once calmed the raging waters of Gennesaret would again say to a yet more furious storm, "Peace, be still." But these promises, besides the indefiniteness of some and the remoteness of others, were too few and far between to lighten up with any appreciable effect the depth and awfulness of the surrounding gloom. So, at least, might have murmured a feeble or a desponding soul; and to such an one the words must have sounded almost like bitter irony, which bade men "not be troubled," for whom even "beginnings of such sorrows" were in store. But they were not feeble nor desponding souls that

were listening then. They were men who had given up all to follow Him. And though one of them, with a not unnatural impulse, had once asked the question : "What shall we have therefor?" neither he that asked the question, nor they that heard the answer,—that they should have their reward, "but with persecutions,"—repented of their choice, or turned back again. Not only did the simplicity of their *love* revolt from the idea of seeking another Master, but the simplicity of their *faith*, too, felt—deeply, strongly, over-masteringly—that amid all the dark riddles and hard sayings that dropped occasionally from His lips, the Master, whom they were following with such an indefinite sense of awe and wonder, had, as none other had, "the words of eternal life." He had touched their faith at its very root—in the moral basis of their being; and the anchor on which their ship rode was strong enough to keep her to her moorings, even though all these waves and storms beat over them. As one—not, it is true, of these four, but who had either heard or read their tale—has pictured to us the condition of his soul, "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." It was the very text of the first evangelists as they travelled to and fro, publishing the Gospel, and confirming the souls of the disciples, that spiritual conquests are not won by carnal weapons; that the cross, both in time, and in the order of the divine counsels, precedes the crown; that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.

I shall not occupy your time with any detailed examination of the times and seasons—real or supposed—in which the various parts of this divine prophecy may reasonably be thought to have been fulfilled. Expositions and interpretations of prophecy, after the manner of Bishop Newton, are, to my mind, singularly unsatisfactory; for in the first place, with history continually repeating itself, they are in the highest degree precarious and problematical; and, further, are apt to generate a self-sufficiency and spiritual pride on the one hand, or an uncharitableness and polemical rancour on the other, which are as far removed as possible from that temper of simple religious dependence upon God—that confidence that the cause of truth and righteousness will, against all appearances, ultimately prevail—which I conceive to have been the chief educational purpose of that light shining in a dark place,

to which, we are told, we do well when we take heed. The main function of prophecy is not to tempt us prematurely to draw aside the veil that hides the future, but to enable us to interpret on true principles the phenomena of "this present time."

But this, I may take for granted, will be generally allowed to have been the Church's career—a career, however, not peculiar to herself, but shared in common with many another great and good cause, whether working apart from the influences of the gospel or in conscious union with them (for all alike are governed by one apparently irreversible and universal law)—out of weakness she has become strong; she has made her port, not with favouring gales, but against winds that were contrary; she holds the moral conscience of the world in subjection, not because the world loves her rule, but because it cannot gainsay her claims; she has wrestled with principalities and powers, and has prevailed; even with shrunk sinew, and halting upon her thigh, she has had power with men; and her King, though He does not reign everywhere with equally undisputed sway, is yet the King of all that is noblest, best, purest, loveliest, upon the earth. I know that unfriendly minds have given, and will give, a different philosophy of the Church's history. They will say she has won her way by unholy secular alliances; by superstitions, wily priestcraft; by understanding only too keenly how to redeem the time in her own interests, and turn it to marketable account; by compliance with the vices and follies either of monarchs or of the age—in a word, by serpent-like wisdom, rather than by dove-like innocence. And no doubt there have been passages in her history which give only too true a colour to these taunts; but they have been passages of the Church's shame, not of her glory; moments, when she *seemed* to be gaining strength, but was really losing it; apparent victories, bitterly rued by subsequent defeats. No; the Church's course has been chequered, but on the whole it has been triumphant; and it has been, not by the help, but in spite of this soil and taint of evil, in spite of men—princes, popes, bishops, statesmen—who have used her holy name and blessed offices for purposes most alien, most unholy, that her progress has been achieved. Even Gibbon confesses the "victory" to have been "remarkable;" and, endeavouring to discover the "secondary causes" which led to its rapid accomplishment, allows that the four prominent causes (for though he enumerates a fifth—the assumption of miraculous powers—he only

mentions it to scoff at it), allows, I say, that the four prominent causes which he considers to have brought about this indisputable success were all of them causes operating in the moral sphere—the union and discipline of the Christian republic, the inflexible zeal of the Christians, their pure and even austere lives, and that doctrine of a future state, without the support of which, as Paul testifies, they would have been of all men the most pitiable (ch. xv.)

One word of explanation before I proceed. I have been using the word “Church” in a way that would be utterly unreal, if I limited it to the senses that are often imposed upon it by this or that narrow ecclesiastical school. I am not thinking of the primitive Church merely, nor of the Eastern Church, nor of the Western, nor of the Anglican Episcopal Church, nor of Protestant non-Episcopal Churches; but my conception was generalised from all these concrete, individual bodies (under none of whose forms is the perfection of the typical idea adequately realised), and was meant to express the aggregate of those spiritual forces radiating from Christ, which, even under the limitations of flesh and blood—of earthly passions and human alloy—have done so much for man, and, if they had free course and were glorified, would seem to be capable of the entire regeneration of the world. We all remember Bishop Butler’s description of a perfectly virtuous kingdom, when he argues for the future triumph of good over evil from present apparent tendencies in the nature of things. The dream might have been long since realised, if, according to the measure and scope of the divine purposes, the kingdoms of the world had become, in any true and sufficient sense, the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. Of these regenerating spiritual forces, the visible organisation to which we belong may fairly be allowed to claim her full share. But she has no exclusive proprietorship of them: and though I am preaching to a Congress of Churchmen, I should be defeating my own purpose if I tried to fortify them in what would be a superstitious rather than a rational belief, that the Church, to which we are justly and loyally attached, and whose power of influence we desire to strengthen and extend by every means at our command, enjoys any monopoly of divine grace, or can presume to invite members of other communions, certainly not destitute of tokens of the divine providence, to seek refuge within her pale on the ground that their salvation is impossible, or at best precarious, where they are. Untenable pretensions react in honest minds on

those who make them. To those who appreciate the value of a solid basis for unity—of a primitive, apostolic form of government—of the security that is given by law to freedom—of a ritual at once sober and reverent—of a liturgy breathing the very spirit of a devout and chastened piety—of a parochial system which, if truly carried out, would be the perfection of an ecclesiastical organisation—the Church of England can commend herself on solid and sufficient grounds. We shall not strengthen our cause, but the reverse, by associating with it preposterous or unsubstantial claims.

But to pass on.

It seems natural to the human mind to exaggerate the importance both of the achievements and of the failures of its own day. And there are those who think the Church, and the great cause she holds, are passing now through a trial-fire seven times hotter than any she has passed through before. Perhaps, as those whom we deem enemies have not fully disclosed themselves—are still uncertain about the positions they will eventually occupy—we are not in a condition to measure the force or the direction of the attack; cannot, perhaps, be sure that the attack will ever come, or that those who show so menacing a front are, in fact, or at heart, enemies at all. I utterly refuse to recognise as enemies those who, in the field of scientific inquiry, are trying patiently, laboriously, honestly, to solve some of the problems of nature—"questioning God," as one of the most eminent of them calls it—in a spirit of loyal allegiance to truth, and to truth alone. I cautiously distinguish true sons of science from those aggressive sciolists, who, in that wantonness which seems to cleave to all half knowledge, thrust their puny spear in the face of beliefs which they forsooth have discarded, but which the better and wiser part of mankind still entertain with reverent regard. The true labourers in this field, by whom it is being really cultivated and bringing forth fruit, frame their hypotheses, it is true—sometimes, we may think, with a somewhat perilous rashness—but they are careful to tell us that they offer them only as hypotheses, as a provisional and possible explanation of phenomena; and they are content to wait patiently and hopefully till the truth, upon which they can plant their feet as upon solid ground, shall be revealed. "For the Darwinian hypothesis," said Professor Huxley three days ago at Manchester, "I do not think there has been, and I do not suppose there will be, obtained, for a

century yet, anything more than probable evidence." "I can wait two hundred years," said Kepler, "for my views to be believed, if the Almighty has waited six thousand years to publish them." And when, if ever, the time comes, should the evidence prove irresistible, the human mind, from its very constitution, *must* receive it. Meanwhile, it is not ill for the Church to have before her eyes the spectacle of men who are seeking truth, in any field of inquiry, for the truth's sake; and not claiming men's absolute acceptance of anything which they cannot prove.

In the programme of our discussions which has been sketched out, and which I may presume is in the hands of most of you, we are attempting to define with some precision—or at any rate to examine—the existing relations of the Church to the various powers and forces with which she is surrounded, and by which she cannot but be affected, either for good or harm. You will attempt to ascertain the relations of the Church to education—*i.e.*, to the intellectual forces of the age; to the State—*i.e.*, to the political phenomena; to other Christian, and even non-Christian bodies—*i.e.*, to the religious developments; and to that complex system which we call society—*i.e.*, to the moral tone and tendencies of the age. Difficult, perhaps insoluble, problems: problems, too, some of them, the solution of which, if attempted, is not by any means certain to be that which we as Churchmen should desire: but problems which we shall certainly do well to approach without the bias of prejudice or prepossession—with an earnest desire, above all things, to be guided into truth, and with an honest wish to realise the position of others who may not look at these phenomena as we ourselves have been taught to do. One of the features of the Jewish mind in our Lord's day was an inability to discern the signs of that time,—that they applied different measurements to phenomena which seemed to touch their traditional faith, from those which they applied to other phenomena, or would have applied to the same phenomena under other circumstances: as our Lord asked them, "Why, even of your own selves,"—by your ordinary standards of right and wrong, truth and falsehood—"Why, even of your own selves, judge ye not what is right?" (Luke xii. 57.) Let us try to get rid from our deliberations of all "idols" (as Lord Bacon calls them), whether of "the tribe," or of "the cave," or of "the market," or of "the theatre." We have two special dangers, those of us at least who are clergymen. We are a tribe; and many of us live in

caves, more or less secluded from the busy walks in life, outside the stream of active thought. And so we sometimes dream our dis-tempered dreams in solitude, and never attempt to check them by experiment: or we follow blindly those who set up to be our leaders, without reckoning whether *they* are leading, or *we* following.

And so our teaching is weak and aimless, and effects no lodgment in men's souls; or we have no sense of the relative value of the great issues that are being tried in the world of thought outside our own; and to men who are craving bread, we often have nothing better to offer than a stone.

"In our day," says a modern French preacher, "in all classes of society (strange phenomenon!) what piety there is seems confined almost exclusively to women. Just as a family consisting only of brothers would be found lacking in grace, in sweetness, in modesty; so the piety of the nineteenth century lacks force, vigour, robustness. Need I paint its weakness? Need I say that it consists in a sensibility either morbid or affected? Need I tell its mincing manners? or reproduce its languid, methodised utterances? In our meetings, in our books, in our works, one breathes a sort of insipid perfume, which sickens and disgusts masculine and sober minds. Ah! let enter in here the fresh air, keen and free, such as God made it in His wisdom."—(*Colani's Sermons*, I. 313.)

And so let us scatter our dreams and visions, and confront the actual situation manfully, trustfully. We are not living in the fourth century, nor the tenth, nor the sixteenth, but in the nineteenth—

"The old order changeth, giving place to new;  
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

Let us try to recognise and appreciate the permanent principles underlying all these changes. The foundation of God standeth as sure as it ever did. It is the only thing really worth earnestly contending for. The technical and conventional language of theological schools is fast disappearing, even from sermons; but all earnest men's hold on the vital truths of Christianity is tightening rather than relaxing. But the age will not be kept in leading-strings. It does not turn a deaf ear to teachers; but when it has listened, it claims a right to judge. Who shall deny it that right? or deny that it has the faculties proper for the safe exercise of it? Would he, think you, who would have every man fully persuaded

in his own mind? Or he, again, who writes to a Christian community, not perhaps more generally enlightened than our own, in this strain, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." At any rate, whether there ever was a time or not when it was desirable in the interests of religion that a caste or order of men should be considered exclusive authorities of divine truth, or exclusive depositaries of divine grace, that time has passed away, and from all present appearances is little likely to return. But I do not think we are living in an age that is unfavourable to the calm and dispassionate consideration of solemn questions. There is a restlessness of inquiry, no doubt, but that very restlessness betokens, not the love of doubt, but rather an anxious search for truth—

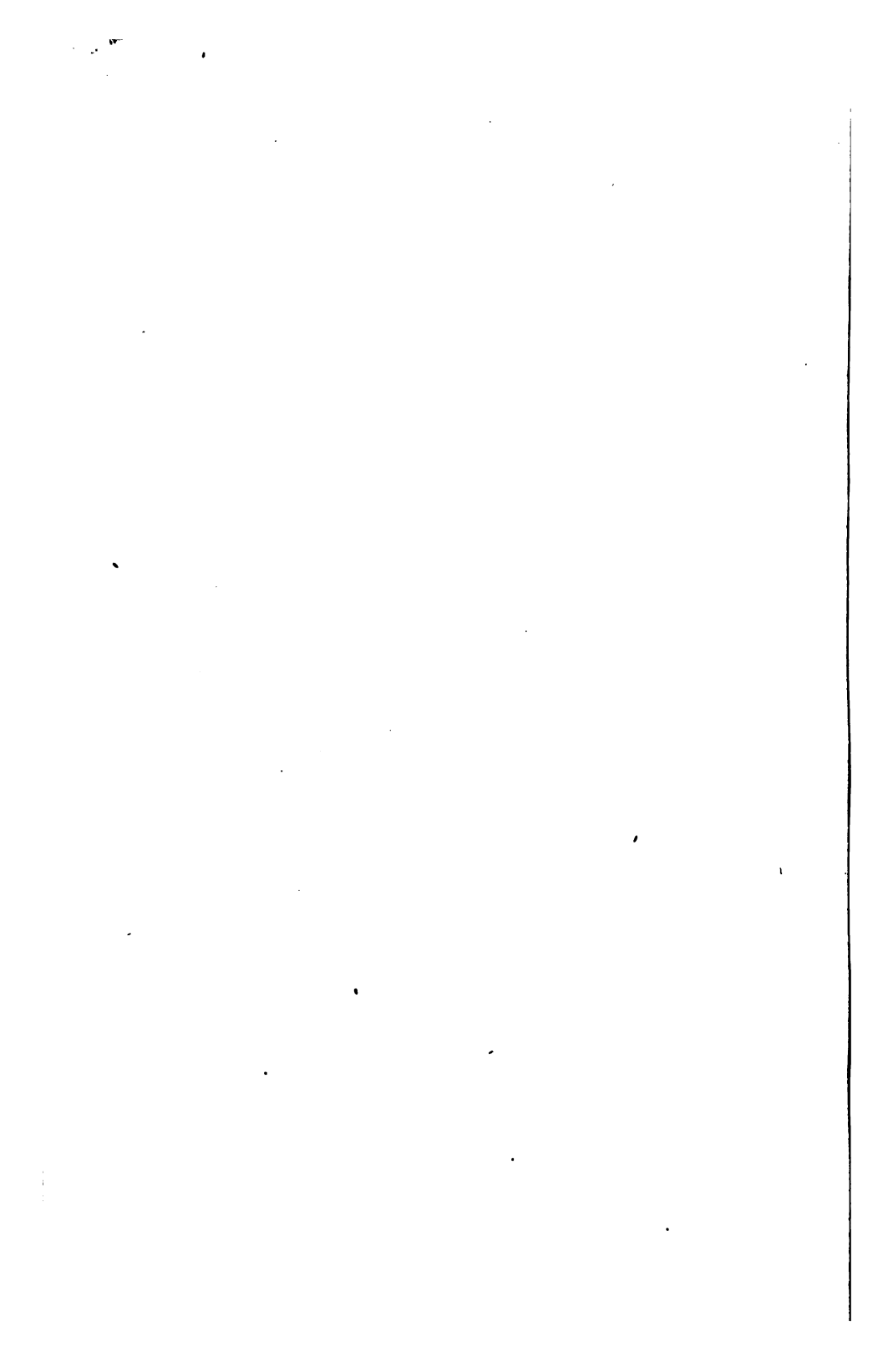
"There lives more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

And our wisdom is to direct this spirit of inquiry, not to spend strength in vain endeavouring to stifle it. Men are yearning for certainty—for something, like Noah's dove, to rest the soles of their feet upon. But they are quick to catch the ring of unreality—they will not be put off with phrases or conventionalisms. They want a religion that will help them in the battle fray. Have you, my brethren of the clergy, got such to offer them? Do you believe, and therefore speak? Are the counsels that drop so glibly from your tongues, counsels borrowed at second-hand from treatises of casuistical divinity, or counsels that you can recommend of your own knowledge from an experimental conviction of their worth?

Never, as it seems to me, was there a nobler opportunity of usefulness spread out before any Church than is now spread out before the Church of England; and yet it is just possible, that either from some unhappy conjuncture of circumstances, from being too late or too supine, from want of faith, or want of wisdom, we may miss it. It is with us as it once was with Paul at Ephesus—"A great door and effectual is opened; but there are many adversaries." But we have just grounds for hoping for the ultimate success of any cause in which we are conscious of labouring with single aims, with directness and earnestness of purpose. All things are possible to him that believeth; and where there is true faith, there is certain to be no obliquity of conduct. The worst evil that could befall us would be that our people should suspect our loyalty, our truthfulness, our honesty.



"We shall all gradually advance," wrote Göthe to Eckermann, "from a Christianity of words and faiths to a Christianity of feeling and action." It may be questioned whether the two can really be separated; but there can be no doubt that what men are seeking in Christianity is, not a technical system, but a vital power; something not taught, or teachable, in catechisms, or formulated in creeds, but entering into their souls and quickening them with the conviction that in Christ the dead can be made alive. Catechisms and creeds will still have their scientific or theological value: cannot be dispensed with in thorough Christian training: must be the basis of our intellectual conception of revealed truth: but their power over the heart is small—their worth as motives to right conduct is insignificant. The spiritual lever that has moved the world has been the simple revelation of the love of God in Christ: the fulcrum on which it has acted has been the sense of the need of such love in the human soul. Bring these forces together, either through the medium of holy discourse, or reverent worship, or blessed sacrament, and you have done all that man can do for the regeneration of his fellow-man. The rest we leave, in faith and hope, to the free and sovereign action of the Spirit of our God."



ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
CHURCH CONGRESS,  
HELD AT NOTTINGHAM.

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*TUESDAY AFTERNOON, 10th OCTOBER 1871.*

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The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN took his seat as PRESIDENT, in the MECHANIC'S HALL, at 2.0 P.M., and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

THE annual meetings of the Church Congress present stationary points of observation from which a survey may be made of the religious condition of Christendom, particularly the Church of England. Such gatherings as these invite us to take a retrospective view of the past, and thence to derive lessons of practical experience in the present, and to form anticipations for the future. Accordingly, it is my purpose, with the help of God—for whose blessing on our deliberations let us devoutly pray—to devote this inaugural address to a consideration of the position of the Church of England three centuries ago, and to the suggestion of some inferences derivable from the contemplation of events occurring in the interval between the year 1571 and the present time. The year 1571 was the culminating point of the English Reformation. It was marked by the final settlement and public reception, both spiritual and temporal, of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and also by the promulgation of certain ecclesiastical canons and constitutions framed by Archbishop Parker, and subscribed by the Bishops of both Provinces.

When we look back upon that year, and upon those acts, and when we reflect on the severe ordeal through which the inspired Word of God has had to pass since that time, and through which it is now passing, we cannot fail to recognise the working of God's good providence, guiding the Church of England in the course which she then adopted with regard to Holy Scripture, and also with respect to its interpretation.

At that time, many foreign Protestant Churches, in their public Confessions of Faith, had left the question of inspiration of Scripture to be determined by the inner consciousness of the individual reader, or by what has lately been called his "verifying faculty." In their view the question was almost wholly subjective. We have now seen the disastrous consequences of this vicious principle, in that reckless and destructive spirit of Biblical criticism which has prevailed, and still prevails, in many theological schools of Continental Christendom, and makes the authority and inspiration of Holy Scripture to depend on the fickle caprices of arbitrary dogmatism, and has caused many to make shipwreck of the faith.

The Church of England pursued a wiser course. She does not disparage the verdicts of rightly informed reason, or the testimony given to God's Word by the well-regulated conscience, enlightened by His grace; but she well knows that something more than this is requisite. In her Sixth Article, finally ratified in 1571, she appeals to an external and Divine authority, that of Christ and of the Holy Spirit of Truth, speaking in the consent of the Universal Church, which is the mystical "Body of Christ," and "the pillar and ground of the truth," and bearing witness by that consent to the inspiration and authority of Holy Writ. The Church of England did not evolve her belief in the Bible from her own inner consciousness; her faith in Holy Scripture is an objective faith. "In the name of Holy Scripture," she says in that Article, "we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." And since she well knows that the canon of the *New Testament* was not settled at once, but at length was finally established, she adds, "All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them canonical."

The same good providence of God guided her aright three centuries ago in the no less important question of the interpretation of Holy Scripture. God's written Word is her rule of faith. But how is that rule to be applied? Is the Bible—in the phrase of Dryden—to be set up like a weather-cock on our church steeples, to be turned about with every veering wind of private interpretation? She gave an answer to this question in the year 1571. In the well-known Canon "*De Concinatoribus*," then framed by Archbishop Parker and his suffragans, she declared her judgment on that matter:—"Let preachers take good heed that they do not publicly propound anything to be held and believed by the people as an article of faith save only what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and to what the Catholic fathers and ancient Bishops of the Church have collected out of Holy Writ." In a similar spirit Archbishop Cranmer and his associates, in framing the "*Reformatio Legum*," had prescribed that all preachers should have ever before their eyes the Three Creeds, and should not deliver any dogmatic interpretation of Holy Scripture at variance with the judgment of the Church Catholic as declared therein.

We may therefore confidently propound the conclusion, that in the judgment of the greatest English Reformers, the living waters of Divine Truth flow to us from the source and well-spring of the All-Wise Godhead speaking to us in the written Word; and that the channel through which

they flow is that which the Divine Author of that Word has formed and appointed for their conveyance, viz., the Catholic Church of Christ.

So much for the Word of God and its right interpretation.

Let us now speak of the Ministry of that Word.

The Church of England in the Thirty-sixth of her Articles, finally revised in 1571, set the seal on what are commonly called our Consecration and Ordination Services. In the preface to those formularies she declares that Ordination by Bishops is that which is authorised by Holy Scripture and by ancient Catholic consent; and while she pronounces no judgment on those communions which, by no fault of their own, are deprived of Episcopal Ordination, she does not allow any man to minister the Word and Sacraments in her own communion without it. She knows well that no one can point to any clear example of a single Church in Christendom, for fifteen centuries after Christ, which did not virtually recognise the necessity of Episcopal Ordination where it may be had. These are the principles which were held by our forefathers at the Reformation three centuries ago; and it is more memorable that the principles were promulgated at that time, inasmuch as the Church and Realm were then under a strong temptation to be swayed and biassed in another direction. In the preceding year an agent of Rome had posted up on the gates of the palace of the Bishop of London the Bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, pronouncing on Queen Elizabeth a sentence of condemnation, excommunication, and dethronement, and forbidding her subjects to obey her. But under God's good providence the Queen of England and her wise counsellors in Church and State were not driven by Romanism to take refuge in Puritanism. They knew that agues are bad remedies for fevers. They kept their temper and their spiritual health, and the Church and Realm of England have reaped the fruits of their wise self-control and patient forbearance even to this day.

The principles which actuated them produced that school of theology which is, and ever will be, the glory of England—the school of Hooker, of Andrews, of Laud, of Bramhall, of Taylor, of Pearson, of Sanderson, of Bull, of Barrow, and of Beveridge. But they did more than this. They enabled the Church of England to fight a victorious battle against Rome in the sixteenth century; and also to recover from the religious and political shock of the seventeenth century.

Observe here the contrast between France and England. Turn your eyes from England in 1571 to France in the following year. In the year 1572 the streets of Paris were stained with the blood of many thousands of its citizens, slain in the cruel and treacherous massacre of St Bartholomew's Day. The records of the Christian Church do not display brighter examples of intrepid courage and patient endurance than those of the French Protestants at that time and in the following century; and there is nothing in the history of the Church which causes more disappointment and distress than the fact that those heroic acts and sufferings have borne but little fruit on the soil of France. The French Huguenots were not less illustrious in their piety, their zeal, and their high and holy daring and self-devotion, than the Protestant Martyrs of England;—indeed in some respects they eclipsed them in Christian virtues and graces, especially in the long continuance of their sufferings, protracted at intervals for more than a hundred years. But the Protestantism of France took no root in

its own land. It did not regenerate the nation. After a long struggle the Church of France succumbed under the sway of Ultramontane domination. The school of Ignatius of Loyola triumphed, notwithstanding the Edict of Nantes in the days of Henry the Fourth, and in spite of the keen and luminous wit of the "Provincial Letters" of Pascal, and the pungent satire of the "Tartuffe" of Molière, and in defiance of the Declaration of the Liberties of the Gallican Church by Bossuet and his Episcopal brethren in 1682; and after an abortive conflict of ten years, the great monarch himself, Louis XIV., bowed in humble submission before the offended dignity of Pope Innocent XII.

And what now is the result? Protestantism has been crushed in France, or has declined for the most part into a feeble pietism or a cold Socinianism; Rome triumphed for a time; but the extravagances of Ultramontaniam, in religion and politics, produced their natural reaction and recoil in the bold infidelity of the Encyclopædists and in the sceptical philosophy of Rousseau, Diderot, and Voltaire; and they produced their legitimate offspring of sedition, faction, anarchy, and carnage in the savage vandalism of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre; and in the legalised murders of the Reign of Terror in 1793, and, as their crowning work and consummation, in the incendiary fires and barbarous assassinations perpetrated by a democratic communism in the present year, 1871. "And what will be the end thereof?"

Here is instruction for ourselves. Zeal and piety alone, the courage and sufferings of Martyrs and Confessors, will not save a Church and nation. These were not wanting in France. But unhappily French Protestantism did not build itself upon the solid foundations of Apostolic discipline and on the sound principles of Catholic doctrine. It had no adequate ecclesiastical organisation. It could not therefore withstand Romanism and regenerate France. It was chargeable with innovations and irregularities in teaching and regimen; and Rome had learning enough to expose its errors, and adroitness to profit by them. The divisions of Protestantism are Rome's best allies: she exults in them, and triumphs by them, and does all in her power to foment them. We cannot wage a successful warfare against her by means of negations, nor even by fervid enthusiasm. We must have clear and definite principles of doctrine and discipline. The testimony of the last three centuries teaches us that Puritanism is no match for Romanism, and that the only solid bulwark against Popery is Catholicity.

Providentially, as we have seen, the Church of England in the year 1571 enunciated sound principles of Christian Faith and Church Polity. She made no new creed, she set up no new altar, she did not break the line of Apostolical succession which connected her in an uninterrupted series of Bishops for 1500 years with the Holy Apostles, and through the Apostles with Christ. She placed herself under the protection of Him who is the Truth, and under His shelter she was safe. Holding firmly these principles she was enabled to contend successfully against Rome; and also to rise again from her humiliation after the civil conflict of the seventeenth century. If in that conflict she had surrendered her principles of doctrine and discipline, if she had abandoned her Apostolical form of church government, and had sacrificed her creed and her ritual, and had assimilated herself to any of those numerous sects which sprang up like poisonous weeds from the rank soil of religious and political licentiousness and fanaticism in the

days of the great Rebellion, when Charles the First unfurled his royal standard at Nottingham, and went forth on that disastrous campaign which ended in his own death and in the prostration of the Church and Monarchy—then all would have been lost. It was the martyrdom of King Charles the First, it was the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud, which produced the restoration of the Church and Monarchy in 1661. Then the principles of the year 1571 were enshrined in the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer, where they are handed down to us as our most precious treasure, spiritual and temporal, to be transmitted unimpaired, by the help of God, to all future generations.

On the southern coast of the Isle of Sicily, skirted by two mountain streams, amid olives, myrtles, and low dwarfed palms, are the marvellous remains and enormous fragments of noble ancient temples which once adorned the city of Selinus. These great fabrics were thrown down prostrate by an earthquake. The huge frusta of their columns lie there side by side; the vast blocks of their capitals, the massive slabs of their entablatures and cornices, some measuring twenty-five feet in length, are as fresh as on the day of their erection. The mechanical power and skill which built these temples more than two thousand years ago might restore them now with their original materials to their pristine grandeur and beauty. But, if the solid blocks of these noble buildings had been ground into lime, no earthly power could repair a single shaft of these majestic edifices.

So it is with the spiritual fabric of Christian Churches. They may be flung to the ground by the shocks of political earthquakes. They may be overthrown by storms such as swept over England in the seventeenth century, or such as now seems about to burst forth and to sweep over Europe with even more intense fury and violence. And yet, if they hold fast sound principles of doctrine and discipline, they may, and will be restored. But if those principles are pulverised by concession, or calcined in the lime-kiln of compromise, no master-builder in the world will ever be able to repair them.

Here is practical instruction to ourselves, not inappropriate at a Church Congress. It is often said that one of the principal uses of Church Congresses, is to "rub off men's corners," and to make us smooth-tongued and complacent to one another. If our corners are bad corners, the sooner they are rubbed off the better, but if our corners are good corners, then it is to be hoped that no love of men-pleasing may ever induce us to rub off one of them. A poet of old, Simonides, who is praised for the saying by the two greatest philosophers of antiquity—Plato and Aristotle—describes a good and a wise man as a man who is "square and without reproach." And it was the Epicurean poet of an effeminate age who characterised his wise man as self-contained, smooth, and round. You cannot build a wall with smooth, round stones, without a great admixture of rubble and mortar; and when it is built and well daubed over with plaster to hide its defects, it will be a crazy fabric after all. Some probably there are in the present day who would advise the bees to give up their old-fashioned hexagons with which they have worked for near six thousand years, and instead of antiquated polygons to take to modern circular cells instead. But, to pass from metaphors, we know who it is who called Himself "the Corner-stone"—He in whom is all our strength, He who binds together the

two walls of Judaism and Gentilism, He in whom alone we can have true Unity, for in Him only can we have Unity in the Truth.

But while using such language we must not be supposed to forget the precept, "speaking the truth in love." The history of the last three centuries teaches the double lesson first, not to compromise our principles; and secondly, to take care lest we assert them in a spirit of cold and formal orthodoxy, or of ungenial and unsympathising stiffness and moroseness. We must keep our corner-stones, but they must not be rough, rude, and rugged corner-stones, but as the Psalmist speaks, "polished like the corner-stones of the Temple." The principles of doctrine and discipline which the Church of England had promulgated in 1571, she firmly reasserted and maintained at the Restoration in 1661; but in looking back at that period we cannot fail to observe that it would have been well if some of our leaders in Church and State had shown more of meekness and moderation, more of suavity and gentleness, in the hour of victory, and if the maintenance of sound principles had been more richly adorned and beautified with the loveliest of Christian graces, charity, holiness, and earnestness. One of the saintliest and most learned of her sons—Henry Hammond—who foresaw the Restoration, but who, according to his prayers, received his *Dimittis* before it, exclaimed, "I dread prosperity, I really do dread it!" He *feared* the triumphs of the Church, he wept over them, as Christ wept amidst the plaudits of the crowd. At the Restoration, Puritanism, by an excess of reaction, generated Libertinism. Few there were, like the sainted author of the Morning and Evening Hymn, who had the courage to close the doors of his canonical house at Winchester against a Royal paramour. For the most part, under the second Charles there was more antipathy to Puritanism than there was zeal for Catholicity: and under his successor there was more fear of the Pope than love of Christ; and in the following reigns (as even a Whig prelate, William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, complained to Lord Mansfield in the Preface to one of his books on the Divine Legation), many in high places were led by their hatred of Jacobitism to patronise Erastianism, and even to encourage scepticism, and to discountenance Christian zeal and spiritual vitality as if they were no better than rhapsodical fanaticism. The consequence was, that when John Wesley and George Whitfield appeared in the middle of the last century, our spiritual rulers did not care to make use of their enthusiasm and to give it a right direction and application, so that it might refresh and fertilise the parched places of our land, but they allowed it to flow away in irregular channels of its own making; and it is now much to be feared, that, unless the waters be led back to their ancient bed by some wise and loving hand, they may be more and more divided and distracted into rival streams of sectarianism, and break forth in violent torrents and cataracts, or spread abroad in unhealthy swamps and morasses, which would have caused shame and remorse to those zealous men who gave the first impulse to their course, and may fill us with sorrow for our own remissness and neglect.

Here then, in fine, standing as we do on the vantage-ground of the year 1871, and looking back through the vista of three centuries, we are prompted first of all to lift up our hearts in thankfulness to Almighty God for His great goodness in enabling the Church of England to perceive the Truth, and also to hold it fast. We are brought to the conclusion, that,



if she is to stand firm against the manifold assaults of Romanism, sectarianism, and infidelity, and to be a blessing to Christendom in helping those courageous men in Germany, Italy, and France who are now endeavouring to restore the Church of Christ to her primitive liberty and purity by the union of Evangelical Truth with Apostolical Order and Catholic love; and if she is to advance the kingdom of Christ, by preaching the gospel to the heathen abroad, and to her fainting multitudes at home, she must not stoop to cowardly compromises of the Truth, or allow herself to be entranced in the illusory dreams of a hollow conciliation, or to be beguiled by the empty phantoms of a heartless compromise; she must prefer unpopular truths to popular errors, and not bate a single jot or tittle of that Divine deposit of sound Doctrine and Discipline which we have received from our forefathers, and which was transmitted to them by the Apostles, and was delivered to the Apostles by Christ.

But while she thus cleaves to the Truth, she will endeavour, by God's grace, to be loving to all men; she will cherish and foster zeal and enthusiasm, vitality and energy, holiness and self-devotion, wherever she finds them. She will endeavour to enlist them all in her own service and in that of her Divine Master, and to attract and win all men to Him. She will not move her feet an inch from the pedestal of Divine truth, on which she stands, but she will open her arms wide to clasp all to her bosom. To help her in this her enterprise is, we confidently believe, the design of the present Congress in this ancient and loyal town of Nottingham; and we earnestly pray to God that this may be its result. In this belief and hope we invoke His blessing upon it.

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EDUCATION: THE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED BY THE CHURCH FROM THE SYSTEMS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION ON THE CONTINENT AND AMERICA, AS WELL AS FROM THE PAST HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN OUR OWN COUNTRY; AND THEIR BEARING ON THE WORKING OF THE NEW EDUCATION ACT, AND ON SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

The Rev. A. BARRY, D.D., Principal of King's College, London, read the following paper:—

I CRAVE your indulgence, if I depart a little from the programme which has been sketched out for our educational papers. I do not propose to inquire into the systems of foreign countries, and the many important lessons which they teach. I address myself solely to the question which is, I doubt not, at this moment, uppermost in the minds of all who hear me—What is our duty, not only as Churchmen, but as Englishmen and as Christians, under the new and most critical era which has been introduced by the Education Act of 1870? I have ventured to accede to the invitation of the committee, and to bring this great subject before you, simply on the ground that—having been engaged all my life in the work of religious education,—having, as one of the secretaries of the National Education Union, tried to help those who fought in its cause against the scarcely veiled secularism

of the Birmingham League,—having, as a member of the London School Board, seen the first workings of the new system, and gained some conception of its difficulties, its advantages, and its dangers, in a sphere of immense importance,—I may hope to lay before you some few suggestions, based not on theory, but on personal knowledge and experience.

Allow me, first, briefly to recall to your minds the real nature of the now famous Education Act, in its relation to religious education generally, and the Church of England in particular. I am forced to do so, old as the subject is. We have been reading lately denunciations of it in what are usually called “*Liberal*” papers, on the ground that it is actually framed in the interests of what the writers are pleased to call “*Denominational Education*,” and under that clerical influence, which is apparently to advanced Liberals what the agency of the Jesuits and the Pope is to some ultra-Protestant members of the House of Commons. We, who know something of the Act, have felt inclined to rub our eyes, and ask whether it is we ourselves or the writers who are dreaming, or whether the Act has been somehow changed (in dreamland, of course) since it received the royal assent. Let us clearly understand the relation of the Act to religion and to the Church. It is an Act which utterly ignores the Church altogether; you need not change a single word in it, if the Church were disestablished to-morrow. It is an Act which, for the first time, not only recognises secular schools (as I think it was bound to do), but which (without, as it seems to me, any reason or propriety) actually refuses to recognise, to count, to test, or to reward the religious instruction which is, even intellectually, the highest and largest educating influence, and which, as events have proved, the voice of the country has imperatively and almost unanimously demanded. It is an Act which, while it certainly does recognise existing voluntary schools, provides for a rivalry in which they will be heavily and (as some think) hopelessly over-weighted, by extending the taxation for the new system over large areas, including districts already well supplied with schools by liberality and religious earnestness, and so forcing their supporters to pay rates with one hand and subscriptions with the other. It is an Act which, while it allows districts already fully supplied to go on without any new machinery, refuses them the exercise in any shape of the power of compulsion, with which it paternally strengthens the hands of school boards, the creations of the new legislation. And then people have the face to call this an Act conceived in the interests of the existing schools, and—ineffable horror to a Liberal mind!—favourable to the Church and the clergy! And why is this? Just because it does bare justice—very bare indeed—to the existing schools, of which the Church of England has created the great mass, and refuses to doom them to “*painless extinction*” or painful confiscation. We have come to this—that if the Church receives some share of the justice or consideration which is accorded to every other body of the community, she is supposed to be unduly favoured; and, where she is not actually despoiled, the cry is raised that she is endowed.

But yet, while the Education Act is what I have thus described it to be, it is most earnestly to be hoped that Churchmen will accept it resolutely, and work it loyally. I believe that some such measure was urgently needed—that the old system, whatever its excellence, did not meet, and, even had it received due encouragement (instead of being too often snubbed and starved at head-quarters), could not have met, the necessities of

the case—that the creation of an efficient and complete system of national education was at once a matter of life and death in respect of expediency, and a sacred duty both to God and man. I believe that, in the present condition of the country—in which, however much we regret it, we are bound to confess that the Church is not the Church of the whole nation, nay, that the Gospel does not command the homage of all educated minds, and often fails to reach great masses of our people—the system which it inaugurates is, speaking generally, the only statesmanlike and the only possible system. I believe that the power of religious truth and faith, and the influence of the Church of England—even as it is, and still more as it might be—will work and will assert their spiritual leadership, under any system which gives them “fair play and no favour,” or, I will even say, some play and no large amount of disfavour. It is singular and instructive to contrast the honest and truly liberal support which this Act has received from the more Conservative elements of English society, with the intolerant denunciations proceeding from an opposite quarter. And a Churchman may feel some pride when he compares the calm and yet earnest and dignified attitude of the Church on this great question, with the vehemence and noisy agitation of some other sections of the community. For there is a quietness which is not the listlessness of indifference, but the repose of conscious strength.

Surely it is right that Churchmen should avoid two extremes on this matter. It is not desirable that they should be too enthusiastic in favour of the new system; that they should themselves forget, or allow others to forget, that they have made great sacrifices in accepting it; that the necessity and duty of accepting it prove the existence of some features in the relation between Church and State, and in the position of religion in England, which are most serious in themselves, and ominous of much, still more serious, in the future. Yet it is still less desirable that they should in any degree endeavour to disturb it, or stand aloof from its working, refusing to recognise what is and what must be, in a vain though natural longing for what might be, in an ideal state of society and of the Church herself. The Church stands to these systems as Samuel and the prophetic power stood to the introduction of the kingdom in Israel: she may appeal, as he did, to the work of the past; she may mourn, as he did, over the needful introduction of a distinctly temporal power; while she still says, as he said, “God forbid that I should cease to pray for you! I will teach you the good and the right way: only fear the Lord and serve Him in truth with all your heart.”

There seem to be two main duties to do. The first is to maintain at all hazards, under all difficulties, and at any price, the existing Church schools. Men tell us that they are doomed; that they cannot stand against the completer organisation of the new rate-supported system; that voluntary liberality will never bear up under the solid heavy pressure of legal taxation. I answer, “If they have a reason for existence, a right to live, they will never die.” Now, I need not go about to prove to this assembly, that if they are but true to themselves, to the power of Church unity and Church organisation, to the unspeakable advantage of a spiritual authority and a definite creed, they ought to be able to do more for religious education—and therefore, as I believe, for education of the spirit in the highest and widest sense—than any schools that are destitute

of all these advantages, and hampered by the jealousies of opposing sects. Even if they should be inferior in mechanical organisation and material resources, yet their spiritual advantage must tell—their inherent life and power must be very distinctly manifested. If it were but for this, they would have clearly proved their mission. But what I think is too often forgotten is, that their reflex influence on the new schools will be of priceless value. That influence will tell primarily and powerfully by aiding the growth of a religious tone and the maintenance of substantial religious teaching in the new schools, such as in America, for want of such reflex influence, have been slowly and gradually, but too certainly, lost. You know how, by God's grace and blessing, the mind of England is determinately set, and the voice of the country has energetically announced that it is set, on religious education. If so, while schools which must be religious exist, it will be impossible to make the board-schools schools of theoretical or virtual secularism. But, secondarily, yet really, I value the influence of voluntary energy on a rate-supported and legal system. At present all is energy, liberality, and earnestness in the cause; but what will be the case when the bill is presented, and the reckoning has to be paid? Is there no danger that at the next election to school boards men will be sent in (as I have heard that they are occasionally sent in to town councils and vestries) pledged to economy at any price? Will there be no value then in the co-existence of a system which relies not on the power of legal coercion, but on voluntary liberality and duty, and which is able to ask, "How much can I do?" and not "How little will serve the turn?" I am perfectly convinced that every man who supports a Church school does a double service—a service, direct and primary, in the creation of a school which must have the strongest and most living power of true education; and a service, indirect, and yet I hardly like to call it secondary, in the creation of an influence which will tend to deepen religious spirit, and foster a nobler liberality, in the rate-supported school which rises by its side.

The old system will surely not be allowed to perish, or even to decay. There have been few things more striking and more encouraging than the marvellous answer which the adherents of that system have made to the friendly challenge given in the new Act. In the last six months of 1870 there were applications for more than 3000 building grants for creating or enlarging schools on the old system. The Education department seems to have stood fairly aghast. The National Society, with a noble and wise audacity, has pledged two years' income to aid the movement. If the voluntary system is (as we are told) dying, it certainly dies with the strangest exhibition of vitality. The first duty of Churchmen is simply to persevere in this career so gloriously begun. We have only to make our schools good schools; bring them under Government inspection for the sake alike of improvement and of test; take care to keep up in them a true religious tone, and plain, simple, definite teaching; be sure by no means, direct or indirect, to tamper with the obligations of the Conscience clause, or infringe religious liberty; and we need have no fear. The experience of the past has shown us that every good Church school is a tower of strength; the experience of the future must show that such schools will command and will gradually gain—even in respect of compulsory powers—the equality which they deserve and which alone they can require. To keep them up will require much sacrifice: men of

the world, who are well versed in the lore of self-interest, and accustomed to trust in material resources and strength, smile at the idea that such sacrifice can be sustained. But the Church, I hope, will teach them, as she has taught them before, that there are powers in the kingdom of heaven on earth which are "not dreamt of in their philosophy."

The other great duty of Churchmen is to aid and to watch the School boards, now gradually extending over all the area of our great towns. I say "to aid," for I rejoice to see that the supporters of the older educational system, and notably the clergy, are mostly ready, and mostly welcomed in that readiness, to help and guide the new system also. In this work, the chief point of present necessity is to aid, honestly and generously, the attempt which is now being very earnestly made to keep up a really religious tone, and—under all the restrictions of the Act, in the presence of the difficulties of our wretched divisions, and of the active secularist party, which gloats over them and profits by them—to give true and unfettered Bible teaching. It is easy to see that, if we regarded the interests of our own Church schools solely, it would be our policy to drive the State schools into secularism, sure that the recoil from it would fill our benches. I have seen such policy advised; but I can conceive nothing more wicked, nothing more suicidal, than to purchase what would then deserve to be called a "sectarian" advantage at the expense of endangering the Christianity of the country. It is easy, again, to raise theoretical difficulties, either from the secularist or from the dogmatic point of view, as to the logical inconsistencies in which the attempt to give pure Bible teaching, without proselytism and without conflict, will land us. But the majority of school boards, while they disclaim utterly the impossible task of bringing out and exhibiting a creed with which none shall find fault, believe that there is a large amount of ground really common to the great mass of English Christians; and that the ordinary school teaching, as a matter of fact, does keep, and ought to keep, to that ground. They are going to try, honestly and hopefully, to solve in practice what is proved in the most logical manner to be theoretically impossible. I earnestly trust that Churchmen generally will aid this sincere attempt to do a work which in any case must be difficult enough—without any resentment, however natural, of the treatment which we have received from some of the Nonconformist bodies—without any thought of what may be the effect of the prevalence of such religious teaching on the future of Church Establishments, or on the special interests of religious bodies as such. These are minor considerations after all. When one is brought—as lately in these discussions we have all been brought—to the brink of the great gulf which separates Secularism from Christianity, all other thoughts seem to vanish, all other motives to be burnt up in the fire of an intense resolution to hold up the Cross of Christ still, and to make the Word of God still, as of old, the very strength and life of our national education.

The other part of our duty to School-boards is to watch them, to see that they do their duty fairly, without respect to party interests and to clamour, in their own schools, and in the relation which they hold to education generally. There is, at this moment, one important part of their more general duty, in which I think they are inclined mostly to act with impartiality, and in which it is clear that the Education Department

will do all it can to secure impartiality, but on which there has been raised an extraordinary clamour, strangely incommensurate with the importance of the immediate question, and monstrously unjust in the false issues which it raises. I allude, of course, to the provision for meeting cases of real indigence under a compulsory system. The Act allows boards either to remit fees in their own schools or pay them in others, according as the interests of education, economy, and liberty shall determine. But because some boards have proposed to pay such fees in denominational, which are (speaking generally) Church schools, simply because the Church has done her duty in the great cause of education, there is a cry raised of "denominational ascendancy," "concurrent endowment," and I know not what else. The Liberal cause is said to be at stake, a school-rate agitation of the old Church-rate type is threatened, and the Government, especially Mr Forster, is overwhelmed with menace and vituperation. Now, what is all this about? It is acknowledged on all hands that such relief is to be exceptional, so that there may be no educational pauperisation. In fact, it is curious that we Church folks mainly insisted on this, against the same people who are now raising this ado, when they were fighting for the programme of the League. It ought to be understood that the demand for impartiality is made in defence, indeed, of the rights of existing schools, but not principally or decidedly in their interest. It is, as many well know, at least a moot question, whether the admission of scholars, whose fees are paid by the board, is always good either for the prosperity or the independence of the school. I myself, with many others, hold the opinion that, as a rule, if there be no difficulty or objection, such children had better be admitted to board schools when they exist. But the real question is one which concerns the religious liberty of the parent, and the pocket of the ratepayer.

As to the parent, really the question is whether, after compelling him to send his child to school, we are to take advantage of his poverty, and wrest from him the liberty of choice of a school, which we allow to all other parents. Of course, it may be said that *quasi*-paupers have no rights; but this is hardly consonant with liberality, although it may find its place in the policy of Liberalism. Of course, it is easy to ridicule the idea that a parent of this class cares where his children go; and perhaps if board schools remain really religious schools, this may be the case. But what if they should ever be secularised, assuming the type of a school of which I heard the master himself say, that under no circumstances of intellectual instruction or moral discipline would he allow the name of God to be used? Will there be no substantial grievance then? And without going this length, it is easy to imagine numberless cases in which a real hardship would be inflicted on the poor parent by the narrow policy which the malcontents urge upon the boards. It is really a case of religious and general liberty. We ask only a Conscience Clause on this side from those who have loudly and justly claimed one on the other.

As to the ratepayer, the question will practically be, "Are the school boards to take the course which is best and most economical in each case, or are they to be fettered by a sectarian dread of 'sectarianism?'" It may be, it often will be, far wiser for them, especially in rural districts and small towns, to pay schools fees in existing schools, rather than to

establish new ones. Why should they be debarred from this? Is there something so horribly contaminating in a Church Catechism or Prayer-book which, unless their parents wish it, the children need not learn? Is the presence of the parson in the school so utterly demoralising that, at whatever cost, they must be guarded from it? The thing is really preposterous. I do not care principally for economy, but I do object to waste; and when (as I have said) the bill has to be presented, I think that the ratepayers will object too.

But we are told that we injure the consciences of the ratepayers by allowing any part of their money to support denominational schools, or (as it is often erroneously put) to support denominational teaching. Really this tender-conscienced ratepayer seems to me rather like the "aggrieved parishioner" of famous memory—a product which does not grow naturally, but needs an immense amount of stimulation from without. The rates are paid to the school boards that they may secure education for the children—first by building and maintaining schools, next by compulsion on parents to send their children to some school, and aid to them in doing so if they really require it. The responsibility rests first on the Legislature, who made the Act; then on the boards who have to administer it, as well and as economically as they can; lastly, on the parent, who chooses the school according to his best judgment, and such advice as he can trust. What can be left to rankle in the tender spirit of the ratepayer? He has, probably, not felt severely the existence of this very system at the present moment. For years, whenever Guardians have done their duty and carried out Evelyn Denison's Act, the children of out-door paupers have been paid for out of the rates; and, sad as it may appear, I am afraid that the majority of such payments have gone to Church schools, just because there were often no others forthcoming. I doubt whether he would have found out his grievance, if there had not been some kind friends to enlarge upon it for their own ends.

The fact is, that this agitation is the fruit of annoyance at the vitality of the existing system, the power of the Church in education, and the impartiality which the Act, the Department, and the boards generally seem inclined to show. It is clear that Churchmen must sustain that impartiality against it, remembering that the question is important in itself, and still more important in being only one phase of a far greater and more momentous conflict.

These, as it appears to me, are the two great duties of Churchmen under our new Act. If I do not dwell on a third—the duty of increasing the efficiency of our Sunday-schools, and our other machinery for direct religious teaching—it is because I know that this will be dwelt upon by those who follow me.

Under any system, under any circumstances, success is to those who look plain facts in the face, and act accordingly. I am sure that the cause of religious education can never be lost until religion itself has ceased to sway the heart of the nation; and that the Church can never fail to exercise a great and commanding influence in the work, while Churchmen show themselves, in thoughtful and energetic action, true to their principles and their duty.

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The Rev. LEWIN G. MAINE, M.A, Vicar of St Laurence, Reading,  
read the following paper :—

IN attempting to show the lessons to be learned by the Church from the system of national education in America, and their bearing on the new Education Act, I may seem to many to be leading a forlorn hope. "Too late," is the cry which rises almost instinctively to the lips. For by the new Education Act the common-school system of America has been taken as the model of a scheme of national education. The presence in some of our large towns of a number of children who are growing up in ignorance and crime has been the plea for the introduction of this measure, by which denominational schools, on which so much time and money and labour have been bestowed, will, at least in our large towns, in process of time be extinguished.

As to the amount of educational destitution great diversity of opinion exists. It seems certain that, however great, the numbers have been exaggerated, but all are agreed that a certain uneducated residuum remains. Now some there are who have persuaded themselves that, when the Elementary Education Act has come into full operation, it will inaugurate an entirely new era of education, and that ignorance and crime will flee away before it. Such persons are accustomed to look to America, and to persuade themselves, that by the adoption of the American system, we shall transform the land into an earthly paradise. The Hon. Secretary of the Birmingham Education League tells us, that "the Americans have secured what for years we have been striving after—a scheme by which the people are\* soundly and universally educated." Now the principal source of information upon the subject of American schools, and that upon which the Hon. Secretary of the Birmingham League relies, is the report of the Rev. James Fraser, now Bishop of Manchester, who was sent to America by the Government in 1865. This report is replete with information, but the topics comprised in it are so many, and so various, that without very careful study the mind is led away from those subjects which more immediately bear upon our English schools. The Bishop of Manchester's instructions were to inquire into the common school generally, but this system has no parallel in England. It comprises schools suitable to all ranks and ages, those which answer to our infant schools, our National and British schools, as well as middle class schools, and such schools as Eton and Winchester, Harrow and Rugby. The school, for instance, which Dr Fraser singled out most of all for eulogy was the High School at Boston. This he would have liked to put under a glass case and to have brought to England for exhibition, as the type of a thoroughly useful middle class school; but such as these have no bearing upon our elementary schools. The whole form into which the report is thrown seems to me calculated to leave a more favourable impression of American schools than is warranted by the facts, or than would have been conveyed, had Dr Fraser's instructions confined his attention to such schools as obtained government aid in this country. The effect naturally of inspecting a series of schools, one after the other, one similar to our infant school, another to our National or British school, another for

\* "Outline of the American School System," by Jesse Collings, p. 15.



which we could only find a parallel in Lancing, or Hurstpierpoint, perhaps only in Eton and Rugby, would be to cover the defects of some by the excellences of others. Much is said about the show schools of Boston and New York, into which strangers are admitted, and flattered by being asked to make a speech, but it is not in the Boston or New York high schools that the majority of Americans are educated. The following quotation from "The Daily Public School in the United States," a work published at Philadelphia in 1866, for which I am indebted to the Secretary of the Manchester Educational Union, gives the opinion of a well-informed American:—"We may (he writes) have an imposing array of educational institutions of a higher grade, as colleges, academies, and high schools, in which a few are introduced favourably into the marvellous exhibition which science and art unveil to us, but the children of the United States *are not educated in them*. Here and there one comes out of the common rank of school children into these higher spheres, to become a man of mark, and to exert a wide influence, whilst the vast multitude of men and women, the fathers and mothers, the workers and voters, have their literary training almost exclusively in those little one-storied buildings by the wayside, that rarely attract the traveller's notice except when they are more than usually shabby, or more than usually respectable. It is the education given here, so far as the public purse is concerned, that forms the common mind of our people, and determines the character, controls the will, and shapes the destiny of the American nation."\* The same writer proceeds to show that the education which the majority receive is most superficial, and he gives it as the result of his own experience in interviews with many thousands of children and youth, "that nine in ten of them are incompetent to read properly a paragraph in the newspaper, to keep a simple debt and credit account in a mechanic shop, or to write an ordinary business letter as to writing, spelling, or a grammatical expression of ideas."†

And this view is borne out by much of Dr Fraser's Report. He examined an infant school in New York, or what the Americans call a primary school. In these primary schools children sometimes remain until ten. The class examined were between the ages of nine and ten. They could read fairly, but in working very simple sums in arithmetic many gave wrong answers. And yet we read with astonishment that tens of thousands of children obtain in these schools all the instruction they ever receive, and that some leave school before they have finished the studies of the highest primary class. May we ask, and we do it without any exultation whatever, whether what is stated by the Honorary Secretary of the Birmingham League is borne out by the facts "that the Americans have secured what for years we have been striving after—a scheme by which the people are *soundly* and universally educated?" It is allowed by Dr Fraser that the condition of schools in America, as respects both the per-centage of attendance and the period of attendance, is no better than, hardly so good

\* "The number of pupils in the colleges, academies, and high schools of Pennsylvania, for example, does not exceed eight thousand, or one to eighty in the public schools; and in Ohio the former do not exceed three thousand six hundred, or one to one hundred and ninety-three in the public schools. The manners, habits, tastes, associations, and aspirations of the million (that do not originate at home) are to be traced to the daily public school."—*Daily Public School in the United States*, p. 15.

† "Daily Public School," &c., p. 11.

as, the average condition of schools among ourselves. "Of course (he writes, p. 95) this is no matter for exultation; but it may at least dispose us to acquiesce in a shortcoming which appears inevitable, and teach us that, under all systems, there will remain a mass of apathy, thriftlessness, and ignorance, against which it is certainly our duty to fight, but which it is vain to hope ever effectually to subdue." It will be found, we may be sure, in spite of the powers given under the "Elementary Education Act," impossible to do away altogether with the evils of truancy and absenteeism, the prevalence of which has been the plea for the overthrow of denominational schools. For it is the law of the United States that there shall be truant officers, and parents and guardians are bound under a considerable penalty to send their children to school; but the law is almost a dead letter, and Dr Fraser gives it as his opinion that, "as in England, so in America, truancy and absenteeism will continue to be the burden of bitterest lamentation to the philanthropist, and the burden of sorest mischief to the schools."\* It certainly may excite astonishment that we in England should have taken America as our model in the matter of schools. For whatever may be our shortcomings, and, doubtless, they are many, our schools may compare favourably in some respects with those in the States. Compare, for instance, the respectful, modest bearing of a well-conducted village, or even town school, such as that at Hursley, to which Mr Keble went every morning for several years from soon after 9 o'clock till 10 to give instruction in the Bible, with the tone of an American school as described by Dr Fraser. "The tone of an American school (he writes, in a passage which has been often quoted †), that *nescio quid* so hard to be described, but so easily recognised by the experienced eye, so soon felt by the quick perceptions of the heart, if not unsatisfactory, is yet incomplete. It is true that the work of the day (and this is by no means the universal rule) commences with the reading of the Word of God, generally followed by prayer. It is true that decorous if not reverent attention is paid during both those exercises, but the decorum struck me as rather a result or a part of discipline than as a result of spiritual impressions—'there was no face as it had been the face of an angel'—no appearance of kindled hearts." Indeed, he makes even more serious complaints, than against the tone of American schools, against their moral state. "I seemed to gather (he writes) from the general testimony which was offered me on all sides, that the prevailing vice of American school-boys is untruthfulness in one or other of its manifold forms. The Superintendent of Schools at New Bedford, Massachusetts, speaks of the frequency with which the most flagrant disregard of truthfulness is brought to his notice in cases of discipline referred to him; and expresses the conviction, painfully forced upon him, that the cause of good morals in the youth of the city is not keeping pace with the efforts to promote their intellectual progress. He dwells also upon what he calls an acknowledged evil in America—viz., disobedience and want of respect towards parents. "It was piteous and saddening to see (he writes) mothers coming to the office of the superintendent of schools to excuse or to complain of the truancy of their children—parents helpless to control the wills or even the caprices of lads of ten or eleven, or still younger years."

\* Cf. Fraser's Report, p. 35.

† Ibid., p. 179.

It is true that Dr Fraser tells us that the average American, and particularly the average American of the mechanic or labouring-class, stands on a vantage-ground in respect both of knowledge and intelligence as compared with the average Englishman ; but it may be asked, without for a moment disparaging their shrewdness and intelligence, whether there may not be a lack of other qualities as necessary for the well-being of a Christian man ? The author of the "Daily Public School in the United States," speaks of tokens of national degeneracy, as evidenced by the current literature, which he terms to a large extent "frothy, barren of thought, stimulating the imagination or the passions, and imposing no task upon the understanding." There is even a heavier indictment against America to be found in the pages of Mr Fraser's Report, for he quotes evidence of there being a great increase of crime in the States, especially of juvenile crime. This, too, may be gathered from a pamphlet which was published not many years ago in America, and reprinted in this country with the significant title, "Does the Common-School System Prevent Crime ?" The answer which the pamphlet contains goes to prove that, so far from preventing crime, the common-school system in America has apparently encouraged its growth ; at all events, that co-existent with this common-school system, there has been an immense increase of crime over the whole surface of the United States. If you look at the education reports of the various States, you will find it stated that parents are obliged to withdraw their children from the common schools, and either to educate them at considerable expense elsewhere, or keep them at great inconvenience at home. And why ? Because their children learned so much immorality and wickedness, because they find that the common schools exercise a corrupting influence. The consequence of all this is, as Dr Fraser allows, in many places that a strong reaction is setting in in America against these common schools, and that almost all the religious communities and persuasions are making vigorous efforts to supply their places of worship with voluntary schools on the denominational system, that very system we have now parted with.\*

Can we then expect that the effect of the Elementary Education Act will be the closing of our penitentiaries and prisons ? It is true we may take from the streets numbers of juvenile vagrants, and teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic, a little geography and chemistry, but being skilful in arithmetic will not make a child a good father, or a smattering of chemistry produce an honest servant. The only agency to prevent crime is religion, and that is just what the "Elementary Education Act" omits to insist upon. It is true it does not say, the Bible shall not be

\* "One serious objection, urged by many in excuse for not patronising the common schools is, that their children learn so much of immorality and wickedness."—*New York Report*, 1867.

"The Committee cannot but express their regret at what seems to be a growing disposition among a large class of our people to remove their children altogether from the public schools. We say this in no spirit of hostility to private schools. We appreciate the motives which prompt parents to withdraw their young children from what they fear to be the corrupting influence of the public schools."—*Massachusetts Report*, quoted by the Rev. J. Fraser.

"The advantages of the public schools are great, but the moral exposure they necessitate is fearful. It is questionable whether even boys should be subjected to them ; and as for placing pure-minded girls in the company of the coarse and vulgar in speech and behaviour, it is not to be thought of."—*Massachusetts Report*, 1868.

read, but it makes no due provision for it. In the Act no notice has been taken of religion, except in the way of prohibition and restraint. But supposing the Bible is read ; is it to be read as in America, without note or comment ? Even such Bible reading as this may not be utterly worthless. The gospels will still tell something of their story even to the simplest child. But how can we be sure that the words that pass through the child's lips, or through his ears, have in any degree whatever reached his understanding and his heart. Is this the way to teach little children to read the Bible, not to explain the least in the world what it means ? "Supposing a mother (asked the Bishop of Ely, in his speech at Luton) were to have her child sitting on her knee, and reading a chapter of the Bible, and the child was to turn round to its mother and say, What does this mean ? Would the mother say, I cannot tell you anything about it. Was that the way in which Philip taught the Eunuch ? He said, 'Understandest thou what thou readest ?' and the Eunuch answered, 'How can I, unless there be some one to guide me ?' Philip then taught him immediately of Christ ; and so would any Christian parent teach his child of Christ when he asked him the meaning of some passages of Scripture." Such explanation is not permitted in America. The author of the "*Daily Public School*" in the United States\* says, "We once put the question to the director of the public schools of one of our chief cities, whether he supposed a teacher would be justified, when rebuking a couple of boys for fighting, if he referred to the words of Christ touching our conduct under provocation, as the words of a divine being. He replied, that he was inclined to think it would not be allowed. And he adds, books teaching the doctrine of the endless punishment of the finally impenitent have been rejected times without number as contraband in these schools."

But supposing the Scripture is read, how is a teacher to avoid inculcating the spirit, if not the letter of religious catechisms and formularies. It may just be possible to convey without them some religious instruction, but it will be a matter of great difficulty, and will require much more than ordinary ability in the teacher, and also much more than ordinary capacity in the children. It will elevate each individual teacher, any young schoolmaster, in these rate-aided schools into a position for which he may be entirely unfit. It will leave the children at the mercy of one who may be unacquainted with the original language of Scripture, who may be unversed in theological learning, and who may teach his private belief, or private heresy, instead of the creeds of the Church.

What, then, ought to be our action at this crisis ? Plainly to do all we can to preserve our Voluntary, our Denominational, our Church schools, both in country and in town, to use vigorous efforts to support them. For, perhaps, when we have parted with them, we may be driven, as in America, to retrace our steps. But should this prove impossible, it may be well not to turn our backs upon the rate-aided schools, and to brand them at once as godless schools. It may be right, if the School Boards will admit us, to do what in us lies to give Bible teaching, without transgressing the Cowper-Temple Clause. It is said that, perhaps, the Apostle's Creed is not prohibited under the Act. Certain it is that the absence of all ministers of religion, from the common schools of America, is the sub-

\* "*Daily Public School*," p. 146.

ject of the bitterest lamentation. Under all circumstances, our duty becomes imperative to improve our Sunday schools, to catechise diligently in Church, and to raise up in middle class schools, and training schools, a well instructed and religiously minded body of school teachers.\*

### SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

The Rev. ROWLEY HILL, M.A., Vicar of St Michael's,  
Chester Square, read the following paper :—

It is now some few years since the Archbishop of Canterbury, in one of his charges as Bishop of London, put forward a statement of much importance as bearing upon the subject of Sunday-school instruction. He was alluding, as well as I remember, to the attitude of Dissent, and the way in which we should deal with it in our various parishes ; and he said that *the battle of the Church of England was to be fought in the Sunday-school*. I would fully endorse the truth of that statement ; for if there is one thing more than another which gives strength to the Nonconformists, it is the working of their Sunday-schools. It is not their preachers, for their men of power and influence are comparatively few. It is not their visitation, for to a great extent that is neglected. It is not their day-schools, for though within the last few years they have much improved, they are still very inferior in arrangement and teaching power. The real secret of their strength lies, more than anything else, in their organised system of Sunday-school work. All who will help from among the congregation are gathered into a devoted band of teachers ; their energies are concentrated on this one object ; they collect children from every quarter ; and, no matter what becomes of them in the week—whether educated in a Church-school or not—they are confident of wedding them to their system by the teaching and attractions of the Sunday-school. At the present moment, they have more than a million and a quarter children under such instruction. They are thus constantly exerting an influence on the coming generation. And I cannot but feel, merely looking at the matter in regard to Dissent, that it would have been the wisdom of the Church of England to exert the same zeal and energy for the furtherance of Sunday-school work.

But we have to take a far wider view of the subject. If it was true, some few years ago, in regard to Dissent, that the battle of the Church of England was to be fought in the Sunday-school, the statement has not lost its importance by the lapse of time, and the altered position in which we find ourselves in regard to the Education question. We have to resist energetically and without delay the attempt that is being made to eliminate from the education of the country all that is distinctive in religious teaching, all that we hold of special value in the doctrine of our Church. This is plainly the tendency of modern statesmanship. Gallio cares for none of these things. Pledged to carry out the secular education of the youth of

\* Before sitting down, may I be permitted to express my acknowledgments to the Secretary of the National Education Union, an association well worthy, in my opinion, of support, for several valuable pamphlets ; and also to Canon Cromwell for his courtesy in placing in my hands the last year's Reports on Education in the States of New York and Massachusetts.

the country, the State refuses to recognise the different forms of religious opinion, or to allow their interference in its own operations. The Bible, I take for granted, will always remain in our schools. I cannot believe it possible that, as a Church or as a Christian nation, we shall ever allow our children to be instructed without the Word of God. We should be unworthy of the Christian name, we should dishonour our high calling, as the Church of the land, did we ever consent to the removal of the Scriptures from the schools with which we have to do. But, after all, the Bible may remain; and yet, as is very much the case in day-schools in America, it may degenerate into a mere class-book. To have it read, or portions of it read, without comment as to its teaching, would be to make it like any other ordinary school manual. So far from inspiring reverence by its blessed precepts, it would more probably be regarded with indifference or dislike.

This being the state of the case, or at all events the tendency of things at present, there is a grand opportunity for the Church of England—nay, she is directly challenged to maintain her high position as the Church of the nation, and to undertake that in which the State declines to interfere—the religious instruction of the youth of the country. We may be sure that, if she neglects the opportunity, if she is slow to accept her responsibility in the matter, she will find a host of competitors only too zealous in undertaking the work. The Nonconformists will be ready enough to take advantage of her inactivity, and to teach their shibboleth wherever they can. It is for her, therefore, to put forward all her energies, to avail herself of all the means at her disposal, in order that she may take the lead in the religious education of England's children; and here, I venture to submit, she will find the value and importance of the Sunday-school.

We are not of course to suppose that the Sunday-school by itself is in any way sufficient to meet the requirements of the case, or that we can depend upon its teaching alone for the religious education of the children. The time is far too short, and the character of the instruction too uncertain, for us to depend upon it altogether. Other means must necessarily be employed. But we should remember that the changes taking place in regard to secular education must produce a change for the better in the Sunday-school. Hitherto the greatest hindrance to the teacher has been the admission of children who were unable to read, so that the time for better things has been often wasted on a spelling-lesson. The State, however, is now pledged to carry out secular education, and this difficulty will be removed. The time can be entirely devoted to spiritual instruction, and to imparting that religious knowledge which we feel to be so essential in the education of the young; and thus we shall find gradually increased the value of the Sunday-school.

Many objections have been made to this system of religious teaching, and it may be well to notice some of these before I go on to consider the advantages and present position of Sunday-schools. It is said, first of all, that *they interfere with the parents' responsibility, and lead them to neglect their duty to their children.* This is indeed a serious if a well-founded objection; but we must remember that the Church has her responsibility as well as the parents, and it will not do for us, while providing for the spiritual good of others, to forget the obligation we are under to impart sound religious instruction to the little ones of the community. If

the parents only realise their responsibility to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, so much the better. Nothing can be more blessed than to see a parent, by precept and example, on Sunday and week-day endeavouring to train his children for heaven. In such a case the work we aim at is being done. The Sunday-school is entirely voluntary, and where the religious education is attended to at home, we do not seek to interfere. But what is the fact? What about the thousands of children in our large towns upon the Lord's-day? If it were not for the Sunday-school how many would be utterly neglected? Parents who have not the fear of God before their eyes, and who have been engaged in hard labour up to late on Saturday, spend the greater part of the day asleep—they care little about their children, and what mischief they may fall into, provided they themselves are allowed to rest. Many, again, would be carried off on Sunday excursions. And what can be worse for children than the practice, so common in the present day, of families going off by rail at an early hour on Sunday morning, thrown on the streets of some seaport town, returning at night fagged and worn, the parents, perhaps, half intoxicated. This is no exaggeration; those who have had experience with our large populations know it to be the case. Surely, therefore, we are bound to collect these children for godly training in the Sunday-school, rather than suffer them to be neglected, and to fall into evil habits. It was this very condition of things in the city of Gloucester about ninety years ago; it was finding children thrown upon the streets on the Lord's-day that induced Mr Raikes to gather them together for instruction, and thus to commence the work of Sunday-schools in this country—a work which has extended its influence far and wide. But, again, it is said by those who object to the system, *Why not collect the children and bring them to church, and there catechise them?* By all means, I would say, bring them occasionally to the house of God and catechise them; but, in addition to the fact that we should lose the great amount of lay help given by teachers, it is not good for the children to do this every Sunday. Our great object should be to lead them to consider church-going as a real privilege and enjoyment, and we shall hardly succeed in this, if Sunday after Sunday they are made to attend the church-service, which few of them can enter into, and then to undergo catechising. Much better is it to make the Sunday-school the means for training them for the worship of God. Have a simple service for the children in the school-room every Sunday morning, with nice, bright singing, and a short address, illustrated and suited to their comprehension. Then once a month take them into church to have a special children's service and catechising. This would form the link between the church and the Sunday-school, the children would look forward to the occasion with the greatest pleasure, while the usual Sunday-afternoon instruction would not be lost.

It is further objected that *Sunday-school makes the Lord's-day irksome and a day of toil, instead of its being a day of rest and happiness to the children.* But the best answer to this objection is, that where a Sunday-school is well conducted there is invariably a large attendance of children, happy and delighted to come. If you make no difference between the Sunday and the week-day school; if you work by a system of cane and drill; if you employ the same teachers who are paid to instruct the children every day in secular matters, we can understand the whole thing

being considered irksome and a toil. But where there is a kind, judicious superintendent, where there is a devoted band of teachers, all taking an interest in their classes, and working voluntarily from the love of Christ, there is, as a rule, one result—the children count it a pleasure to gather together in numbers, and God's blessing rests upon the work.

But enough of these objections. Let me mention some of the advantages. Apart from the great blessing that it must be to the children themselves to receive regular weekly instruction from the Bible, and a knowledge of the things of God, there are certain undoubted benefits which result indirectly from the Sunday-school. In the first place, *it is of the greatest advantage to the clergy in their visiting and ministrations*. Nothing is more discouraging to a clergyman, when called to visit the sick or dying, than to find them unacquainted with the Scriptures, utterly ignorant, perhaps, of the first principles of divine truth. He is anxious to make the opportunity an occasion of blessing, but he hardly knows where to begin or what to do. So, too, at the time of Confirmation, how disheartening it is to have to deal with the ignorance of those who have neglected scriptural and religious teaching. It is impossible for a clergyman to do all that he desires or feels necessary in the limited time given for preparation. But this difficulty and discouragement is to a great extent met by the work of the Sunday-school. If nothing else is done, the seed is sown; there may be no apparent result at the time; the children may appear uninfluenced for good; they may be wild and wayward and thoughtless as ever, but in the lessons learnt, the instruction given, there is a great, though imperceptible, work being accomplished. The hearts of the little ones are being quietly prepared, and sooner or later the clergyman will reap the benefit. Another advantage of the Sunday-school is, *that it calls into active exercise much of the lay help in our congregations and parishes*. We have to thank God that the Church has awakened up to the importance of lay help and agency; and in what way can this lay help be more efficiently utilised than in connection with Sunday-school work? It is into this channel that the Dissenters throw nearly all the energies of their volunteer workers. In America, laymen of the highest position may be found teaching, and taking the deepest interest in the Sunday-schools. Nor are there wanting men in England of the highest rank to take the same unselfish interest in this great work. The names of the present Lord Chancellor, Sir Roundell Palmer, Lord Cairns, and others, will at once occur to us as of those whom even the cares of State and of Parliamentary life have not been able to withdraw from teaching in the Sunday-school. And would it not be a loss to the Church if she were unable or unwilling to accept the efforts of these devoted Christian men? It would be a greater loss still if she were unable to employ in this way the number of volunteers that are constantly arising out of the middle classes full of love and zeal for Christ, and anxious to work for His glory. A further indirect advantage of Sunday-schools is, *that they promote a right observance of the Lord's-day*. Many say that Sunday in England is not observed as it used to be—that the intercourse of late years with France and other continental nations has brought into this country a laxity in keeping the Sabbath-day holy, and a tendency to assimilate our Sunday to the Sunday of the Continent. But without entering into that, there is little doubt that, with God's blessing, children who are taught to reverence



the Lord's-day, and to regard it as an opportunity for real rest and the enjoyment of the worship of God, as they grow up will exert an influence for good. Sunday will be with them a sacred day ; and as the tide of evil sets in strong, we may look to those who have been instructed in our Sunday-schools to prevent in a measure the desecration of the Sabbath. Many other benefits will suggest themselves, as showing the importance of this system—how it is calculated to raise the moral tone of the nation, especially of the lower and middle classes, by advancing divine truth, and inculcating sound Church principles. This is what we need in the present day, when so much political power is being placed in the hands of these classes. We never should have any fear of the extension of the suffrage if we felt sure that our population was morally fit to exercise it.

But I must hasten to bring before you the present position of Sunday-schools in America and other parts, as this, perhaps, more than anything else, will show the advantage of the work. In the United States of America, where the week-day education is almost exclusively secular, and where mission-work amongst adults is beset with special difficulties, they have concentrated all their efforts upon the young, and the Sunday-school occupies, perhaps, the highest place in their Christian activities. It is calculated that they have at the present time under Sabbath teaching upwards of 4,000,000 of children, with a staff of about 400,000 teachers. These are large numbers, but we must bear in mind that whereas we only receive the children of the middle and lower classes, they have in their Sunday-schools numbers from the upper class of society. No pains are spared to bring the little ones under Christian instruction. The school-rooms are arranged and fitted in the most perfect manner. They have libraries, and music, and good prizes, and picnics—everything, in short, to attract the children ; while among their teachers they have many ladies and gentlemen of the highest social position. But that which has done most for them in the furtherance of the work is the employment of Sunday-school missionaries—men and women who go out with instructions to visit every house systematically, and collect children, or, at all events, report their names, and those of people who are likely to assist. One of these missionaries reported at a State Convention :—"I have been engaged in this cause seventeen years ; it was once dangerous to be known in my region as a Sunday-school man. How glorious the change ! I have organised 1124 new Sunday-schools, re-organised 2000 more, and gathered into the Sunday-schools over 50,000 who were never there before."

In turning to the Continent of Europe, where Sunday-school work is comparatively a recent institution, there is little to tell, but that little shows how much this system of Sunday instruction is being appreciated. I allude only to the Protestant Churches, for, as far as I am aware, the only Sunday-schools (I mean, as we understand the term) to be found in the Roman Catholic Church are in the diocese of Milan. As far back as 1580, Carlo Borromeo, the good Archbishop, established them throughout the whole of his diocese. Had they extended farther he must undoubtedly have been considered the founder of the system ; but it is interesting to know from the report of one who visited the work, that these Sunday-schools are still in a flourishing condition. Looking, however, at the Protestant Churches on the Continent, we find that in France, though

there were only 150 schools in the year 1851, there were before the late terrible war nearly 900. Some of these, I am sorry to say, as, for instance, at Strasbourg, were completely swept away. In Holland, there were in the year 1867, 271 schools, 729 teachers, and 24,000 scholars. In the return of this year, there were 465 schools, 1501 teachers, 47,813 scholars, showing a very large extension of the work. In Germany, the missionary in connection with the Sunday-School Union reports that there are 145 schools, with 1860 teachers, and 22,988 children, and (what is particularly to be remarked) that in connection with every one of these schools there is a teachers' weekly preparation-class. All this (and I might put before you the statistics of work in other countries) shows the growing interest that is taken in Sunday-schools, and the importance attached to them in different parts of the world.

It remains for me to offer a few practical suggestions for the more efficient working of the Sunday-school system in the Church of England.

1. First of all, *we must endeavour to gather together all the children we can*. We must emulate the zeal of the Nonconformists in this respect. How many children there are coming to our day-schools of whom we see nothing on the Sunday! How many we may find in our parishes who have little or no religious instruction! These children have only to be looked up, and they may be brought into the Sunday-school. Where it can be done, the visitation of the teachers is the most effectual method. The parents then feel that they take a real interest in them. But, as they are so often prevented doing this by the occupation of the week, I would suggest the adoption of the American system. To have some special agent or missionary, whose heart is thoroughly in the work, to go out with the register on the Monday morning to look after absentees and to gain fresh scholars. The politician who is wise in his generation, to strengthen his party, says "Register, register." I would say the same to the clergy, and those who have to do with Sunday-schools. It will contribute greatly to the strength of the Church of England.

2. Again, *we must do all in our power to make the teaching thoroughly efficient*. At present this is by far the weakest point in the work. Many are engaged as teachers who are quite unfit; but there is no reason why they should not make good teachers, if only they were carefully trained, and supplied with a suitable course of lessons for instruction. This rests mainly with the clergyman. He should seek out, first of all, a good superintendent. He should then be very careful in the selection of his teachers, though I am well aware that sometimes (particularly in the country) he is obliged to take what he can get. But even where the material is very raw indeed, we need not be without hope that the instruction may become efficient, if there is a regular weekly meeting of the teachers carefully to prepare the lessons for Sunday. The clergyman can then choose his own course of instruction; and, without doing all the work for the teacher, he can give suggestions, and help on those that require it, in such a way as speedily to insure very fair teaching on the Lord's-day. I may add, that the practice of giving model lessons—that is, a teacher of experience giving a lesson to a class before the other teachers, and afterwards answering their questions and criticism, is an invaluable mode of improving the teaching in the school. This and other plans may be adopted; but, for the advance of Sunday-school work, the teaching must be efficient.

3. Further, *we should seek to establish throughout the Church of England a grand Sunday-school organisation.* It is the American Sunday-School Union which has done so much to help on the work amongst our transatlantic brethren. It is the Sunday-School Union which has done so much of late years for furthering the cause on the Continent. The Church of England Sunday-School Institute has been our great, our only, help to this work in the Church. It supplies magazines, lesson-papers, and assistance of every kind. But how many parishes have nothing to say to it! I am glad to say, that on September 25, at Sion College, there was a meeting held to organise the union of all the Sunday-schools in the metropolis. Why not have the Sunday-school system organised in every diocese throughout England? Would it not be a grand matter to have diocesan inspectors to report specially upon this branch of religious education? Why should there not be a quarterly gathering of teachers in every rural deanery? A yearly meeting, too, of teachers in the Cathedral town, or some central point of the diocese, similar to the assembly of choral societies? All these would go far to produce a grand union, and, in furthering the good cause of Sunday-schools, to strengthen the Church of England.

4. Yet once more, if I may be allowed to say so, *we should look for the kind, cordial, personal interest of our Bishops in the work.* I believe that the presence of our Diocesan from time to time in the Sunday-school, an occasional visit, if only to say a kind word and to encourage by his appearance, would do much to stimulate both the teachers and the scholars. We are not yet so radical that we do not love and respect our Bishops, that we are not cheered and encouraged by their presence in our midst. The occasion of Confirmation shows how generally it is appreciated by every class. We must look for the support and co-operation of our Diocesan.

But, lastly, and, above all, we must look higher still, we must take our cause to the throne of God's grace. We have to do with One who, in His love for the work with children, said, "Suffer the little ones, and forbid them not to come unto Me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." If He is with us, we need not fear as to the result of the work. "The Lord hath been mindful of us, and He will bless us. The Lord shall increase you more and more, you and your children."

#### ADDRESS.

The Rev. Prebendary MACDONALD, Chaplain of the Locke Hospital, London, read the following:—

My subject is—"The Necessity of Sunday-Schools, especially at the Present Crisis, and the best means of rendering them efficient."

I will not spend time in enforcing the necessity of care for the religious training of the young in an assembly whose members own the authority of a Master, whose charge, almost His last, to His disciples was, "Feed my lambs." Nor need I urge much in proof that the necessity has become more urgent in consequence of recent legislation, and of some facts which are characteristic of our time.

It is said to be an age of progress, and doubtless it is so within the horizon of present and material things. The advance of scientific discovery, and its practical application to multiply the conveniences and comforts of mankind, are beyond all former

experience; but, side by side with this advance, there is an active element of our civilisation which is working wide-spread mischief, and which threatens to make our advance a progress downwards. It is that element *which makes man everything, and God nothing*, and which, while it delights to magnify the future of our race, *ignores the future of the individual*.

It cannot be denied that an atheistic philosophy is making itself felt in every sphere of influence upon the national mind. Its evil leaven is at work in our schools and places of learning, as well as in the workshops of our artisans; its voice is heard with deference in the counsels of our Legislature; nay, it sometimes dares to lift its head in the very pulpits of our land.

I know not how the facts may strike minds of wider and deeper ken; but to me, who am not a philosopher, but only a believer in the Bible, I confess they wear a most alarming aspect.

When institutions are profanely outraged which for long ages were held sacred as "ordained of God"—when a growing impatience of all authority, divine and human, is manifest among all classes—when men are asserting their claim to be wiser not only than their fathers, but than their Maker, and it is discovered that it is not "righteousness," but something else that "exalteth a nation"—when the knowledge of our relation and duty to GOD, our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, is no longer deemed a necessity in the people's education, and the ideal child of the State is a child without religious principle—when eminent representatives of science leave their own province gratuitously to insult religion, and, disdaining to reason, ridicule Christian faith as a credulity, and tell us (as a leader among them has lately done) that it is as wise to expect water to run up-hill as to believe in the efficacy of prayer—when it is proclaimed by authority that NOT GOD, BUT THE MAJORITY, is to decide what the religion of the people shall be—then I think it is superfluous, with men who represent the Church of God, to argue that it is high time for us to forget our lesser differences, and unite heart and soul, if it be not too late, to raise some breakwater that, in God's mercy, may arrest and turn back the flood of ungodliness which is rising all around us.

Among the agencies which are most readily available, and which may be most widely and effectively used for this purpose, a foremost place belongs to Sunday-schools, and the plans which may be associated with them.

I say this, not so much because of their past history, as of what they are capable of becoming in the future.

Sunday-schools have not, indeed, been a failure. They have borne excellent fruit, yet that fruit is scanty compared with the labour expended.

They had their origin seventy-five years ago in the compassionate efforts for outcast children, of Raikes of Gloucester. Since then their fitness has been widely recognised, and they have become almost universal. The census of 1851 reported 318,000 Sunday-school teachers in England and Wales. Their number now may be estimated at 400,000; and yet it remains true that nine-tenths of the working-classes never enter a place of religious worship; and it is also true that these persons, who, as adults, are neglecters of all religion, have, for the most part, passed through the Sunday-school.

Facts like these must make us think with humiliation rather than complacency of our work of religious education in the past.

Henceforth the Sunday-school must hold a new and more important place in our parochial plans than it has had hitherto; for it is no longer to be merely a supplement to the religious teaching of the day-school. *It may soon have to stand alone.*

For the present, indeed, Christian men have prevailed so far, that religious teaching *may be permitted* in the day-schools of our country; but with recent facts before our eyes, it would be folly to assume that this privilege will long remain *even to our own parish schools, notwithstanding that the good faith of the nation was pledged when they were built for their perpetuity as religious schools.*

We must contend, while we may, for every shred of opportunity to teach and enforce

in our day-schools that morality of the first and great commandment, which is the sole root of all other morality, and without which all other is but a name; but we must, I think, be prepared to find ourselves excluded some day from day-schools supported by the State.

The repudiation by the State of its obligations in respect of the religious principles of her children seems to me a national folly and a national crime: that which the law has now made possible—the prohibition by local authority of all mention of God and His Word in public elementary schools, I dread as a public calamity; but the facts must be accepted. The Sunday-school may probably become almost our only opportunity for the religious training of the youth of our country; and it is therefore now more than ever our imperative duty to make it as thoroughly efficient an instrument for this purpose as possible.

And a very efficient instrument we may make it if we will. It is an organisation ready to our hand. Within its walls we have, or may have, the children under our influence for a considerable part of their early life without fear of any State prohibition of our teaching. The authority and influence of the parents is also with us, so far as the attendance of the children is concerned; for the generality of English parents, though themselves without religion, do not desire that their children should be so; and thus it happens that, while we have little hold upon the adult working-people, we may have and keep a strong hold upon their offspring.

The parents of to-morrow are the children of to-day, and are in our hands; and by means of the Sunday-school and its associated plans, if we will we may act with powerful effect, by God's blessing, on the next generation.

*This is now the Church's great opportunity*; but it is "*Now or never*;" the opportunity will soon be past, for the children will soon be children no longer. If we now fail to get hold of them for Christ and His Church, they will very soon have passed beyond our reach. The church and the school will seek them *then* in vain. They will be found in the tap-room, and the music-hall, and the theatre, and worse.

I have now to offer a few suggestions as to the best means of making our Sunday-schools really efficient.

I. The teacher must ever keep *the object of his work* full in his view.

*His object* is just that of a Christian parent; for we seek in Sunday-schools to do that for the children which is primarily the parents' duty, and which becomes ours only because the parents are negligent or incapable of its due discharge.

Now, the faithful parent will not be content that his child should become outwardly respectable, and a confirmed and communicant member of the Church. This, indeed, he desires, but in outward profession and decorum he knows there is no security for spiritual life or the Christian character of after years.

As I review my parochial register for twenty years, it is lamentable to see the large proportion of confirmed persons who in later life have disowned the covenant of their baptism and their confirmation-day, and whose Christless and unholy lives prove that they do not "*abide in Him*."

The true teacher, as the faithful parent, will long to see the marks of a true turning of the heart to Christ from the world and sin, that, like young Timothy, the child may "*know the Holy Scriptures*," and by them become "*wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus*;" or, after a nobler Pattern, that, having been with his teachers in the temple courts, he may go down and be reverently subject to his parents, and while he grows in stature, may grow "*in wisdom and in favour with God and man*;" that he may make it his delight to do his heavenly Father's will, and at last find his home with his great Pattern and Lord, in the mansions of his Father's house.

THIS, and NOTHING LESS THAN THIS, and THIS ALWAYS, must be the aim of the Christian teacher.

II. The teaching, to accomplish its object, must be *instructive, attractive, and faithfully applied* to its purpose.

*To be instructive it must be catechetical.* The lessons best suited to a Sunday-school

seem, *first*, the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the narratives of the Old Testament, and then our admirable Church Catechism, the Order of Confirmation, and the Liturgy. The teacher will be a teacher indeed, just in so far as he becomes skilful in the art of catechising on this basis. Archbishop Usher most truly has said, "The neglect of catechising is the frustrating of the whole work of the Christian ministry."

But the scholars must be *interested* while they are taught. The teaching must have the charm which well-chosen illustrations never fail to give. These the diligent teacher will find in the narratives of Holy Scripture, in the analogies of nature and Providence, in the use of such anecdotes as are apposite *and true*, and in the stores of his own observation and experience.

And the teaching must be *spiritual*, and *faithfully applied* to the great purpose the teacher has in view. For this end, his own heart must be full of his theme and fired with love to His Saviour, and to the souls of the scholars whom that Saviour has committed to his trust to teach and train for Him.

The peculiarities of their individual characters must be his study. He must ascertain what their dangers and temptations are, who their companions, under what influences they live and work, where and how they spend their leisure time; and in view of all that he can find out about them, he must watch for occasion,—Sunday and week-day,—to point the sacred lessons of religion to each with a wise and loving care, and to enforce them on his conscience and heart.

He must seek to "walk worthy" of his high vocation, and to live always in the spirit of the inspired maxim, "He that winneth souls is wise."

Above all, *he must take heed not to be in God's work without God.*

The teacher must be in living intercourse with Him in whose work he is engaged. Day by day he must make mention of his scholars at the throne of grace; and all his work he must do with uplifted heart, remembering that no amount of skill or diligence can command success; that "it is God that giveth the increase."

III. Such teaching implies *much careful preparation*; for *teaching is a sacred art*, and not a gift only.

Archbishop Whately said that of all the books he had written, none cost him so much thought and labour as those he wrote for the use of children; and labour and thought, as well as prayer, our teachers must be prepared to pay as the price of any really valuable contact with the children's minds.

In this work they have a right to look for direction and help to their ministers, and of this I am very sure, that for the ends of his own ministry a faithful pastor will find no toil more productive than that which he expends in seeking to fill his schools with earnest and well-instructed teachers, who shall be masters of the art of catechising, and wise to win young hearts to heavenly things.

The pastor, who is instructive and full of spiritual life in the teacher's class, and as a catechiser in his schools, can scarcely fail to be well-furnished and simple and effective as an expositor of Holy Scripture.

IV. *The responsibility of the religious care of our young people must be acknowledged as belonging, not to a small section of the communicants, but to the whole Church.*

The opinion seems to prevail, that the duties of Sunday-schools belong only to persons who have much leisure, and that for their discharge inferior gifts and education will suffice. This is a mistake which must be fatal to any large success of our schools so far as it prevails.

It is to every member of the Church, and not only to a few more earnest ones, that the Master speaks, "Lovest thou me? feed my lambs:"—"Whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me." And when the character and object of the work and the claims of the Master whose work it is, and who gave His own life to promote it, come to be understood aright, His Church's offering will not consist of the refuse talent which remains after the world's demands have been met. Christ's work in human souls will be accounted of more value than gold or luxury or place; and to it the best talent and cultivation and practical energy of His disciples will be consecrated.

V. I am convinced that, if the results of our work are to remain, *we must establish classes for the elder scholars in separate class-rooms and under qualified teachers.*

The capital defect of our organisation, and the capital failure of our work, are here. It is in the years from fourteen and upwards that we lose our hold of our scholars; and it is precisely in those years that our teaching and influence are most necessary, for it is then that their character is taking its final mould, and it is then that the influences from within and without are most active and powerful, by which so commonly their future is determined for evil.

For lack of such an agency to watch and hinder the growth of thorns, much good seed planted with earnest care has been lost, and many precious souls have slipped away from all Christian influence, into downward paths of folly and vice, whose end is destruction.

Our real success will be found, not in the character of our scholars while in the schools, but after they have passed the school age, and are in the business and temptations of life.

If we would not "lose those things which we have wrought," we must have such classes in separate class-rooms, under wise and able and loving teachers, who will devote themselves, by God's grace, to pilot our elder scholars through this most critical period of their lives.

VI. Lastly, *A link of living influence must be established between the schools and the homes of the children.*

This, too, is a vital matter; for in the children's homes the chief hindrances or helps to our work are found. Hitherto they have been, for the most part, hindrances. But we may make the parents our friends and helpers in caring for their children.

*I am perfectly convinced we may win the working-classes if we will.* They have become alienated—the truth must be told—they have become alienated through our past neglect. Our religion has failed to influence them, because they have had so little contact with its earnest and loving representatives. Distance has produced, first, estrangement, then suspicion, and then (often) hostility. The Sunday-schools furnish us with excellent occasion to counterwork and remove this great evil. As we come near to the people, with the message and in the spirit of our gracious Master, they will recognise us as friends and brothers, and all suspicion and prejudice will give place to confidence and love.

If we will go to their homes, as the friends and teachers of their children, we may win them. They welcome us when they know we come simply on this errand of love; and the more earnest and self-denying our love, they will welcome us the more.

Times of sorrow, too, are ever occurring, which are golden opportunities. They open an avenue for the coming in of an influence better than that of politician or demagogue; and if we will but seize the occasion, in our Master's name and spirit, to exert that influence, it may be—in very many cases it will be—of life-long and transforming power.

► The homes of the children will thus be reached and blessed through the schools, and these in their turn will become tenfold prosperous by the concurrence of parental authority and home influence.

I know that my suggestions involve cost and difficulty. But the enterprise of *Eng-shmen* is not daunted but stimulated by difficulty, if only they have made up their minds to succeed; and *Christians* will not fail to remember that He whose work this is, has given us his pledge that the mustard-seed Faith shall remove the mountain Difficulty.

In such works as these it is that the Church's health and usefulness, and the true safety of the nation, will be found; and if the effect of our counsels in these assemblies be to send us back, clergy and laity, to our parishes, ashamed for our past neglect, and prepared, God helping us, to do our best henceforth to make our religion the religion of the people, the results we long for will not fail to come. Instead of a wide-spread sense of insecurity, "knowledge and wisdom shall be the stability of our times;" the power of strong drink to enslave and embrate our people will be broken; the scoffs and scorn of

a socialist scepticism will be pointless and impotent ; the public ear will no longer be polluted by the treason and blasphemies of Communistic demagogues ; the wicked pretensions of ecclesiastical tradition to usurp the place of "the oracles of God" will be held in abhorrence ; and the glare of theatrical and Romish ceremonies will cease to be mistaken for Christian worship. Then, in the hearts and homes of England, religion will find a better and a more enduring, though not a more rightful, establishment than in England's laws. All men will see the proof that man's Maker is his Redeemer too, and that the true "Saviour of Society" is neither warrior nor politician nor philosopher, but that alone Saviour of mankind who is both "the power of God and the wisdom of God." Then we shall have found, what is still (so far as the masses are concerned) "the missing link" between England's Church and England's people.

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### DISCUSSION.

The Rev. CANON MELVILLE, of Worcester.

THERE is for the Church of England, in this matter of education, a crisis so important and so momentous, that I think the Principal of King's College spoke straight to the opinion and feeling of this Congress, in passing from other subjects to those in the direction of which the duty of the Church lies under present circumstances. It is on one of those I wish to say a few words. We all went with every word uttered by the Principal of King's College, and regretted those we did not hear. There was one point, however, on which he awoke our anxiety,—but, I confess for my own part, he did not delay our anxiety,—and that was with regard to religious teaching in School Board schools, and this question of the Church being committed to them. Some persons on the London School Board, and the majority of the members of the School Board of the place in which we sit—with one of the most prominent of the ecclesiastics of this town in the chair—have committed the Church to the School Board system ; and surely if that means anything, it means this, that they are determined, honestly to the Church, to try and impregnate the National system with religious truth, as far as it admits of it, and neither to strain nor to evade the provisions of the Act itself. Now, it is that one point of religious instruction, based on positive religious truth, on which I wish to speak. The London School Board—to which many of the School Boards in the country naturally look for guidance—has got as far as this. The principles of morality, without religion, are like a skeleton without its backbone : they have nothing on which to rest. I want to know what is the backbone of that system, and I do not think there need be any doubt about it. I do not leave it to the vague expression of "Bible teaching," for in that case there would be found to be no backbone, and it would soon fall asunder. Of course, the moonshine of reading only, without note or comment, is altogether to be discredited, and there must be a substantial line laid down somewhere. One more point ; what are we going to do with our training colleges ? Our young men are free, when they have passed through them, to pass out into the educational departments of the world. We can bind them by no legal tie, and I do not think any training college would impose a moral restraint to retain them ; and if this is so, into what are they to pass ? Considering the short time they are under the training system from which they come, if they have no chart and compass to guide them, that teaching must be eccentric or nerveless, according to the characteristics of the teacher. Let me then say a word as to what is before the Church.

Clause 2, of the 14th section of the Educational Act, contains that which many people hate, and many people fear ; but let us see what it admits and what it excludes. Do not lose a letter of it. Most persons, when they quote it, drop certain words ; but let us see if we cannot—I believe we can—fashion some definite religious scheme of teaching upon it,—a scheme which should be the backbone of religious teaching itself, and which will



give some support and guidance to the teachers that we are going to send forth. I can now, under the admonition of his Lordship, only summarise the interest which I think lies in this question—I cannot argue it—I think thus alone shall we rescue the Church from a Denominational attitude in contrast with a National attitude. The School Board is a National institution. I think thus alone shall we rescue our training colleges as training colleges. Mark you, if we do not rescue them and apply them to this use—recollect the nation is supplying 75 per cent. of this maintenance—I am afraid they will dwindle into much smaller dimensions than they now assume. Not only so, but it is through this alone that we can rescue the national education of this country—(more or less when School Boards agree as to a system)—from that cold and cheerless secularism which has been brought about by the listless attitude of some, and the determined opposition of others, who are not ashamed to avow that they would rather sacrifice the religious teaching of the nation, than support the influence of the Church, however incidental that influence may be. Only by thus giving it definite form and substance can we rescue it. Lastly and finally, thus only, I think, can we impart the light and life of religion to those dark masses on whom so much of the well-being of our country depends, and who, if they do not get this teaching through the National school-room, will never get it at all.

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REV. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A., Vicar of Tollex Fratium cum  
Wyndford Eagle, Dorset.

MY Lord, we are all educators; we are educating either for good or for evil, and we are all interested in the subject of education; for Bacon has well remarked, that the heart of man is not like an island, cut off from all other lands, but like a continent, uniting them together. My Lord, I think we should all be deeply interested in this cause of education, and, in every way in our power, promote it; and, as the incumbent of a small country living in Dorsetshire, all I can say is this, we only want a little more compulsory power, and then, so far as our organisation is concerned, we would want nothing more. My Lord Bishop of Salisbury has rather set his face against School Boards in our diocese, and therefore we have only one, and that in the city of Salisbury itself.

We have to learn lessons from the various nations on the subject of education. We learn lessons from the Continent; and, I think, one lesson we may learn from the Continent is this, to drill our boys; and another is to make sick-nurses of our girls; and another is to extend our education more largely. Every man, woman, and child is bound to obey the law; and, therefore, every man, woman, and child ought to be taught to read the law. Consequently from the Continent we learn this lesson, to extend our education as far as possible.

Then we ask what may we learn from America? I say we may learn to put up new school-rooms. The nations differ very much in the setting up of a new colony. The first thing that the French people do when they set up a new colony, is to build a theatre, or an opera-house. With the Spanish people the first thing is a cathedral, or a church. When the Englishman sets up a new colony, the first thing that he puts up is a gin-palace, or a beer-house; and when the American sets up a new colony, the first thing he puts up—and that, the finest building in the town—is a school. Another lesson we may learn from America, is this, to *furnish* our schools better. I heard from a gentleman the other day, who had visited America, that when he went into a Sunday-school there, he saw a large and spacious room, beautifully furnished. In the middle of the room there was a fountain, from which was gushing crystal water. Ottomans were placed round the sides, and the room was beautifully carpeted; and under that refining influence the Americans are being educated.

Then, my Lord,—if you will pardon me for alluding to our poor sister island,—I think we may learn a lesson from Ireland, and that is to teach our young people needlework.

I was rejoiced in my heart the other day when Mr Disraeli said, that in the contest for needlework which was open to the whole world, the British needlewomen won all the first prizes ; but when they came to analyse the list, they found that all the British needlewomen were Irishwomen.

I have only one minute more. Well, then, I will devote that one minute to one thing. We have heard of Stowe's system of object lessons. Now, we have lately had an object lesson in Christian charity, which all would do well to imitate, given to us in Scotland. We have heard of the mitre being rather stiff, but when it passes from South to North, it appears to be rather elastic, and then becomes the Glengarry cap of liberty ; and you will pardon my saying that we have learned a lesson thence of sweet brotherly love well worthy of imitation.

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REV. EDWARD HOARE, M.A., Vicar of Trinity Church,  
Tunbridge Wells.

I SHOULD not have ventured to send in my card if it had not been for a wish to state one or two facts that came under my observation last autumn in America. We have heard a good deal of education in America as a pattern for English education. I wish to state one fact that I saw myself—a mere specimen fact let it be remembered—as to what is real secular education in America. I visited in New York the most beautiful school that I ever saw in my life. It was recommended to me as the best school in New York. I never saw children more beautifully trained ; I never saw a prettier sight. I talked to those children after they had gone through their evolutions about geography, about history, about writing and arithmetic, and at length I told them that on the following Saturday I was to return to the old country. I asked the question how I was to return. They immediately said, "Across the Atlantic." I next asked the question, "How?" The answer was, of course, "By the steamer." But one sharp little boy in another school told me "by a bridge," which would have been a most satisfactory mode of travelling to a bad sailor. However, they told me it was by the steamer. I then said, "It is true ; but I remember one person who could walk upon the waves, and who needed no boat to carry Him," upon which the most excellent mistress turned round to me and said, "I deeply regret to say, sir, that such a question must not be permitted." I spoke to that woman afterwards. She was a conscientious Christian school-mistress, and she said to me, "I never stopped anybody with greater regret, but our school is under the government of the politicians—of Jews and Roman Catholics—and I dare not permit the mention of such a subject." She asked me about our English schools. I told her that we depended upon our English school-mistresses to teach of Christ and to teach the Scriptures ; and the poor woman burst into tears and said to me, "Oh, what would I give to be the mistress of such a school as that !" The next question that I considered carefully in America was whether they gave a more extensive education or not than we do in England. I can only give you a specimen case. About four years ago the National Society published certain statistics about education, and they then stated the fact that in 1858 we were educating in England 1 out of every 7½ of the population. Remember the numbers thirteen years ago. There has been great progress made since, but it was then 1 out of 7½. I carefully investigated the subject in Philadelphia, which is supposed to be the best governed city in the States, and Philadelphia is where the movement first began. I found there a population of eight hundred thousand (800,000) persons. Some said a million, but none of them trusted the census. I then examined into the number of the schools, and according to the comptroller's report, I found that of the 800,000 there were only eighty thousand (80,000) in the public schools—that is to say, that while in England there was 1 out of 7½, in Philadelphia there was not more than 1 out of 10. I obtained the comptroller's report in Philadelphia, and I found it there stated that there were no less than twenty thousand (20,000) children who ought to be under education, but who were not

under education in consequence of the poverty, or the sin, of their parents. I therefore came to the conclusion that in the point of numbers they gained nothing by sacrificing the great principles of Christian truth.

My next point was to consider, and to examine, whether (as far as I was able to judge in a short visit) the education there given in the elementary schools was superior to our own, and the conclusion at which I arrived was this, without the smallest hesitation, that I believe my own children in Tunbridge Wells—and I speak of them because they are the only children I thoroughly know—would pass a far better examination in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, than the children which I saw in the best schools to which I could be introduced in Philadelphia. I make one exception. There was one school that differed from all the rest. There was one school that satisfied my mind more than any other, and that was a school conducted by voluntary philanthropy, and entirely upon Christian principles. Now, I do not hesitate for one moment to say, that I believe the intellect was better drawn out upon secular subjects in that Christian school than it was in the common schools maintained by the State; and now I have one other fact to mention—and I really should scarcely like to mention it in the ears of my transatlantic friends, for I fear it would give them pain—that school which to my mind was the best taught of any that I could see in Philadelphia, was a school which Christian people had established for the negroes. And now, one other fact as to the Government. Let me read, during my three minutes, just one short extract from the *Press*, a leading paper in Philadelphia. “In the Democratic wards,” I find this statement, “keepers of taverns and small politicians form the bulk of the Board of Directors. Unlettered men, as they generally are, they are at the best prejudiced against education and advancement, if not utterly neglectful of the schools under their jurisdiction. The choice of teachers, instead of being controlled by the fitness of the applicant, depends simply upon his or her political complexion; or, still more frequently, upon the depth of his purse. There is no redress for the evil so long as the choice of the directors of the school is in the hands of the people. A change must be made, and that very speedily, if the best interests of our children and the happiness of succeeding generations would be subserved.”

Now then, what is our conclusion?—whatever it costs us, whatever labour, whatever gifts, whatever patient self-denial and prayer, Christian men and Christian Churchmen must combine their whole strength in maintaining the principle that whatever is omitted, the Word of God shall never be set aside, and whatever name is taught, there is one Name that shall never be forgotten,—the Name that is above every name, the sweet Name of Christ, the only Name that will ever awaken the intellect, stimulate the conscience and warm the affections, either of the parent or of the child.

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REV. HENRY T. EDWARDS, B.A., Vicar of Carnarvon, said:—

I SHALL dwell, in a very few words, upon the aspects which the Education question present in the country from which I come. You are all aware that dissent prevails very strongly in Wales. I need not dwell upon the causes that have produced it, but they are well known. The Dissenters form a majority of the population, and when the Education question became so prominent last year, an effort was made by the leaders of political dissent in Wales to prove that the mass of religious dissenting people in Wales were hostile to the Church schools. We endeavoured to disprove that, by collecting the following statistics, showing that there is a number of towns in North Wales where there is both a Church and a British school, side by side, where the British school has for many years been virtually a secular school. Now, by carefully prepared statistics, we were able to prove that in every one of those towns—where the majority of the people are Dissenters—the Church school was more popular than the British school. For instance, in my own town of Carnarvon, in a school which has accommodation for 1200 children—out of 900 in regular attendance 400 are the children of Dis-

senters, although there is a Dissenting school—a good handsome building—half empty within 150 yards of the Church school. I will only say that while the Board schools profess to give an unsectarian education, it is the most sectarian in its real essential nature, for it carries the principle of division not only into the outward life of the school, but it carries the work of division into the very inmost parts of man's being, by dividing the education of the intelligence from the education of the spiritual conscience. We all know that the struggle on the Education question has been a struggle between the Church and Dissent as to which is to be regarded as the true mother of education. Now I venture to say, that we find the answer to the question in the judgment of Solomon. Dissent has professed her readiness—in order to obtain possession of the child—to have that child divided asunder; but the Church has taken the other ground, and in doing so I think she has proved herself to be the true mother of education in this country. I believe that the reason why the Church schools in Wales are more popular than Dissenting schools is this—that they have a superior tone, and parents appreciate that superior tone as the result of religious training; and the practical conclusion I would draw is this—that in the struggle the religious vitality which exists in our denominational schools will enable them to prevail over all the rivalries of the Board Schools.

### Rev. Precentor VENABLES.

As the time is so very short, I shall not attempt to read the paper I had prepared upon the present condition of Education in Italy. Lessons have been drawn from education in America, and there are two lessons that I will draw from education as I saw it in Italy. You are aware that in no country in Europe, nor even in Spain, was education, ten years ago, in so low a state as it was in Italy. Italy was startled, in 1862, in finding, when the census was taken, that out of 22,000,000 of people 17,000,000 were *analfabeti*, i.e., could neither read nor write. So that out of every twenty-two individuals only five were possessed of that elementary knowledge. In no country in Europe has a greater and more successful effort been made. Italy, from north to south, is now covered with excellent schools. I visited many of them myself in some of the largest towns in Northern Italy, and I found that, as far as secular education went, they were excellent, and I often desire that in schools of our own country the education might be as good as I found it there. But in one essential point to which our attention has been directed to-day, the contrast is lamentably to the disfavour of Italy. Religious instruction, it is true, is enforced in the primary schools, in which the children remain for five years, but it is given by the master, who, in Milan—where I found the best secular schools—was too often a clever young sceptic, who, because he was forced to do so, instructed the children in the Catechism of the diocese, and what was called Scripture History, but which was really nothing but a dry summary of Biblical facts. He gave the instruction because he was forced to do so; but, as the directors of several of those schools lamented to me, he very frequently and openly professed his contempt of what he was teaching—ridiculing the biblical facts that he had to instruct the children in, and paving the way for their future infidelity by suggesting doubts and difficulties. As a rule, the parish priest is not allowed an entrance into the schools in Italy. It was a terrible statement which was made to me by some of the directors and the educational authorities in Milan, that “to admit the parish priest into their schools was to admit the wolf into the sheepfold,” so entirely in the mind of the enlightened Italians is the priest connected with retrograde movements against progress and enlightenment. In Florence, the parish priest is admitted on Saturdays to conduct the religious education of the children, but the plan does not work well, so great is the apathy of the parochial clergy there—so great their indifference, so low their moral character, and so very low their educational standard—that even there, though the parish priest gives the religious education, it is badly given. Without detaining you

longer, I would just gather two lessons from what one sees in Italy—(1.) The importance of the parochial clergy accepting the changed state of affairs. Instead of opposing it, throw yourselves into the gap. What is possible to you may not be the best, or what you desire most, but it is the best possible that you can get, therefore take it and make the best of it. We make our own opportunities, and while many are standing still lamenting that they cannot do what they desire, let us embrace the opportunities of doing what we can. Education in Italy has drifted away from the Church because the Church has set herself in direct opposition to the wishes of the people and the State. (2.) The other lesson I would enforce is to take care of your training colleges. Training colleges and training schools are in truth the key of the position. Those clever young sceptics undermining the faith of the youth of Italy are well trained in training schools. I visited several of these institutions, and found the educational standard very high, and the instruction exceedingly good. The lectures I listened to were admirable. The purpose of these colleges is good, but the one thing wanted is that which Mr Hoare has so feelingly set before us. While I found there that the names of great poets and philosophers were household words, I found also that the one "Name that is above every name" was not allowed to be breathed. The future schoolmasters were taught morality—they were taught their duty as men and as citizens. But the foundation on which that teaching was built was rotten, and the superstructure was therefore crumbling. Our lesson, therefore, is to take care of the training schools, for I believe that the battle of religious instruction in England in future is to be fought in the training schools. May God give us wisdom, and zeal, and liberality, that the battle may be fought victoriously in the cause of God's truth.

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REV. F. S. DALE, M.A., Vicar of St Luke's, Birmingham.

Mr Lord, the point to which I desire to draw attention for a moment is a very important one, and it will be with difficulty, I am afraid, that I can make it clear in one or two minutes; but it seems to me a most important question for the clergyman to consider at the present moment—whether he shall endeavour to make his Church school a school in contrast with the rate-aided schools, or whether his school shall be the model of all schools? Now I feel myself very strongly that it will be wisdom on the part of the clergyman to endeavour to make his Church school a model, and not to draw a contrast between Church schools and rate-aided schools. Our state is at present this—We have a National Church which is not the Church of the nation. It is not co-extensive with the Church in the nation. And we have also a Church in the nation which is not co-extensive with the nation. Now it is generally acknowledged that education must be national—it must be co-extensive with the nation. What part then can our Church, which is not in the strict sense of the term national, take in a system of National Education? My own strong impression is, that if the Church of England refuses in the matter of education to ally herself with the Christianity of the nation outside of her own pale, she will eventually prove too weak to influence the character of a national system of education.

There are three possible courses open to us.

(1.) To say that we, as a Church holding plain scriptural truth, will have nothing to do with any system of education which does not leave us our full and rightful liberty to teach that truth.

In this case the Church of England would have to stand altogether aloof from the present or any future system of national education—a course alike suicidal, and perilous to the nation.

(2.) To go in as a sect among sects, to endeavour to get the lion's share in the country, and to secure as much of definite Church teaching in every school as possible. This would, to my mind, be little better than an evasion of the Education Act.

(3.) To take the position of the representative of the Christianity of the nation ; to become the champion and advocate of simple scriptural teaching, round whom the whole Christian feeling of the nation may rally : not seeking to make capital for the Church of England out of education, but as a national Church claiming for the children of the nation Christian teaching, and protesting against the exclusion of the simple Christianity from anything stamped national. And I cannot but believe, my Lord, that this may be the beginning of a wider national Christianity, which shall not indeed throw aside the distinctive teaching of our own Church, but which shall set aside some of the technical peculiarities of which we are inclined to make too much.

The immediate and practical result would however be this : Our Church schools would be the models of all national schools, and would not stand by themselves as the schools of a sect ; but be recognised as the best schools of a Christian nation.

Rev. W. A. WHITWORTH, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church,  
Liverpool.

WE have heard, this afternoon, a good deal about Church schools, not considered as working under a School Board. We have heard a good deal also about schools under the Board, which were spoken of in contrast to Church schools. As I happen to be the manager of a school in which a large number of the children are children whose fees are paid by the School Board of Liverpool, I think it may be worth while for me to say that I find it quite possible—as far as I have gone yet, and I think there is every probability of my being able to go on in the same way—to work in harmony with the School Board, and to co-operate with them in their zealous endeavours to do the best they can for the education of the mass of the people, while my school maintains its character as a distinctly Church of England school. Dr Barry, in his admirable paper, made the remark, that he doubted whether it was good for the prosperity of Church of England schools to receive School Board children at all ; and I think it is true that if our object were to have a good and grand school (not caring where our children come from), the politic course for us to take would be to say, “ We will have nothing to do with Board children, we will appeal to the somewhat higher ranks among the working-classes, and keep our schools for those who can pay.” But I am quite sure that all of us who are interested in the parochial work of the Church of England will feel that it is the great function of the schools of the Church of England to seek to educate—even from the lowest classes—all those who reside within the limits of the parish ; and therefore I could not for one moment say, in reply to the question which the Liverpool Board put before me, “ No, I will make my school a school for those who can pay.” I felt constrained—whether I regarded the proposals put forth by the Board as liberal or not—as a matter of fact I did not think they were liberal proposals—I felt bound to accept those proposals, because, if I declined them I should thereby reject the poor wretched little children living in my parish, the very children for whom my school was primarily erected. But while the Church of England recognises it as her duty to seize every opportunity of getting hold of all classes of the community, and to this end working as well as possible with the School Boards, I think the work would be in vain if the Church of England did not strive to give true, sound Church of England teaching. If the Church of England is not going to make her schools really schools of the Church of England, she may as well let the children go to be educated by the Board in such schools as the Board will provide for them. I think it is more important in these days than ever it was, to give a Christian and distinctly Church of England tone to the teaching in our schools. The Act that was passed last year has put the Church of England under certain disadvantages ; for instance, not to mention those that are more prominent, we shall all feel it to be very sad next Ash Wednesday

that we shall not be able to take our children to Church, unless we choose to make the day a holiday in the school. In the same way we shall have to treat Ascension Day and other festivals of the Church that come on week days, which have been hitherto observed in our schools. We must either make them holidays, and in that way tend to make our schools inefficient and unpopular—for I am sorry to say that many of the parents will keep their children away from school in the weeks in which they know the holidays come—or give up this means that we formerly used to inculcate the distinctive doctrines of the Church on the children that come within our reach. But we can still do what we please with the first hour of morning school, and we are more than ever bound so to use it that our children may be educated in the faith, as intelligent members of the Church to which they belong.

The Chairman pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting separated.

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*TUESDAY AFTERNOON, 10th OCTOBER.*

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The Right Rev. the BISHOP SUFFRAGAN of Nottingham took the Chair at 3 o'clock.

**FREEDOM OF WORSHIP AND THE OFFERTORY SYSTEM.**

The Ven. ARCHDEACON EMERY, Ely, read the following paper:—

It is a great pleasure in opening this subject to feel I can approach it without suspicion of any peculiar theological bias. In past years, this could scarcely have been the case.

To advocate freedom of worship in our parish churches, or the collection of alms from the whole congregation by means of the offertory system, was looked upon in days gone by as very suspicious, and savouring of objectionable tendencies. Now, I am happy to think these matters can be considered on their own merits, and be debated upon by all, with a simple desire to arrive at conclusions which may best advance the cause of Christ, and of His Church.

By freedom of worship, I mean the inherent right which every parishioner, *i.e.* every resident inhabitant, has, by the common law of England, to a place in his parish church, when he attends for worship according to the following well-known legal dicta—"The use of the church is common to all the parishioners" (Ayliffe). "Every parishioner has clearly a right to a seat in the church without payment for it" (Sir T. Nichol). "This common right of all the parishioners," says the Report of the Lords' Committee (1858) on Spiritual Destitution (a most convincing repertory of facts in favour of freedom of worship), "cannot lawfully be defeated by any permanent appropriation of particular places." As a fact, however, in the majority of our parish churches, wherever the number of inhabitants exceeds the number of seats in the church, "this normal state of things," as the Lords express it,

is necessarily interfered with by the customary appropriation with or without pew rents. The moment the chief portion of the seats are allotted to a certain number of favoured parishioners, the common rights of all are so far limited. Thus, in a parish of 5000, if there be 700 seats in the church, and 500 are allotted for a year or month, only 200 seats are left for the remaining 4500. Of course, if the 500 favoured ones always came, there would be less to complain of; but this is not generally the case. Illness, visiting, habit of coming only to one service, &c., interfere with constant attendance. So this painful spectacle is often presented: (1.) a sparse congregation in the assigned places, and overcrowding in the free seats; or (2.) still worse, a sparse congregation of the favoured few, often not a tenth of the parish, with an absence of nearly all the rest, embracing small shopkeepers, young folk of labouring class, artisans, lodgers, and poor generally, who either go nowhere, or join other denominations. Of course, there are exceptions, caused by modification of the method of appropriation, by the acceptableness of the minister or popularity of the service, or by the urbanity of the favoured few, in permitting their places to be filled when absent. Some parish churches, even where nearly every seat is let or allotted, are fairly, nay well filled; but this, it will be granted, is not the rule. And bitter is the complaint, and grievous the scandal, that, in the midst of large parishes, the churches are too often dreary for want of congregations. Nearly half the population are non-worshippers, embracing, alas, in this category the bone and sinew of the country's strength; whilst, in too many cases, the difficulties of providing for church expenses and ministry are very great.

The large and increasing number of church folk who advocate what is popularly known as the free and open system in connection with weekly or frequent offertories from the whole congregation, maintain that one chief source of non-attendance and lack of means is the baneful effect which the system of appropriation, or letting to a few, sometimes to non-parishioners, has produced in the habits and feelings of the many, as well as in the views and conduct of the few themselves. Thus, it is averred, class distinctions are carried into the House of God contrary to the express direction of Holy Scripture—"Have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons;" the parochial system, in one of its principal features, is set at nought; the increase and adaptation of services to meet the varying wants impeded, often prevented; and church extension to meet known spiritual wants rendered next to impossible.

The upholders of appropriation and pew-letting do not, I fancy, deny those averments, which time alone prevents me from proving by a host of painful facts; but they plead that any other system is impracticable in view of the feelings of the people and of the needful support of the ministry. And they point to the fact that their plea is supported by the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts, Church Building Acts, &c., which have over-riden, if not interpreted, the common law.

But, granting this, it is replied that the evils which have resulted from limiting thus the free action of the common law have been so great, and are so threatening to the best interests of religion and of the national church, that the subject has been thought worthy of Parliamentary interference, and "a Bill to declare and enact the law as to the rights of parishioners in respect of the parish churches, and for other purposes



thereto," was introduced last session into the House of Commons by members of distinction, with the object of putting an end to this contravention of the common law in future. After debate, the Bill was read a first time and ordered to be printed; though by pressure of work obliged finally to be withdrawn till next session. Judging, however, by the debate on the Bill (which it is but fair to say was brought in under the auspices of the London Free and Open Association); and also judging by the assent given by the House of Commons to Clause 4 paragraph 2 of the Private Chapels Bill, in the following words:—"Provided also that neither the proprietor nor the minister shall let for hire any seat in the said chapel, or charge any fee for admission to the services therein," there is reason to believe that the public conscience is being at length aroused to the magnitude of the evil, and ere long such a measure will be passed as will, for the future, better protect the rights of the parishioners, and define and control the powers of ordinaries and churchwardens, which in the past have been used, rather abused, to appropriate to the use of the few and well-to-do classes, what by the law of God and man ought to be for the use of *all*.

It is submitted that substantially any advantages which are supposed to be gained by appropriation, such as knowing where to sit, being recognisable by the clergyman, keeping together of families, avoiding unpleasant contact with the unwashed, &c., are conferred, often in a higher degree, by non-appropriation of seats, whilst the fearful disadvantage is avoided, viz., the practically shutting out of nine-tenths of the population.

Fortunately there is a mass of accumulated evidence to enable us to judge between the contending parties and to test theoretical objections. Though the indefatigable and much-abused chairman and founder of the parent Free and Open Church Association, originated in 1857 at Manchester, has had to fight hard for his principles, he cannot, I imagine, be altogether dissatisfied with the results, though as yet far short of what he fondly anticipated. Did time permit, I could show by notable instances, that whilst Mr Herford and those who work in the same direction, conjointly or independently, have for the present necessity bated somewhat of their demands, and expressed greater consideration than at first for the difficulties which have arisen from old established, however vicious, regulations, their opponents have considerably changed their ground, have become more apologetic, and by suggested or actual modification in the method of appropriation (such as requiring the favoured ones to be in their places at the beginning of or five minutes before service, to move up when required on the bench where they are sitting, to have their places rearranged every month or quarter, to consider the seats theirs only for one service or two on the Sunday, &c.), have really thrown such doubt upon the wisdom or righteousness of it, as greatly to encourage those who maintain that the only satisfactory method is to leave the parishioners, who attend, to seat themselves from service to service according to their immediate requirements, the churchwardens then only exercising the powers inherent in their office when any inconvenience or impropriety is to be remedied.

If, as seems evidenced in parish churches where this plan is carried out, the alienated classes are recovered, and found willing, by voluntary contributions through offertory collections, to support a worship to which they feel they can come by right and not by favour, I do not fear but the

case of pew-rented parish churches may be gradually dealt with, satisfactory to the people, and with increase of income in most cases to the minister.

Let me give a few cases vouched for by the clergy setting forth the results of freedom of worship, and judge for yourselves.

1. Parish population 1922, with no great landholder, but many independent freeholders, living fairly endowed, the church formerly disfigured by pews of all sizes and shapes, and assigned to persons very jealous of their rights. To get into some of the pews it was necessary to pass through two or three others. About one-fourth of the nave boarded off. The church is now restored with open oak seats after the ancient patterns, and for two years the free and open system has been tried. "It has answered admirably," writes the vicar; "the people, kept away by pew-system, now come in great numbers, and we have such congregations as have never been seen here before. The offertory once a month suffices for church expenses and the poor. Not a seat is appropriated; but it is found that those who come regularly and in good time generally get the same places. The sexes are not separated. The poor are delighted and come, and give according to their ability, and *none* of the old church-going farmers have left.

2. Leeds parish church area has sittings for 1600 people wholly free and unappropriated. The sexes are not divided. The vicar is not aware of any confusion or dissatisfaction, though every one seats himself according to his own discretion. Every seat is full on Sunday evening, and I observe many of the regular attendants contrive to be always in the same places. "I believe," he adds, "the freedom of the area of the parish church is the main cause of the very large attendance of artisans, who frequent the church to a greater extent than I have seen anywhere else. There are other churches in Leeds free and open, and I have reason to believe that they are amongst the best attended. The offertory is the only fund on which the churchwardens rely for defraying church expenses, and it has hitherto proved sufficient."

3. A London church in St Pancras.—The clergyman five years ago relinquished pew-rents in opposition to friends who dreaded injury to income, as there is only an endowment of £32, with many drawbacks. Till the old pew-renters die off, the churchwardens assign to them every Easter. Only fifty or sixty seats are now thus assigned. With the rest of the 1100 it is "first come first served;" though, by coming early, some get the same seats. By the change more of the lower shopkeepers and humbler clerks attend. Few or no complaints of families being inconvenienced have arisen. The offertories now about equal what before was obtained from pew-rents and offertories; the congregation is larger; there is more zeal. "My conscience," adds the incumbent, "is easier, and I feel I have done something for the masses." Gifts seem also to pour in, and a church house for three curates has lately been given.

4. Another case in Sussex.—Parish chiefly agricultural, with 2000 people. The whole of the church was appropriated to houses, except a few seats, supposed worthless, under the tower for the poor. One lady claimed a hundred seats. For the most part, the pew-holders came only in the morning. When absent, no one else dared enter the pews. In the afternoon the church was nearly empty, except a few poor round the walls and under galleries where no one else cared to go. The church was re-

stored, and, notwithstanding old claimants, was made free to all. "A few," writes the rector, "left, but for every one lost six have been gained. Every seat of the 500 is filled, especially in the afternoon. The poor are coming to church in great numbers, the communicants are doubled, and the offertories, which are now monthly, are just three times what they were under the old system."

5. Nantwich Church, where for some years the free and open system has been at work.—"The congregations," writes the vicar, "are increased, the working classes are gradually taking courage and joining. The most important gain has been amongst clerks and foremen of shops, who now attend cheerfully. The young cling most affectionately to their church when they leave school. No families are inconvenienced. The offertory is doubled. After long experience nothing would induce me to return to buying and selling and letting of pews."

6. At Ely the same system has been tried, with astonishing success, for the last eight years. The poor and rich, young and old, Sunday by Sunday, are found filling the parish church, and for lack of room the parochial service in the evening is held in the octagon, transepts, and nave of the Cathedral, where from 1200 to 1500 (one-fourth of the population) regularly all through the year come to worship, sitting where they like, with no separation of sexes, and yet with an orderliness and hearty devotion which it is heaven upon earth to witness. In that parish, where a few years ago but two services were held, and but moderately attended, in an appropriated building, and no evening service in Cathedral or church, now two churches and two mission-houses are worked on the free and open plan, with the greatest success in numbers attending, and fair results in the produce of the weekly offertory for church expenses.

I might bring other cases. One more I must, that of two churches—St Peter and St Gregory at Sudbury—much dwelt on by the Lords' Committee of 1858, and of which, after sixteen years' trial, the Vicar writes thus:—"I can say generally that the results have more than fulfilled my most sanguine expectations, and none of the evils have arisen which some apprehended. The offertory has considerably increased, and affords £50 a year towards curate's stipend. The congregations have largely increased, especially from the working classes, particularly at the daily services. We have nearly one hundred every night at eight o'clock. The few who took offence are now almost without exception reconciled, and have no desire to go back to the old system. I have found chairs very convenient and very valuable in preserving absolute non-appropriation."

The Lords dwelt on this case in 1858, not only because, as they report, it has been an experiment soberly conducted, but also because it is based on a principle of law applicable to every parish church in England. And after bemoaning the injury done, in great towns especially, by the exclusive system, to the spiritual interests of the poor, the report concludes, "We cannot abstain from expressing an earnest hope that some plan may be devised by which every church in the land may be made to be, what it ought to be, a common sanctuary in which the poor and the rich meet together."

Of course till the end many will be found to stick to the comfort of dear self, whatever hindrance it may be to carrying out the Royal law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

So deadening is evil custom that it may really be pain to some to have the multitude "surge in," as has been declared on high authority would be the case if parish churches were free, to the great discomfort of the well-to-do worshipper, who can now come in even a few minutes late, and take up the service in his preserved place, without sensible inconvenience to himself.

But even though the present regular frequenters should be somewhat inconvenienced, I am anxious to see the people "surge in," and produce in the wealthier classes a more lively sense of their own nothingness in the sight of God, and their common heritage of sin and salvation with the small tradesman, the artisan, the lodger, the poor. If, by freedom of worship and a quickened zeal, our parish churches did get inconveniently crowded, it would be a weighty argument for additional services, for heartier and more efficient ministrations, for week-day service, for additional churches, mission-rooms, clergy, and lay helpers.

It is a curious feature of our time that in many places where the exclusive system is more or less maintained, there is often an anxiety for freedom of worship in mission churches and school-rooms, in music halls, theatres, town halls, &c. Far be it from me to condemn such efforts to reach the masses for good, but it does seem passing strange that the common law of England should be forced to find a home in such places, whilst the parish churches, "which are for the people," as Coke declares, are practically closed against all but a few who can pay, or are considered respectable—and closed, alas! too often through the needless limitation of the law, by those who, from office and position, ought to be the chief guardians of its catholicity.

When we reflect on the heartburnings, the jealousies, quarrels, vexations, and downright misappropriation of free seats even (for appropriation sometimes to the rich), which arise continually, in the vain endeavour to satisfy the pride, or dignity, or covetousness of the few; not to mention the still more grievous evil of keeping away the many; it is strange the fatal system of appropriation should be so fondly cherished, when, by a little firmness and tact, most of the sorrow and evil would be avoided by leaving matters alone, and ordering that the plain letter of the law be obeyed.

It is constantly asked, "What becomes of the children brought up in your schools?" There must be a radical defect somewhere, when those, on whom in tender years so much in day and Sunday schools is lavished, no sooner arrive at adult age, or are confirmed, than they stand without, or are found worshipping elsewhere. I am sure facts support me in asserting that in churches where there is freedom of worship, there these liberated young folk, men even more than women, most do congregate, to praise and pray, and offer up their time and weekly earnings to the service of the Lord.

Doubtless there are grave difficulties in returning to "the normal state of things;" and whilst we assert boldly the right principle, we must be patient in the effort to get it carried out. The squire, and principal farmers or others, and old folk in country parishes and town, must be coaxed as well as taught, to be unselfish. Their faculty pews, and reserved seats, can only be got rid of gradually. But so many have been led to love the better way, that continued failure to convince others need not be anticipated. Even the poor need careful teaching and training in this matter.

Ever and anon, in them as well as others, the old selfish principle strives for mastery.

As to introducing the offertory system into country parishes, monthly or weekly, the opposition is certainly as a rule with the rich, and not the poor, and too often with the parson himself. But the need of the Church will remedy this. Year by year the number even of country parishes adopting the system is increasing. With respect to town parishes, the argument for freedom of worship and the offertory system tells with ten-fold force. If the endowment of the minister be sufficient, and nought is required but money for church expenses and the poor, the appropriation of seats to a few is a crying shame and folly. Nothing is more certain, from a wide range of inquiries, than that in most cases of town parishes where a good understanding exists between minister, churchwardens, and people, the offertory is a far more certain and elastic means of support than any other. Appropriation too often seems to deaden the readiness to give in the favoured few, whilst it denies the privilege of worship and freewill offering to the many.

Again, if the endowment in a town church is insufficient, and the pew rents small, these pew rents are really, in most cases, an injury to income. They practically limit the number of services, and by it the number of offertories or collections, which otherwise might avail for increase of endowment as well as annual income, &c., if vigorously worked by a financial committee of the parish. I appeal again to facts. Let any one read the financial, numerical, and general experience of free and unappropriated churches, as gathered up by the Chester Diocesan Open Church Association, and I feel it *must* "afford encouragement to proceed in the great missionary work of throwing open our national churches to the free and unobstructed use of the people."

Some folk fear the effect of frequent collections on our people, and yet their success amongst ourselves, and notably also in the Free Church of Scotland (which never has a service in kirk or mission-house without affording an opportunity of making a freewill offering to God), and in other churches, should allay such fear.

Some folk again object to the offertory being used for the support of the minister, ignoring, as might appear, the fact that our Church puts it forth as one of the distinct objects to which the offertory should be devoted, and actually prescribes four or five sentences of Scripture to be read, to enforce bounty to the clergy. As to parishes with peculiar populations which bring in a large income from pew-rents, and have scarcely any other endowment, I feel more delicacy in recommending trial of the free and open system, unless by a financial committee the pastor be guaranteed for a while during the experiment a minimum income. It is, I know, argued that even in such cases it is possible for the clergyman, if he has faith enough, to obtain as good an income by the offertory as by pew-rents. Be this as it may, I feel strongly a clergyman who lives by pew-rent, or whose church is appropriated, ought not to have the power to hinder a free church from being built in the parish if the people desire it. In every parish church, also, there ought at the least to be some free services, the offertory at which in most cases will support, if need be, the increased ministering staff.

They who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, but there is even

something yet more important commanded—"Preach the gospel to every creature." Is the following case right?—a sample, I fear, of many. A parish of 10,000, full of dissent and infidelity, which has but 700 seats in the church pew-rented; yet the incumbent will not let another church be built, as his pew-rents, fees, &c., may suffer. A sort of brass-knocker parson, who looks only to his pew-renters, is not agreeable to the principles of our Church system.

Be it remembered, too, that appropriation and pew-rents alike discourage any special missionary effort. If by a mission service, when all is free, a man or woman be moved to attend divine service, they find, on entering the church next Sunday, all is changed, and the preaching no more is, "Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money."

Cases have been told me where even for mission services, freedom of worship has been refused, and the miserable result has followed, the best places scantily filled, whilst the free seats have been inconveniently crowded.

We say these things ought not so to be, and need not be. We point to the increase of free and open churches, and their success in number of worshippers and amount of offerings, as an encouragement to a fuller carrying out of the common law.

In London even, the number of free and open churches has increased from 48 in 1869 to 102 in 1871; and the number where there is weekly offertory has advanced from 104 in 1868 to 156 in 1871, out of a total of churches which, in 1868, was 617, and in 1871, 677.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, when Bishop of London, acknowledged that the system of appropriation had not answered; we say then, try freedom of worship, and encourage the revival of weekly offerings, which is in accordance with Holy Scripture and the wish of the Church, and is the most fruitful and reliable source of Church revenue. Let authorities, and Church Building Societies, and Ecclesiastical Commissioners, assist, and not check, the carrying out of the common law in its entirety, so that the mission of our National Church may no longer seem a mockery. Then with revived energies and quickened affections, clergy and churchwardens, and all others may go forth with good heart, and compel men from the highways and hedges to come in, that God's house, their own free Church, may be filled. Acting thus together we shall powerfully help society to bear the strain now put upon it, and leaven the masses with true Christian feeling, which will be the best antidote to socialism and communism, infidelity and religious strife.

How to work most advantageously the offertory system may be fully learned from the three societies I have mentioned; but I would guard myself, in advocating its adoption, against being supposed to undervalue the importance of endowments to secure an educated, independent, and efficient ministry.

But to wait for endowments, instead of using the means ready to hand in the freewill offerings of the people, is suicidal, and in the past has greatly impeded church extension. An eminent Scotch minister has truly said, "The freewill offerings of the people, rich and poor, worshipping together in suitable buildings, free and open to all comers, would form a mighty means of Church extension in connection with the Church of England. They are a rich mine which she should work for the elevation

of the lowest classes and the salvation of our country." But if freedom of worship is to be attained, and the offertory system established, we must work in earnest for it. In addition to appropriation, there is now stealing into many old parish churches, and sometimes well endowed too, a tax upon seats for sustentation of fabric, &c., which should be resisted by all who have the welfare of the country at heart. As the people have revised the action of Verderers Courts in London to save their common forest rights and support the Government in righteous action, so should the friends of the people organise to protect their common Church rights. Without this, however just and good the common law may be, which with Herbert declares "all equal are within the Church's gate," those in high places, our bishops particularly, are so hampered by the rulings and ways of the past as to be unable without strong public support to do what I am sure is in their hearts, to make us *one* in Christ, and *one* in the freedom of the gospel and the privileges of the Church.

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The Rev. J. H. TITCOMB, Vicar of St Stephen's, South Lambeth,  
read the following paper :—

It may be as well at once to state that this paper will deal with freedom of worship, in connection with the modern system of pew rents, rather than with that of ancient parish churches in which pews have been vested in owners of property, who claim them as their indefeasible right. That is an old constitutional question which, in my judgment, requires to be readjusted by law, under similar conditions to those now regulating pews in our best managed modern churches. The question to be really discussed is, "Are we justified in having pew-rented churches at all?"

I must observe, however, in commencing, that when I speak of pews, I do not mean those deservedly reprobated monstrosities, the square, high-backed little rooms of the last century. Modern pews are almost universally low-seated, without doors, and made uniformly throughout the church. It is of these alone that I speak.

There can be no doubt that, when our parishes were originally formed, every parishioner had not only a free right to a seat in his parish church, but, for the most part, there was ample accommodation for others also. At that time the sparseness of the population allowed church-room for every family, including both the poor and the stranger. Those were the golden days of "free and open" churches—days which lasted for above nine or ten centuries. With the rapid growth of population, however, during the last two centuries, and with an altogether inadequate extension both of churches and church-endowments, there gradually sprang up a state of things which created the greatest difficulty; for, on the one hand, wherever a new church was built, there this indigenous claim of the parishioners to be freely seated theoretically held good; whereas, on the other hand, their claim to be all so accommodated could not practically be met; while, in the absence of fresh endowments, there was no provision left for the clergy, except that derived from the weekly offertory, which, though perfectly justifiable, would in many instances have been utterly insufficient for its purpose.

Why, then, do we blame our forefathers, when, to meet this double difficulty, they hit upon the expedient of pew-rents? They acted for the best under the circumstances, inasmuch as they thus provided a more certain source of revenue for the clergy than that which they would often have had in the offertory; and, at the same time, they secured to those parishioners who valued it their old indigenous right of being at least surely, though not freely, accommodated with seats. And herein lies the great practical difficulty of changing from one system to another. Parishioners who have been used to secured seats do not take kindly to drifting about with their families in uncertain resting-places, and seeing strangers of all sorts with as great a foothold in their own parish church as themselves. Yet this is incidental to the change. Take (*e.g.*) a church in which either the service or the preacher happens to be popular, so that an eclectic congregation has been attracted from surrounding districts. Of course, under the "pew system," the churchwardens of such a church are clearly able to conserve the rights of their parishioners by refusing to let the pews to strangers; whereas if a change be made to the "free and open church system," then, inasmuch as the churchwardens have no power of specially appropriating any seats, the parishioners must necessarily take their chance as best they may with others.

I am quite willing to allow that the "pew system" has been grossly mismanaged and abused—the appropriation of rented seats having been often made to encroach most unjustly upon the legal rights of the poor. As a protest against that evil, I believe, the "Society for Promoting Freedom of Worship" is doing great good. But, like every other movement for the reformation of abuses, its danger lies in indiscriminate zeal, and in wholesale revolution. Mr Herford will, perhaps, reply that it only requires public opinion to be more thoroughly enlightened in order to insure its universal success. Others take a less impassioned view of the case, for they notice that, while free churches flourish in some places, they fail in others, being often found too dependent on mere contingencies to prove long successful. I know a sea-side vicar (*e.g.*) who began his work in a new church on the free system, but who, finding that a wet Sunday or two during the season would often make a difference of £20 to his income, was reluctantly driven to adopt payment for sittings.

It may be rejoined, that when anything is positively and radically wrong, it matters not what difficulties stand in the way—the evil must at all risks and costs be got rid of; and that, among these radical evils in the Church, pew-rents are not the least. Well, gentlemen, if so, on what is your indictment grounded? Let me do battle with you on seven separate counts.

First, *You say that pew-rents turn the house of God into a place of commerce.*

I might urge in reply that, at any rate, this is not one whit worse than the Continental usage; for are not fees for church-sittings demanded throughout the most civilised parts of Papal Europe? Which of you has not had to pay for his place, even in the best churches in Paris? Who does not know that a regular part of Roman Catholic church-revenue is derived from a use of devotional chairs? Now, I ask, what can be the commercial distinction between paying for a pew, or settling for a chair? The truth is, that whether it be pew-rent, chair-rent, or offertory, it is a tax



which must be collected. The simple difference between them is, that pew-rents, not being obligatory, are voluntary gifts paid down quarterly or half-yearly; while the money given at offertories or for chairs is the same sort of gift, only spread out over the period in weekly payments. The first is a fixed payment in one sum for the privilege of having an appropriated seat to go to; the second is a payment for the same seat after its appropriation has been enjoyed. Thus the machinery may vary, and the name may be changed; but, call it what you will, it is still the rendering in of a money payment for church privileges received.

You object, however, Secondly, *to the principle of our making any private appropriation of seats in the house of God.*

Pardon me, gentlemen; but do you not yourselves make private appropriation of seats to schools and sisterhoods? And when I go into one of your own free churches, and take my seat in a well-selected spot, and am suddenly approached by a bewildered-looking individual, who first stares, afterwards looks vexed, and finally gives me to understand that the seat belongs to him, what am I to conclude? Do you not yourselves wink at this "usu-caption"? Do you not yourselves condone this principle of private appropriation? The truth is, that what church authority refuses to appropriate *de jure*, it tacitly allows *de facto*; and, considered practically, the difference is insignificant.

A Third argument against the "pew system" is, that *it has a direct tendency to cripple voluntary church-offerings.*

This I deny. Of course I do not deny that you may possibly find some clergy—low and slow—as well as others—high and dry—(unfortunate specimens of their genus on either side)—who, whether they live by pew-rents or offertories, do little more than cover their parochial expenses. But take men *cæteris paribus* on both sides—men strong in faith and zeal and love. What then? May I, in all humility, instance my own case? I have a parish of about 4000 souls, by no means wealthy, about half of which are poor. The church holds 1200 sittings, of which one third are free. There is no endowment, and the gross pew-rents yield about £800, out of which church expenses are paid, and the clergy supported. Now, beside this £800 of pew-rents, we raised last year, without a single paid collector, *fourteen hundred pounds* of free-will offerings, of which sum £400 was for special benevolent purposes, £500 for the parish schools and poor, £60 for the assistance of neighbouring parishes, £210 for Home Mission purposes, and £180 for Foreign Missions. I dare say the Arch-deacon of Ely will tell me that if I abolished pew-rents I should do better. My reply is, that just as in a railway company, if the rails are strong, and the trains full, and the passengers satisfied, it would be madness for the directors to take up their line and reconstruct it; so, while my congregation and church-finance are both satisfactory, I am not going to be so foolish as to disturb my present arrangements for the sake of ideal perfection. At all events, here is a fact which proves that pew-rents are in no way antagonistic to a healthy development of voluntary church-offerings.

You say, however, in the Fourth place, *That they are opposed to the scriptural practice of weekly offerings.*

There never was a greater mistake. For in many pew-rented churches there are weekly communions, and in almost all there are alms boxes at

the church doors ; and, even if not, I have yet to learn that a weekly offering, placed in a church mission box at home, is any less acceptable to God than when put into an offertory bag at church.

You contend, in the Fifth place, *That the "pew system" limits a congregation ; and, by making the Church a representative only of sections of the population, so far weakens and denationalises it.*

Appealing once more to my own experience, I must emphatically deny this statement. In my own church all vacant sittings are practically treated as free ; so that, in fine weather, it is invariably well filled. How, then, is the church denationalised, if, in this way, it is open to all comers, and no one is turned away except from want of space ? It can never be laid down too clearly that the modern "pew system," when properly worked, only gives a *priority of right to sittings, not an exclusive and dog-in-the-manger occupation of them.* He, therefore, who complains that it limits a congregation to a mere section of the people, should not find fault with the system itself, but either with his own misunderstanding of it, or else with its maladministration by others.

Take a Sixth objection. *It is argued that seats rented by the richer classes drive away the poorer.*

Forgive me, gentlemen, but I must come back to facts ; and there are no facts like those of one's own experience. I have, in the north transept of my church, the very best and choicest part, a block of one hundred free sittings, completely filled every Sunday evening with the working-classes, the overflow from which is often drafted into the pews. We shall presently be deluged with speeches, the burden of which will be, that pew-rents are ruining the Church by driving away the poor. I anticipate those speeches by giving them a flat denial, not from theory, but from the logic of facts. I once held a Church in Cambridge with 700 rented sittings and 700 free, the last being always full. No, gentlemen, no, it is not the pew when rightly administered which drives away the poor ; it is the want of a wise and warm-hearted ministry of the Gospel. Let a man exhibit that both in his pulpit and in his parish, and, I am sure, that by whatever name he may be called, he will rally both rich and poor around him, and uphold the nationality of the Church.

And now I come to the Seventh point. You say, that "*the pew system" fosters pride and pre-eminence.*

Yes, I reply, when used, as it is, by the squires of some country villages, who sit in their pews with chairs and tables, and with all the luxuries of a drawing-room round about them. Used, however, according to proper rules, there is no more temptation to the love of pre-eminence in holding a rented pew, than there is in seeing one's name in a subscription-list to a charity ; certainly not so much as in the presentation of memorial church-windows, on which the donors may gaze with constant pride. The fact is, that, in a world like this, no one can eliminate the possibilities of evil. The evil and the good are ever mingled together ; nor can any system of church-management be delivered from it.

Upon the whole, then, it appears to me that pew-rents, when regulated on sound principles, are a perfectly legitimate source of revenue ; and I venture to maintain their propriety against all arguments brought against them. At the same time, as an outcome of the clash and conflict of our thoughts, and for the purpose of promoting mutual sympathy between

ourselves and opponents, I conclude by throwing out three suggestions:—

1. In all pew-rented churches, let it be so arranged that every pew shall be taken on condition that its vacant sittings may be filled up as soon as the church-bell shall have stopped.

2. In all large and poor parishes let the free and open principle be introduced, provided it can be done without any breach of parochial unity, and that the living is sufficiently well endowed to sustain the character of the clergyman independently.

3. In building new churches, where pew-rents are deemed desirable, let it be an architectural regulation that all sittings be constructed alike, without the least symbol of private tenancy; and that at least one-third of the sittings be free, and situated in the best parts of the church.

One more point only remains, though I have scarcely time to touch upon it. There is a growing feeling among many Christians, whether they hold to the pew system or not, that true freedom of worship demands the opening of our churches during a few hours of each day for private and silent prayer. This is a practice which I have adopted myself in mission services, though it is no part of our general order. But far be it from me, as one of the representatives of the so-called Evangelical school, to deny either its propriety or desirableness. I detest the mere shibboleth of ecclesiastical partisanship, and I protest against this practice being viewed from such a standpoint. Let it be done where it is practicable and convenient. Let it be done for the glory of God, and the good of immortal souls, especially those of our poorer brethren, who may find in the solemn stillness of the temple an inducement to prayer, and a place of retirement for meditation, which is denied them in their own crowded houses. If the abandonment of this old usage has been an error, let us not be afraid to acknowledge it. "*Cujusvis hominis est errare; nullius nisi insipientis in errore perseverare.*"

I submit these thoughts to the Congress as offering conciliation without compromise. I submit them as an honest expression of my own convictions, and I now leave them open for discussion.

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#### ADDRESS.

EDWARD HERFORD, Esq., J.P., Chairman of the National Free Church Society, read the following:—

A CHURCH question which concerns nearly all the baptized people of England may well occupy the attention of a Church Congress, still more when that question especially concerns all the great electoral constituencies, in their capacity of excluded and alienated members of the National Church, at a time when their alienation and consequent hostility threatens destruction to the National Church, such a question cannot be safely excluded by any congress, conference, or other deliberative assembly of Churchmen.

But as, unhappily, pecuniary or social position, and personal and domestic associations, are thought to require this exclusion of the masses from our Church's worship, we cannot be surprised at the subject being unpalatable, and, for the most part, *put aside* as much as possible; yet it seems strange and deplorable, that when the danger is

so imminent, and the constantly recurrent warnings are so ominous, those who manage such conferences should refuse to deal with, or realise, or even *look at*, the portentous and palpable fact that in every town and populous country parish in England, nine-tenths of the poorer people are, for the sake of their richer neighbours, shut or kept out from attending religious ordinances.

Still more strange that neither *political Churchmen* nor *Church politicians* allow themselves to see that, for the most trifling benefit of a few hundred thousand seat-claiming families, a very small fraction of whom are even communicating members of the Church of England, *this*, the grandest old constitution in the world, has been fatally undermined, and stripped of its outworks, and now, at length, hopelessly awaits the final blow.

I am bound to speak plainly the truth in this matter, as I have done for fifteen years past, in the face of almost overwhelming, but gradually lessening opposition. Unless, before Parliament meets, the active hostility to the scriptural system, and the still more blamable indifference of professed *friends* of the Church, shall give place to a firm and united effort to make our Church once more the Church of the PEOPLE, its existence as a national institution cannot be prolonged. If this certainty has failed to reach any here present, the experience of the last ten years is surely thrown away.

The time allotted me admits of only a glance at the points which have been, or ought to be, brought out in this day's discussion:—

1. The real question at issue between the National Free Church Society and those who favour the pew-renting of parish churches to a tenth of the parishioners.

2. What *constitutes* true and false freedom of churches?

3. What are the reasons for gradually, but as soon as may be, restoring the ancient freedom of churches to rich and poor alike?

4. The objections to the Bible plan of freedom from "charge" and "respect of persons."

5. The *law* upon this subject.

6. The practical steps to be now taken to save the Church by regaining, that is, re-admitting, the popular and electoral masses, now selfishly and suicidally shut out of our churches.

7. And lastly, if our free National Church of England is now to be turned into an Episcopalian pew-renting sect by disendowment, with *whom* the responsibility of this great national calamity will rest?

In every controversy it needs, as Bacon said, that the question at issue should be often re-stated. In no controversy has the question been more constantly mis-stated than in this. The disguising of the real question between the pew-holding minority and the whole people of England is one result of the constant *shelving* of the subject in Parliament and Convocation, in Congresses and Synods, by Church-Building Committees, and by the Church press. To *state*, in its naked simplicity, is really to *decide* the question.

Though substantially *one*, it assumes a threefold form. (1.) Ought public worship to be as absolutely and unconditionally free to rich and poor alike as it was in the days of the Apostles? (2.) Under our own parochial system, in a church where there are fewer *seats* than *parishioners*, ought the seats to be free, as, *e.g.*, in Belgium or Russia, to every one alike? (3.) Admitting the objection to any sudden change from the existing system, or any "general crusade against pew-rents," or the "universal enforcement of free worship," ought a *new* church built, or an *old* church *newly endowed*, out of public money, for a populous parish (say of 5000 souls), to be made over, upon any plan or pretext whatsoever, to one or two hundred families out of the thousand, or be left perfectly free to the whole body of parishioners?

*This* is all that we have ever asserted. Can the contrary be gravely maintained? Will any one here seriously affirm that our "assemblies" *ought not* to be as free from "charge" or "respect of persons" as they at first were? or that a parish church *ought* to be so *reserved for the few*, as to prevent the many from "surging into it?" or that when a church is built for a "spiritually destitute" parish, the nine hundred "spi-

ritually destitute" families ought to be shut out, by reserving its primary use for a hundred families *not* "spiritually destitute?"

Unless these three prepositions, absurd and monstrous as they must appear, are shown to be consistent with the Word of God, with the common law of this Church and Realm, and with justice, charity, and common sense, *cadit questio*; the opposition to the Free Church movement is no better than the unreasoning and selfish defence of a trade monopoly, or any other social wrong, inflicted upon the many for the gain or pleasure of the few.

And if the opponents of the Scriptural system *cannot* establish these three propositions, all their other arguments against it can only resolve themselves into what pleaders term "the raising of false or immaterial issues," or into the use of double-meaning phrases; as when (*e.g.*) it is said that a parish church cannot be free because, "it is the warden's duty to seat the parishioners;" the answer being, on the contrary, a parish church *ought* to be *free*,—*i.e.*, to every parishioner alike, because the warden is bound, as the officer of *all* the parishioners, to see that one, as much as another, is seated, or has a seat,—that is, that no parishioner be *unseated*, or *kept* from *having* a seat, at any service, at any time, in his own parish church, by any *private* right or claim *whatsoever*.

(2.) What, then, is the true remedy, and only alternative, for the present system of shutting out the masses by appropriating parish churches to the few? Simply to restore their *ancient freedom*. What is a free church? Simply one in which there is no actual, tacit, or recognised reservation, or appropriation of the seats in the nave. The Belgian churches are free churches. Westminster Abbey and All Saints, Holborn, are free churches. But a church in which the wardens "allot" sittings cannot be a free church; a church in which each "regular worshipper" is recognised as entitled to a particular seat, with or without leaving books or cushions to keep it for him; a church in which the poorest person "in vile raiment" cannot walk straight to any place he sees empty and kneel down there, without the least consciousness of interfering with any one else, is *not* a free church.

A church *must* be either "free" (that is, *perfectly* free) or *not* free; and to call a church "free, but appropriated," and to consider a church free because the seats are *only* bought, usurped, allotted, or otherwise privately claimed, but *not rented*, is simply to confuse all argument, and render reasoning impossible, upon the subject. That this *pretence* and *name* of freedom is often unfairly used as a means of gaining the support of Free Churchmen to churches meant to be appropriated or pewed churches, is a further reason for gibbeting what Bentham calls the "impostor term," when and where-soever it is caught.

(3.) Why has it been so strenuously, for fifteen years, in season and out of season, urged upon Churchmen to abandon this modern, private, useless, and troublesome annexation of persons to places in public worship?

Not because, as foolishly imputed to us, we deem free churches a *panacea*; not because nothing is needed to get the working classes into church; but to *cease* keeping them out. Free churches are demanded as the necessary condition—(a) Of Church Defence, by proving to the popular constituencies that the Church is really theirs and for them; (b) Of the evangelisation of the masses, by allowing free action, which seat-assignment prevents, for home missionary work in populous places, and (c) of checking that personal selfishness and class antagonism which, bad everywhere, is most of all out of place and bad, both in tendency and example, in the relations between sinful man and the God and Father of all.

We ask Churchmen to give up pew-rights because they are really worthless. A pew in Church is a mere worldly or social distinction, which no one who has fairly tried worshipping in a free church could ever desire from a purely religious motive. The true worshipper, whether "regular" or not, can as such want nothing more than this,—that by going in time he may find room to kneel down unobstructed, and without obstructing any one else. No one who truly cares for Christ and his own soul can go to the church-

warden and deliberately arrange with him to keep Christ's poor out of his and his neighbours' seats in Church, without feeling that that dread moment must come at last when he will be called to account for this keeping of them out; and that Cain's answer, "Am I my brother's keeper?" will then in no sort avail such as are in any way responsible for the non-worshipping of those so kept out.

4. The objections to Freedom of Worship are chiefly confined to the few who benefit by the opposite system. Many of those objections really make in its favour. It is said (*e.g.*) that if the people were not kept out by pew allotment they would "surge into churches"—the very thing surely we ought to wish them to do. Or again, that if seats are not allotted to parishioners, non-parishioners will fill them,—as if it is not better for the parishioners at large that the hundred pews should be kept equally free for the thousand families, than monopolised by a hundred of those families. Or again, that there is danger of dirt, disease, or vermin from possible contact with those less cleanly than ourselves.

But, besides that thousands worship in free churches without experiencing any such inconvenience, can any one seriously ask that the poor man's church shall be kept entirely clear of poor men—perishing in crowds outside—in order that the rich may be spared a possible annoyance?

Is not the fact that absolute non-appropriation everywhere prevails in the Greek Church, and almost everywhere throughout Western Christendom, and amongst the most refined and fastidious societies, such as those of Vienna and St Petersburg, proof positive that these are not real but imaginary objections? Objectors are in this dilemma. They must either have all the seats appropriated (*e.g.*) to a tenth of the parishioners, thus *pro tanto* excluding the nine-tenths; or they must allow a certain proportion of free seats, and then all the objections to a church wholly free must attach equally to the free part of a pewed church; besides this further objection, that as a rule the mass of independent workmen will not occupy places where they are thus invidiously distinguished from their superiors in rank.

THE LAW, usually made a pretext, affords no solid ground for depriving the parishioners at large of their common right to worship in their parish church. By what extraordinary perversion of meaning, "the duty of seating all" is held to imply or justify giving pews of their own to a hundred out of a thousand families, it is hard to conceive.

There cannot be a more complete exclusion of *some* than to assign the seats to others. Here again there is a dilemma impossible to be escaped from. Either "seating the parishioners" means "appropriating pews to a favoured few," in which case the wardens have no duties left either towards the *majority* who are not "seated," or towards the *minority* who are seated *once for all*; or else the warden's duty extends alike to *all* the parishioners and to all the seats, and requires that, at every service, all who come in time shall be at once seated; that is, sent forward to fill the then empty seats, or be shown to them where necessary; in which case the qualification, "according to degree" would include just so much supervision by the wardens or their subordinates as may in some cases be expedient where their aid is invoked to preserve order, as at charity sermons, confirmations, and the like.

The whole subject of the law of church seats was fully treated in a paper read before the Wolverhampton Church Congress. It may suffice now to state it in the following syllogistic form. Nothing is *law* now (except by special enactment) which was not law (or custom) in the reign of Richard I. But there was not, till long after that reign, any such custom as that of allotting particular seats to particular persons. Therefore it is not the law now that pews or sittings shall be so allotted. But if it were the law, this could not, I submit as a lawyer, alter or affect the bounden duty of the parishioners themselves. If they care for the Church, if they value their own parish churches, they are bound to use every peaceable means to prevent the appropriation to a few, of "that which God and the Republic have made common."—(Taylor's "Holy Living.")

Even in the decisions of those questionable tribunals, the Ecclesiastical Courts, there is

not a word to justify what alone makes appropriation sought for, namely, the reservation of seats till the end, middle, or beginning of service. Few rents are positively declared to be unlawful, and yet, in one shape or other, they are being more and more annexed to appropriation, as its necessary incident. Nothing is clearer than that the law requires the wardens, as elected by and for all the parishioners equally, to see that no monopoly in seats is created, so as to hinder in the least any who come to worship from at once having seats until the church is quite full, and the attempt to absolutely reverse this rule, by requiring wardens to create a monopoly by "seating" (i.e., giving pews to) a tenth of the parishioners, is a curious and wonderful illustration of the law's "glorious," but often very puzzling "uncertainty."

6. By what practical measures can the National Church, now in sore peril from the hostility of the excluded borough and county electors, be now effectually defended? Surely not by vague generalities in favour of "Church and State," by abuse of the Liberation Society, or by allegations, clearly untrue, that the Church is "the poor man's Church," the "Church of the people."

It *ought* to be this—and must be so, to insure its effectual defence.—Our work, therefore, is (a) to make every poor man and woman in England know and feel that by law the Church is theirs, and for them, though closed to them for a time; (b) by convincing those who now possess the churches that their pew rights are not worth their cost and risk to the Church and to themselves, so to persuade them to renounce those rights; (c) until the final "restitution" of parish churches to the people, to obtain from those in possession some "satisfaction" in the shape of free self-supporting mission-churches, with full services, in every pewed-up parish; (d) to secure that in every new church for a populous parish, the seats shall be left free to all alike; and especially (e) to check the perverse and mischievous action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church Building Societies, who now discourage the true parochial system of free parish churches, and expend public money wrongfully, upon churches of which they allow the half or more to be pew-rented to a tenth of the parishioners.

7. In conclusion. If such measures are neglected, if all the warnings of the last twenty years fail to arouse Churchmen to a sense of the utter impossibility of defending the Church of England for the chief benefit of the now pew-holding families; and if the nation is hence to be deprived of the inestimable advantage, intended by the establishment of religion, whose fault will it be? Not that of the Liberation Society, who carefully avoid ever raising this question, because they know that closed churches are the cause and strength of dissent; not the fault of High Churchmen, who now call for disestablishment; not the fault of our opponents in the Church; no, but the fault of those numerous clergy and laity who express great sympathy with our cause, but have refused year after year, and still refuse year after year, to preach a sermon, or subscribe, or raise a finger for a national movement, upon which, more than any other, the future of the Church depends, and which some have done and sacrificed so much to promote.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. ARCHER GURNEY, M.A.

ON many grounds, I think, our sincere thanks are due to Mr Herford and to a Society which wishes to have what is called a Free Gospel and an Open Church; and I have not the least doubt that in very many instances, both in town and country, this system may work most happily and satisfactorily. It is a very different matter, however, to lay down that it is a divine law of God that, under no circumstances whatsoever, the appropriation of seats shall be allowed in churches, whether on legal or equitable grounds; and, again, that if such appropriation be allowed, it is iniquitous and wicked

to allow of any money whatsoever passing in consideration of the accommodation provided. It appears to me, I confess, that there is nothing whatsoever essentially wicked or wrong in providing special accommodation, under given circumstances, for individuals and for families, for the aged, for the infirm, or for the sick ; and further, that a special consideration should be gladly rendered by those who are partakers of that particular benefit. But, then, it must be always on the understanding that there are plenty of free services in the same churches, and plenty of opportunities for all men to meet on a footing of absolute equality in the presence of the Lord of Hosts. I do honestly believe that the more we look into this matter, and the more deeply we consider it, the more we shall tend to the conclusion that, upon the whole, in town as well as in country, it would be well to have services of two orders—definite congregational services, services in which, in the main, the worshippers are one and the same regularly, although a third, or a fourth portion of those who are present might be stray comers ; and then that there should also be mission services and free services in all our churches. As a matter of fact, I believe that this is worked already in many churches, and could be worked in many more. It was worked in the first church in which I was called upon to minister—the Church of Holy Trinity at Exeter. There, after two parochial services at 11 and 3, always largely attended, there was a perfectly free service at 7 in the evening, which was literally crammed. Of course I need not say that in all our churches the early services, whatever they may be, preceding the 11 o'clock service, are to all intents and purposes wholly free. It does not follow from this, however, that it should not be permitted in any service whatsoever to appropriate sittings. The usage on the Continent has been alluded to. I am not acquainted with Belgium, but I am with France ; and not long ago, happening to be at Chantilly, a country town of 4000 or 5000 inhabitants, I went into the parish church, and said to the sexton, "Pray, sir, are any sittings here let?" "There is not a seat in this church that is not let," he answered. "How do you manage, then?" "Oh, it is only for two services, and we have always four, and sometimes five ; therefore we have not the least difficulty in the matter. The church is well attended at all those services, and everybody is content." The same system is carried out at the Madeleine in Paris. A great many of the chairs in that immense church have names marked upon them, but that does not give a right to keep the people out from the use of the church of God, or the use of that chair save at particular services. I confess, I do not believe that the long morning service of from one and three-quarter hours to two hours will be found in the long run suited to the spiritual wants of the great body of our working-men. If it is, it will be contrary to the experience of the whole of the world. Earlier services are elsewhere provided for the working-classes, and later, and are used by them ; and where those services are provided, the Church of God is thronged. That this is not so in the Church of England cannot be imputed to any essential inferiority in her, or to her worship or her teaching ; and we must therefore attribute it to our unhappy endeavour to confine our church-worship for the last 200 years mainly to the hours of 11 and 3. People have got so much into the habit of thinking that if they go to church at all they must go at 11 o'clock, that the Registrar-General in his computation only allows for the 11 o'clock service ;—this is the only thing he takes practical notice of. This subject is much too large to be disposed of in a few minutes. It requires to be regarded from many points of view, and to be very thoroughly weighed. I sincerely trust that no arbitrary course of action will be adopted by Parliament without the fullest consideration of this most delicate and intricate theme. We hear much of a free gospel. Now it always has appeared to me that the gospel should indeed be preached freely and unreservedly to all men, and emphatically freely,—that is, in the sense of being without money and without price, to those who do not acknowledge the Christian faith, who have to be converted from the ways of darkness. A free gospel is of course to be addressed to those who are to be drawn in. But those who are already Christians are bound to give tithes, are bound to pay before they give at all ; and I can see nothing wrong in part of this pay-



ment being made for special accommodation at certain services. What I chiefly object to is Voluntaryism, and the voluntary principle, in every sense, that the clergy should be dependent on the chance gifts of their congregations; that men should give as much as they like, and when they like, instead of being under a sacred obligation to pay. Still, the Society for Free and Open Churches does a great work in protesting against gross abuses; and I, for one, am bound to end as I began, by thanking Mr Herford and his friends for their generous endeavours and strong crusade against a close system which would strip parishioners of their essential rights.

### The Right Hon. EARL NELSON.

As President of the London Free and Open Church Association, I thought it right to say a few words to you; and, taking up at once the last remark of Mr Archer Gurney, I would say, that I always thought that the voluntary system, as he calls it, was really supported by pew-rents. In other respects, I must congratulate those who are in favour of this movement on the very Christian manner in which Mr Titcomb and Mr Archer Gurney have put forth their voice in another way: in fact, I may almost look upon them as being very nearly converts to what we believe. I do maintain the right of churchwardens to seat their parishioners as against other people,—not to appropriate seats, but to see that their own people are seated. Mr Titcomb mentioned the church of St Mary Magdalene, where so many people flock from other parts to the services, that they have been obliged to have a certain portion reserved for their own parishioners, who come and fill it up before the service begins. As far as that point is concerned there is really comparatively little difference between us. And I will say more,—that if a number of rich people, wishing to have seats to worship together, choose to club together and build for themselves chapels of ease, they may do what they like. What I maintain is, that the parish church must be, in its free and open use, the church of the people. There are two points in which I differ materially from those gentlemen who have spoken against our view. I do not think they have thoroughly realised what I will call the missionary character of the parish church. In the old churches, there was always a part in which the unbelievers were to come and hear if they liked. Now you may do good with your pew-rented churches; you may get your converted poor, your rich and your middle-class people to sit together; but you won't get the masses to come in to hear and to be converted in the parish church. Again, it may be true enough that, without having an offertory, you may get a great deal of money from your parishioners; but there is one thing you won't do by any system except the system of the offertory—you may supplement it if you will, but without the offertory your poor people really cannot and do not give at all; and as there is a blessing in giving, we have no right to deprive them of that particular blessing. In a small parish church, where the congregation is not more than a hundred, chiefly labourers, we started the offertory regularly during the cotton famine, and not counting the gold, the average throughout the year was fourteen shillings a Sunday, and on the last Sunday when we left it off for that particular work, it was seventeen shillings; and the other day, when an offertory was made for the Salisbury Infirmary, I collected, as churchwarden, two pounds, not counting the gold. That shows that the poor wish to give if they have an opportunity of giving, and understand what it is they are asked to support; and I do not think they can well have the opportunity without the offertory. I do think in all places where churches are built for the benefit of the masses, for the purpose of supplying parish churches for the masses, we should not lose sight of the fact that there must be the privilege that the original parish church gave; and the absurdity of the contrary principle is clearly evident, because in all these cases, wherever they may be, you properly begin by starting mission services in the district. These services are free. Then why should you shut the church up, by opening it to only two services on the Sunday, and make the church partially pew-rented,

which destroys all your missionary work, shuts off all those who are not already made by the mission services true members of your congregation? This I feel very strongly. But you must not forget the fact that what we maintain is, not only that churches should be free, but that they should be open; and I mean by this that the poor man, not only at the services, but at other times, may come in,—those who have not got in their overcrowded cottages places for retiring for meditation and prayer, should know that they may come in without any fear or favour and worship God, or rest and meditate and think upon Him in God's holy house. There is one thing that has pleased me very much indeed, and made me say, in all soberness, not wanting to crow over them in any way, that I considered those who had spoken on the other side were more than half converts when I heard them both acknowledge that there might be, and I believe they would come to say ought to be, frequent services in the church more than the stated services, so that on all days, and especially on the Sundays, there might be opportunities for all to worship God in the times most suitable for them, and to the mode of life in which they live.

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REV. STEPHEN LETT, LL.D., Rector of Collingwood, and Rural Dean  
of West Simcoe, in the Diocese of Toronto.

SOME may deem it presumptuous in one hailing from so distant a land to address the great Church Congress of England; but being myself Chairman of a "Free and Open Church Association" in the diocese of Toronto, perhaps a voice from Canada may not be altogether unacceptable.

But before I commence the few remarks which I purpose making on the subject immediately before the Congress, allow me to say how very cheering it is to me, after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century, to find, among the many and wonderful changes which have taken place during that period, the Church so changed and so improved in her ministrations. I find a reality and an earnestness, both in laity and clergy, strongly in contrast with the apathy and torpor which pervaded it in former years. I find both clergy and laity, of every school of thought, urging on, one the other, to make the Church of England the Englishman's Church. I see what I cannot designate otherwise than a great revival of religion in her ranks. As one among many instances, I will mention a service at which I had the happiness of being present last week in the Church of Grantham—a confirmation administered by your own venerable Bishop. All was most edifying; it was no slovenly or perfunctory ceremony. The holy father, as he lovingly laid his hands on each of the candidates as they severally came up, and pronounced his apostolic benediction, must have impressed every person present as though he believed in his office, as though he believed that the act he was performing was a reality and not a sham; as though, by that act, grace was truly conveyed to those whom he then admitted into full communion with the Church.

But to the question before us. I see before me a vast assemblage of Englishmen and Englishwomen, and the English are proverbially lovers of fair play. Now I think that the old system of boxed-up pews has not had fair play in this Congress, for the two reverend divines, who read papers on the negative side, gave up the old system altogether, and were more than half in favour of the free and open movement; therefore to give that old system *fair play*, I will put myself forward as its advocate, and I will take as my motto—

"Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo."

Or, as it is translated by our great poet—

“I do not like untaught knaves, unmannerly,  
To come between the wind and my nobility.”

How charming and pleasant it is to have yourself removed from the vulgar, often the offensive, crowd of worshippers, redolent of anything but patchouli or “jockey-club!” Something delightful to see them hustling one another in the comfortless aisle, while you are snugly ensconced in your well-cushioned, well-carpeted, well-curtained pew, not unfrequently furnished with a stove to keep away the sepulchral damp of the ill-ventilated church! Surely this is “heaven made easy;” and should the preacher be prosy and slow, you can take a refreshing nap without being seen by the parson. Or should you be late into church, you can still secure your seat, although others, who had been there before the service commenced, are still “left out in the cold.” Nor must I omit to mention another great advantage in the fashion of former days: it gave great scope for the exercise of taste. Truly “variety is charming;” and how charming and grateful to the eye to see the various tastes of pew proprietors exhibited in the variety of colour in the linings of their respective pews! Here we had sky-blue, next to it comes sombre brown, then sea-green; so that, in fact, there seemed to be a decomposition of the sun’s light, pleasing to the eye and grateful to the taste.

Sometimes, however, no doubt, these pews are inconvenient to you should you be a stranger. When I came to England last August, I was desirous to be present at our Church-service, as conducted in its grandest and noblest mode of celebration, so I wended my way to Westminster Abbey. I, however, mistook the time, and was somewhat late. Now, being one of those who, having regard to the rationale of our service, cannot enjoy or enter fully into it unless, being present at the commencement, I have made a confession of my sins to Almighty God, and have heard their absolution and remission pronounced with power and authority, I therefore left the Abbey to worship in some other church where divine service had not as yet commenced. Nor was I long in finding one—St Margaret’s, I believe, close by the Abbey. It was for the most part all boxed up. I took my seat in the aisle. The sexton, supposing that I was a clergyman or somebody too respectable to sit among the common people, with much courtesy offered me a seat in a fine capacious pew, No. 49, which I accepted. Presently he came to me, and said, “Oh, sir, I believe that the family are in town.” I said that “It made no difference.” Presently a well-dressed person (his conduct does not warrant me in styling him a gentleman) with a lady came to the pew-door. He bowed to me most politely; I returned his salute. He repeated the operation; so I perceived that all this politeness was an intimation that I should leave the pew, which I did, my polite friend saying that I could go into the next pew. So, not to be overdone in courtesy, I bowed, and said, “No, thank you, sir; I am much obliged to you.” I took my seat in the aisle, in, I fear, all the pride of humility. Presently another sexton came to me, and said, “Won’t you take a seat, sir?” I replied, in a voice which I intended my ejector to hear, “No, thank you; to be turned out of a seat once on a Sunday is quite sufficient for me.” Now, I do not blame the proprietor of pew No. 49,—though I cannot reconcile his conduct with that of a Christian gentleman—he was but standing on his rights; but I blame the system under which such conduct was possible. Now, supposing that I was not a lover of my Church; suppose I was a careless and indifferent layman, do you think that I would ever have gone into a church again to subject myself to such an indignity? Then let me mention another instance illustrating the evil which the boxing-up system may be the parent of. Some days ago I was at a harvest-festival in a pewed church; all the free seats around were crowded, while the eight or ten unsightly boxes in the best part of the building stood alone in their dignified grandeur without one single occupant; and I am told that such is the case on each Sunday also. I am happy to say that my friend the vicar is about to introduce an altered state of things, by substituting free benches for these unsightly pews. Sometimes, too, a church is said to be free, while really it is not

so. The grand old Cathedral of St Patrick, in Dublin, is professedly free, and I must say, much more so than it was when I used to worship there many years ago. But there are several little gates to the various aisles, which the sexton opens at his pleasure, so that positively "the power of the keys" is transferred from the Priest to the vergers!

As to the offertory, I consider the offertory as part of our worship; nor can I agree with a previous speaker that a penny or a pound dropped into a missionary-box on the chimney-piece is, in the same manner or degree, an oblation to Almighty God; as, when the sentences are in reading, the deacons, churchwardens, or other fit persons appointed for that purpose, receive the alms for the poor and other devotions of the people, and reverently bring the same to the priest, who humbly presents and places them on the holy Table. The offertory, moreover, is the only mode, as Earl Nelson truly remarked, by which the poor can contribute to the support of the Church of God. A great difficulty which we Canadian clergy have to contend with is this, that you send us out as emigrants numbers of your mechanics, your labourers, and others, whom you have never taught the duty of supporting by their means the services of God's house. My experience is, that the more people give to this purpose, the more do they feel an interest in and love that church, to the erection and sustentation of which they have given pecuniary aid. The more you teach your people to give, the more will they desire to give. I can testify that the very poorest of my congregation give gladly of their little, and would be offended if they were denied that which they justly consider a privilege as well as a duty.

In many of our Canadian churches "the envelope system" is adopted. As my time is drawing to a conclusion, I must be brief in explaining this mode of providing for church expenses. After the churchwardens have been elected at the Easter Vestry, they wait on each parishioner separately, and ask him or her, "How much are you willing to contribute weekly through the offertory towards the maintenance of religion in our midst, the clergyman's stipend, and all other ordinary expenditure?" Whatever may be the reply, say, one dollar, then the churchwarden hands him fifty-two small envelopes, marked with a number corresponding to a number in the churchwarden's book. He puts one of these envelopes, with his weekly offering, in the collection-plate, and he gets credit for the same in the book. Should he be absent for one or several Sundays, he makes up the deficiency when next he attends. By this means a sum sufficient for the wants of the church is supplied.

In conclusion, I would ask, by what law, human or divine, do you presume to make the Church of God exclusive for a favoured few? Did the Blessed One say, "Come unto Me *all* that labour and are heavy-laden?" What right, then, have you to make such arrangements in His house that not a tithe of the inhabitants of the parish can obey this gracious invitation?

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### Rev. J. S. JONES.

I WILL say how thankful I am for Mr Titcomb's speech. We could not have had that speech ten years ago, we could not have had that speech five years ago. We believe that God in His mercy is teaching what we feel to be the truth to our brethren in all sorts of ways and by all sorts of methods, and perhaps not the least of these are the ways in which He is teaching our Nonconformist brethren. If Mr Titcomb were to appeal to our Nonconformist fellow-countrymen in regard to some of these points which he has brought before us to-day, he would find their response to be just as hearty, and with respect to the evil, just as indignant as our own. I cannot undertake in ten minutes to deal with what it takes twenty or thirty minutes to allege, but allow me to say just one word upon each of the counts which Mr Titcomb has urged against the system. First, he says that if the pew-rent is a tax, so are other forms of giving, and so is the offertory;

it is only an *ex post facto* tax instead of one beforehand. Well, apply this commercial principle to anything else but the Church and see how it will work. Consider not only as to Christian theory how far an offering made in worship is the same thing as a payment paid for personal convenience. Consider it not only so,—do not go to pew-renters or to offertory givers and ask them only what they think about it—it is quite possible that many people have the same opinion about the offertory that they had before about pew-rents; if they have, the sooner we clergy teach them otherwise the better. But we cannot teach them otherwise unless we give them the chance to think and act otherwise. But go to any shop in this town and ask permission to apply the test. Say, “I have been instructed to say, that a voluntary offering is the same thing as a fixed and recognised payment; so instead of taking your goods and paying for them at the counter or once a quarter, just allow me to come to your shop and select whatever article in it I like, and take my word for it I will give you something sometime or other on the voluntary principle.” And then we are told that we want endowments, and that if we cannot have endowments we must have pew-rents. But just notice that this implies the fallacy, that putting a rent on a place is the same thing as getting it. It implies the fallacy that you have only to fix upon ten houses a rent of £100 a year and you are £1000 the richer. The pew-rent fallacy goes very much upon that ground, taking it for granted that asking for a tax is getting it; the incumbents of pew-rent churches in tens and twenties all over the country can tell another tale. Then it is said it does not cripple the use of the church. Does it not? Have we not all over the country examples from time to time of free services and children’s services being stopped because the pew-renters won’t have it? Are there not churches which could be named where people have paid additional rent for additional services in order to be able to retain their pews though they do not want to come, and to lock them against those who might come? Ask Dissenters as well as Church-people whether appropriation does not cripple the use of the sanctuary. “It is not incompatible with free-will offerings.” Mr Titcomb can get a large amount of free-will offerings out of his people as well as the pew-rents. Well, we thank God for it, and no doubt good is done with it; but Mr Ross of Hackney, Dr Parker of the Poultry, and a swarm of Nonconformists, beside Church-people, will tell you that one of their strongest convictions has become this, that the ethics of our giving have in this respect been altogether at sea. We can appeal to other communions beside our own. Then it is said it does not limit the congregation. There is, however, a priority of claims. What is the difference between priority and proprietary in principle? What right has parishioner A to a priority as against parishioner B? What right has one man in the parish to even priority for five minutes as against another? And then we are to have one third of the seats free. Why one third? If it is a good thing, why not all? If it is a bad thing, why one third? The free block in Mr Titcomb’s church has been overflowed. It has been overflowed because it was free. If it had not been free it would not have been overflowed. That free block is just a free church in miniature; you have a free church in the midst of that church, and all the arguments which apply to a free church apply to that free block. You find a difficulty in getting into it. It seems you have to overflow it. You are liable to all sorts of contact, you cannot all sit together in that free block. In short, every one of the evils which attach to a free church apply to a free block only in an augmented proportion because if you have a certain percentage of the parishioners with a priority of claim to the rest of the church, you leave to the whole of the rest of the parishioners only the free block from which to choose. “It does not foster pride except in the old square form of pew.” That is to say, if only instead of our parlours and our chairs and our couches,—if only we have seats which look like, but are not really like,—if only we can have the satisfaction and say, “Well, this seat looks like a free seat but it is not free; it is much more comfortable; it is really my own, I can say it is mine;” we can have the satisfaction of the pride without the look of the pride; we can be Pharisee and publican at once. We are thankful for Mr Titcomb’s speech for this reason, because all earnest

and hearty workers for God are sure to find a great many common standards: when once we can but feel that our mission is to this old English people, in some way or other we shall try to fulfil it. And so we have got to this programme, that all seats are to look alike, there is to be no appearance of distinction; you are to have all vacant places free so soon as the bell stops; you are to have the people, if they like, quietly to substitute one system for another, and you are to have the church open for private prayer. Well, all I can say is, that if you give us this, we shall not say we have got all, but we shall be heartily thankful. Give us a church in which all seats are to be alike, in which there is to be freedom when the bell stops, which is to be opened for private prayer and frequent services, and we have no sort of doubt that the pew system will die a natural death before many years have passed. But we do ask our friends, if they believe in that end, to work for it; we believe in ours that we have done good. Do you work for your end; we will be thankful if you do, but do not leave the evil altogether alone. If we are to have this model church—we have never seen it yet—work for it by all means! Have an organisation to carry out your end; and while we will not abate one jot or tittle of our own claims, we will wish you “good luck in the name of the Lord.”

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REV. GEORGE VENABLES, Vicar of St Matthew's, Leicester.

It appears to me that the meeting is somewhat uneasy, and that we shall have, in a few moments, a specimen of free and unappropriated sittings of a character I do not like. I am very glad to think that you, my Lord Bishop, are presiding at this interesting meeting; for I well recollect the first time I ever had the pleasure of hearing you preach was in the glorious Minster of Lincoln, under circumstances which certainly identified you with the “free and open” system, for it was in the great nave of that glorious Cathedral, where everybody took their sittings as they chose. I cannot hesitate to announce myself as thoroughly a partisan in this movement, and simply because I have ever regarded it as thoroughly right in principle. What can be the object of building houses to the glory of God, and consecrating them for the purpose of worshipping God, and then of practically saying, perhaps to four out of every five people in your parish, “You cannot come into this house of God, for already it is appropriated to one-fifth of your fellow parishioners.” And then, that which is so right in principle appears to me to have worked out admirably in practice. I have now had a great many years’ experience in the work of the ministry, and wherever I have been, I have seen the evils of the system of appropriation, and the great advantages (wherever they have been attempted) of the free and open system. I do not believe that there is any part of England in which so much mischief has been done to the cause of religion and to the advance of the Church of England by the pew system, as in our country villages. I believe it has alienated the mind and heart of the poorer classes, who should naturally love the Church as their chief friend. I believe it has been the cause of the erection of many a little Wesleyan chapel close by a church, because the people were warm, comfortable, and free there, and felt that there was no distinction made between one and the other; whereas, if they went to their parish church, they found themselves abandoned to a few awkward and very hard sittings, while the farmers and a few other people scowled upon them from their great high-cushioned well-lined pews in front of them. And, when we come to facts, I think facts are in full keeping with these principles. Mr Titcomb, in his very kind and admirable paper, replete with good Christian feeling, and given in a loving spirit, endeavoured to answer, by anticipation, every argument that would be brought forward in favour of the free and open system, and he did it by what he called “facts.” I could not help thinking of an old saying as he was speaking (and I am sure he will forgive me), that “facts are stubborn things;” and after he had put us down by a succession of eight or ten “facts” heaped upon our anticipated arguments, I could not help thinking,

"Well, he is one mass of facts, and therefore he must be one of the most—" Well I leave the rest of the sentence to his imagination. (Loud laughter.) Now, my friends, about fifteen months ago an opportunity was given me of trying the free and open system, which I accepted with great pleasure, though not without trepidation. I found myself possessed of a glorious church, holding 1300 people on the ground-floor, without any limit whatever, except that it is always free to the first comer; and that amongst a population of 12,000 working-people, I felt that this was an opportunity for me to try a system which probably would not be granted to me in my lifetime again if I now refused it. And, after having scanned carefully the working of that system for fifteen months, and having—I hope I speak it with humility and gratitude to God—seen the church filled to overflowing sometimes, I say I am fully convinced that this result would not have been obtained, could not have been obtained, certainly in that district, under the circumstances in which I had been placed, unless the church were free and open. And during all that time, the offertory has been gradually enlarging, till now, I think I may venture to say, it is nearly double what it was per Sunday twenty months ago. There is one remark I should like to make, if there is time, and it is, What an immense advantage a free and unappropriated church gives to a minister and to an active population; for, of course, we work together, the clergy and the laity, or else there is no work done at all I am satisfied. What an opportunity you have in a free and open church for a variety of services which are greatly needed now! We hear a great deal about missions, and catechising, and the like. I should like to go and see a man hold a catechising in an afternoon in a place where nearly all the sittings are appropriated. It is a practical impossibility. (No.) I say it is a practical impossibility without a great many arrangements which, in most instances, are practically impossible to be made. In a few instances it may be managed; but, as a general principle, I say again it is impossible. Many years ago, in the first parish in which I was a curate in Oxfordshire, I remember, in a glorious church in which I ministered, we used to lament over the cold and heartless manner in which the service was performed. But we had a hamlet in the parish, and there, in a barn, I held a service every Sunday night. The same people often were there who came to the church; but there was this difference, that whereas in the church the service was cold and heartless, in the barn it equalled anything I have ever heard, I think, at any of our cathedrals, Lincoln included. Why was it? Because everybody sat where he or she chose; because the place was thoroughly thronged, the people being all close to one another, and so "the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith," and the farmer's man and the squire responded together; and working in this way we had, what we do so much long to have everywhere, thoroughly hearty and devotional services. One word of caution must be added here. Do not let us imagine that the free and open system in itself is to be a panacea for all our troubles, we must quite remember that. It is only the removal of one great obstruction; but neither that, nor indeed all the agencies of man, can take the place of the faithful preaching of Christ, and of the gospel of Christ. And I would say in conclusion, my friends, I think all we have to do in this matter is calmly and quietly, and with a Christian spirit, to press on the matter; because the ultimate issue of it all is now, I think, beyond any possibility of doubt.

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The Rev. SAMUEL THORNTON, M.A., Rector of St George's,  
Birmingham.

I WISH to speak on this subject from the parochial clergyman's point of view. We are all aiming at the same great object, namely, to get souls in to hear the message of salvation, and profit by the ministry of God's Word and sacraments. On that account I rather

regret some words which fell from Mr Herford, with regard to the unreasonableness and selfishness which characterised the arguments brought forward upon the side opposing his own ; also the apparent assumption from beginning to end that those who did not agree with the Free and Open Church Association were unscriptural in principle, illegal and unjust in practice. I absolutely repudiate all those three charges with regard to those who do not quite see eye to eye with the Free and Open Church Association. I absolutely deny the statement that the view of this Association is the only scriptural one. I deny that there is anything in Scripture directly bearing upon this detail of Church administration in a Christian country at all. I look in the Old Testament, and find there that there was a regular scale of contribution in connection with religious privilege, as well as voluntary offering. I see also that the only allusion to a collection in churches, made by the apostle in his epistle, was that allusion to probable gatherings when he would come, which he strongly deprecated. With regard to the scriptural question, however, a subsequent speaker entirely surrendered this ground, because he said you might build proprietary chapels on this principle ; and what is not wrong scripturally in connection with the worship of God in a proprietary chapel, cannot be wrong in abstract principle in a parish church. It is either utterly unscriptural or it is not. If it is utterly unscriptural, how dare you build proprietary chapels on that principle any more than parish churches ? Now a word in reply to the charge of illegality. Either pew-rents are recoverable at law, or they are not. If they are recoverable at law, clearly they are not illegal, because the law allows of their being recovered ; if they are not recoverable at law, clearly they are voluntary payments, and that is what they are. Then as to the charge of injustice, I want to know to whom the injustice is done. The charge of injustice always appears to me to be rather an imaginary one, unless you can point out to me the man upon whom the injustice lies ; and I have asked again and again to have put before me in the flesh the man who is done injustice to by the existence of pews at my church, and I fail to have him pointed out. (Oh, oh.) That is my view, and I gather it from not a brief experience in large towns and parishes. What the state of things in the country may be I am not prepared to say, but I am bound to say my experience convinces me that in town parishes the injustice, when you try to trace it to any individual man, disappears, and proves to be an abstraction, a shadow, a sentimentality from beginning to end, where the pew system is conducted, as it ought to be, on moderate, reasonable, Christian principles. Allow me to point out what I think the real nature of this question is. It is not a question of scriptural principle, it is not a question of injustice or illegality, but it is a question of expediency ; and we may differ upon that point without being any one of us any more unscriptural, unjust, or illegal, than the other. I quite concur in condemning the old pew system which some of our friends have been ridiculing, with its huge seats with high backs, in which sleepy farmers were cushioned up. All that sort of thing is in every way inexpedient ; and I am quite prepared to advocate every measure for eliminating the selfishness that is sure to be the bane of Christian congregations, and in every way preventing the pew arrangements doing the slightest unkindness to any human being that enters the door of the Church. But I think arrangements may be made which will entirely prevent this evil, compatible with the existence of the pew system, which has some advantages after all. First of all, by the pew system, you get a backbone of regular, stated contribution for religious objects in your congregation, without prejudicing or diminishing in the least the amount of voluntary contribution. Mr Titcomb has wisely said that is a bad system which makes two or three rainy days seriously affect the minister's income or the church expenses, or, worst of all, Christ's poor ; and that is likely to be the case unless you have some stated basis of contributions to build upon. It must not be supposed that those who have pew-rents are in the least degree opposed to the offertory. What I have in my church is pew-rents and offertory ; yea, pew-rents, collections, and offertory. We have an offertory at every service, placed in a box at the door, in which the people are trained to contribute at every service. That is done, notwith-



standing pew-rents and collections. I cannot dwell upon this point, but I repudiate the statement that having pew-rents diminishes liberality. Another advantage of the system of pew-rents is that it makes a minister feel the difference between a full church and an empty church; and although it is low ground to take, I think, as practical men, we must see that there is an advantage and expediency about that. I should not consider it a good plan to have all the parishes of our country so fully endowed that it would make not the least difference to the parson whether his church is full or empty. Then there is another thing, and to this I attach great importance as a parochial minister. We have a church holding two thousand people, almost full on Sunday night. I want to know how I am to handle that congregation except by some system of enrolment in connection with payment of the "shekel of the sanctuary" for the privilege of being enrolled. Of two thousand sittings, six hundred are lettable. In that way I get six hundred people to enrol themselves for the payment of a voluntary amount every half-year. We have these people's names and addresses, we know who they are, we know they intend to come. I can handle these members of my congregation, and I can circularise them from time to time. But with the great mass outside, after eight years' experience, I have come to this conclusion, that unless I can in some way get them enrolled, I cannot really be their pastor. They troop in by the hundred on Sunday evening, and troop out again. I cannot have a beadle always there to take their names and addresses; and the difficulty of getting enrolment on any other system, except that of payment in advance on a voluntary principle, for that is what the pew-rent system is, towards church and religious purposes, is very great indeed; and I have not yet found anybody who, in the case of a large town congregation, can suggest a better plan of learning who the people are in place of the plan at present adopted. I am not without experience in this matter. We have had anecdotes and facts about churches where the system has so superbly succeeded; but we must not blink the fact that there are places where it has as egregiously failed. I can point to churches where it has so done; and I confess, as a wise man, I prefer to look before I leap, and while things are going on well, I think it is perilous indeed to turn out those people who come regularly, and willingly pay this small voluntary charge every half-year. It is a great pity to throw that amount away, and try to turn these people out of the church for the purpose of trying to see if you can get in other people who will not come. I doubt very much whether any more people would come to church, or give as much, on the other system, if I made the change. Indeed, I feel persuaded it would not be so in my case. All I plead for, therefore, is caution. I plead that hasty, rash, sweeping changes shall not be made, that any incumbent who thinks of taking some step in this matter should look before he leaps. Remember that there are parishes and parishes, churches and churches, and that what may be good in half-a-dozen cases, may not be good in the seventh.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN pronounced the Benediction, and the sitting closed.

TUESDAY EVENING, 10th OCTOBER 1871.

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The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took his seat at Seven o'clock.

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THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY IN RELATION TO THE  
CURRENT FORMS OF SCEPTICISM.

Rev. Dr LIGHTFOOT read the following paper:—

THE justification of this subject, as one profitable and fit for discussion, must rest on two fundamental assumptions. First, that there is in the mass of men a certain faculty of apprehending the truth, and not only this, but also a certain desire to apprehend it; and secondly, that this faculty may be thwarted, and this desire misdirected, in any given age, by the special tendencies of that age. If the first assumption be false, any such investigation would be useless; if the second, it would be superfluous.

Of the former nothing need be said, for it explains and justifies itself; but the latter demands some consideration. Allowing that there is a general appetency after truth, and supposing that Christianity is the absolute truth, how is it not universally and eagerly accepted? how comes it to be denied by many, and only half-believed by many more, who yet have the opportunity of investigating its claims? To this we may answer generally; that elsewhere the cogency of the evidence by no means varies directly as the importance of the subject; that moral principles for instance, though (as a rule) much more important than physical laws, yet not being capable of absolute demonstration like the latter, are constantly disregarded and even deliberately set aside by men whose sanity cannot be questioned; and that therefore analogy leads us to expect that the highest and most important truth will be met with still greater hesitation.

But granting that the fact is so, how is it reconcilable with the existence of a capacity and desire of truth? Now it may be held as an axiom, that all heresy arises not from opposition to right belief as such, but from the exaggeration of some one element in right belief to the neglect of others, till it becomes a perversion and a falsehood, the true proportions of the different parts being lost; just as in the body the determination of the vital humours to some one part generates disease. And this one-sided exaggeration arises from the peculiar tendencies of the society, or country, or age, in which the heresy flourishes. But obviously this principle of explanation may be extended from heresies, or perverted forms of Christianity, to scepticism and infidelity, that is, to the distrust and disbelief of Christianity in its entirety. The current of intellectual or political or social life will, in a given age, set strongly in some one direction. An exaggerated importance will be attached to certain forms of truth or certain developments of life. For these truths whole provinces will be arrogated, in which they have neither lot nor inheritance. To these developments an exclusive pre-eminence will be assigned, which leaves no place for others. Such extravagant claims Christianity cannot satisfy. If it is to make good its title to be considered the absolute religion, it must do so by embracing, combining, reconciling all that is true in the sphere of mind,

and all that is noble in the sphere of life.] But to this end it cannot tolerate any violation of the just proportions of the several component parts. Hence arises disappointment, because Christianity gives no corresponding response to these exaggerated demands; and out of disappointment is bred distrust and scepticism.

If this account is true, we ought to find that Christianity has been attacked at different times from different and even antagonistic points of view; that, for instance, one age has complained of defect in the very same element in which another age has condemned excess.

That this anticipation is justified by history, will appear from two examples. The one is taken from the varying political prejudice, the other from the varying intellectual bias, of different ages.

1. Christianity undertakes to harmonise the principles of *liberty* and *order*. It teaches men to be free and yet to be obedient. This being so, it is not difficult to see how it will be exposed at different times to attacks from those who push either principle to extravagance—from the extreme party of order and from the extreme party of change. As a matter of fact, this has happened in our own country. In the seventeenth century, during and after the troubles of the great revolution, the chief antagonists of Christianity are found among those who maintained the most exaggerated views of the autocracy of the sovereign, and inculcated absolute submission on the part of the subject. The party of change acted avowedly on Christian principles, and their extravagances produced a reaction, which more or less consciously identified Christianity with revolution. Hence the phenomenon of a Hobbes, who, an avowed sceptic in religion and ethics, outbids the staunchest champions of divine right in his advocacy of the autocratic power of the king. And Hobbes is only a type, though an extreme type, of a numerous class of thinking men in his own and subsequent generations.\* At a subsequent date, however, the political antagonism to Christianity has veered completely round. In the nineteenth century it is by the extreme advocates of change that the fiercest assaults are made. Liberty, as they construe liberty, seems inconsistent with the conservative element in the Gospel, and therefore the Gospel is discredited in their eyes. A representative writer of this class, a modern socialist leader, represents the principle of the age to be cosmopolitan democracy, and the principle of Christianity to be rigid conservatism; hence he argues that there must be war to the death between the two, since they confront each other, not as two opposite opinions or views, but as two opposing principles.† What would Hobbes have said to such language? It would be just as true to maintain that Christianity is eminently progressive, as to maintain that it is eminently conservative. Certainly we should find it difficult to point to any influence which has worked so effectually for the emancipation of oppressed classes of mankind. If there is profound irreverence in the expression, there is at least a substantial half-truth in the meaning, of the French demagogue who claimed our Lord as a *sans culotte*.

2. My second example illustrates the intellectual characteristics of different ages, as influencing their view of Christianity. The various and even

\* See Whately's *Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 74 sq.

† Schweizer's *Zeitgeist und Christenthum*, p. 99 sq., quoted by Luthardt, *Apologetic Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, p. 340, Eng. transl.

opposite lights, in which miracles have been regarded, form an eminently instructive study. In the New Testament itself, though miracles are an important element in the history, their prominence as evidences is relatively small. Setting aside the miracle of the resurrection, which stands by itself, they are employed chiefly to arrest attention and obtain a hearing for the doctrine. They appeal to a lower faculty; they have a rough value in overawing the ignorant and the listless. More than this they could hardly be expected to effect, among a people which suggested that Jesus cast out devils through Beelzebub the prince of the devils, and in an age which ascribed supernatural powers alike to the Greek philosopher Apollonius and the Roman Emperor Vespasian. A miracle might be an evidence of superhuman power; but the more important question, whence the power came, still awaited an answer. The substance of the message was the true evidence; the miracle was only secondary. Even then, it is the moral character of the miracles—their divine beneficence rather than their superhuman power—on which the chief stress is laid: "Many good works have I showed you from My Father. . . . If I do not the works of My Father, believe not Me, but if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works" (John x. 32, 37, 38). Accordingly, throughout the writings of the Christian apologists in the second century there is an almost pervading silence on the subject of miracles as a branch of Christian evidences. These writers lay much stress on the prophetic announcements of Christianity, much on the intrinsic character of the Gospel message, much on its influence upon the lives of its adherents. But mere acts of power, mere deviations from the natural course of things, were in the early ages of Christianity no certain testimony to the divine origin or the truth of the teaching—

"Wonders that would prove doctrine go for nought."

How could it be otherwise, when the belief in magic was so universal that the nascent Neo-platonic philosophy incorporated it as a substantive article in its creed? And this view of supernatural powers prevailed for some centuries. There was no more superstitious believer in magical arts than the renegade and philosophic Julian. We may pass over the middle ages, during which it was only a question of moral, not of intellectual conviction, and in which therefore evidences as such can hardly be said to have had any place at all. But after the revival of learning and the dawn of science the aspect is changed. Gradually the idea of regular sequence, of strict law in the physical world, gains ground. Then, and not till then, miracles begin to have a substantial value as a branch of evidences. They are regarded as witnesses of a divine providence in the background, which can overrule and suspend this mechanical sequence. The idea of law brings out the idea of miracle, for the two are correlative. At first then they are a special evidence; but as the idea of law still further prevails, and prevailing overpowers the mind, from being a special evidence they become a special objection, themselves needing extraordinary testimony to establish their truth. The turning-point is already past when Hume states the case as a "a contest of opposite improbabilities—that is to say, a question whether it be more improbable that the miracle should be true or the testimony false."\* The more recent antagonists of Christianity

\* As expressed in Paley's *Evidences*, Introduction.

(if they were logically consistent, they should go further and deny all human responsibility) refuse to balance probabilities. Their fundamental axiom is the impossibility of a miracle. And the great problem with the rationalists of the present century—pre-eminently with Paulus in the early part, and with Renan at the present time—is how to preserve the history while rejecting the miracles—a problem of which they have signally failed in offering a reasonable solution; whereas the mythical school, rightly feeling that the two are inseparably interlaced, with greater boldness cuts the knot and rejects history and miracles together—an easy and expeditious process, to which, however, all ordinary rules of historical probability are sacrificed.

If then, as these illustrations show, the antagonism to Christianity takes up various positions at different times, it is obvious that the apologists for Christianity must shift their ground and throw up their defensive works accordingly:—

“So duly, daily, needs provision be  
For keeping the soul's prowess possible,  
Building new barriers as the old decay.”

Having thus endeavoured to show in what sense Christian apologetics must be progressive, I will occupy the time which remains in offering some suggestions as to the direction which, in the present age, they may profitably take. But in doing so it will be necessary to limit the field of view by dismissing the consideration of *à priori* objections to revelation absolutely, however important this consideration may be in itself, and confining our attention to the special defences of Christianity (including under this term the preparatory dispensation also). Thus restricted, the subject falls under two heads—the genuineness of the documents professing to contain the revelation, and the truth of the revelation itself.

1. The first branch of the subject—the defence of the documents—is of very recent growth. Though desultory attacks have been made on the outworks of the Biblical record from very early times, it is only within the last few generations that there has been any vigorous or systematic assault on the citadel itself. Let us not deny the vast obligations under which theology lies to modern criticism. It has brought out unexpected harmonies, and suggested new trains of thought eminently useful to the theologian. Without its aid the significance of revelation, as a progressive and manifold development, would never have been so fully realised. But these brilliant triumphs have turned its head; and, though there is method in its mad excesses, they are madness still. Now I do not know any better way of correcting the extravagances of criticism than by holding up a mirror to it, and bringing it face to face with itself. This may be done in two ways. The first is to confront it with its past history, and by so doing to teach it a wholesome distrust of itself. Thus a single chapter of its story—its handling of St John's Gospel—will furnish an eminently instructive lesson. Baur, who, though not the first to question its genuineness, was the first to organise the attack and to give it formidable dimensions, concluded that this Gospel could not have been written earlier than about A.D. 170. The mantle of Baur fell upon Hilgenfeld; but Hilgenfeld, pressed by considerations external and internal, was constrained here, as at many other points in the line of attack, to retire from the extreme position of the elder critic, and placed it about the middle of the second cen-

tury ; while latterly he has shown a disposition to recede still further, and now fixes the date A.D. 135-140. Lastly, a more recent critic, Keim, feeling the force of the arguments for an early date still more strongly, while denying the apostolic authorship of the Gospel, yet maintains that it cannot have been written later than about A.D. 110-117 ; a concession which is almost equivalent to an unconditional surrender, for we are thus brought back very nearly to the last years of St John, to which it is ascribed by tradition. This instance—I have not time for others—will show how the history of criticism may serve as a warning against the excesses of criticism. The second mode to which I referred, is the application of its favourite processes to extraneous subjects, for the purpose of showing to what abnormal results they lead. Thus, for instance, Mr Rogers in the *Eclipse of Faith* (p. 340 sq.) tested the procedure of the mythical school by applying it to the religious movements of our own age, and was able to show that our Newmans and our Wiseman, whom we vainly believed to be men of flesh and blood, must hereafter be regarded as mere personifications of different theological developments which marked the nineteenth century. Those who have followed the course of recent speculations on the two names Euodia and Syntyche, which occur accidentally in the Epistle to the Philippians, and which (we are assured) represent the Judaic and Pauline sections of the Church respectively, will acknowledge that Mr Rogers's portrait is no ugly caricature, but a striking and even flattering likeness of a leading method of this school. And again : the arguments founded on the *à priori* improbability of the incidents related, or on the real or supposed discrepancies in the Gospels, as though they invalidated the main facts of the narratives, can only be met by taking some portion of indisputable history, and showing how it also would evaporate, if subjected to the same temperature of criticism. It would really be a useful work, if any one would set himself to expose the methods of this "higher" criticism by working out parallels to its more prominent processes, always taking care to avoid exaggeration. Archbishop Whately's *Historic Doubts* are too slight, and partake too much of the caricature to serve the purpose. Only our champion should be cautioned not to hamper himself with a hopeless theory of inspiration, which will drive him to strained expedients for harmonising details, and thus destroy the force of his historical investigation.

2. From attacks on the genuineness of the documents I pass to attacks on the truth of the revelation itself. Here indeed the attacks are not new, as in the former case ; but as the arms of the assailants have changed, the tactics of the defenders must be modified also. Of the two arguments, on which older writers on Christian evidences lay the chief stress—miracles and prophecy—neither has now any commanding force. Of the former I have already spoken ; of the latter I shall have to say a few words presently. But after setting these aside, there still remain two great provinces of Christian evidences which have a permanent value, and will repay any outlay of thought and investigation. These are the History of the Revelation and the Substance of the Revelation.

(1.) When I speak of the History of the Revelation, I include not only the history of its communication, but also the history of its reception and results. In other words, the term will comprise not only the narratives of the Old and New Testaments, but also the narrative of the life and progress

of the Christian Church. Now it will be useful, and (I venture to think) not ineffective, to show how this history differs from every other history. It is in fact the very main-stream of history : the one which alone has a continuous existence from the first dawn of the historical epoch to the present day—the one which alone never loses itself in the wastes, however imminent the danger may have appeared at critical moments, but is ever receiving important tributaries from all sides. Mighty nations have perished ; imposing civilisations have decayed ; but this historical entity which we call the Church has had an uninterrupted vitality from the earliest patriarchal times to these latest days, growing, changing, developing, receiving fresh accessions of knowledge and evolving new forms of activity—not the same, and yet the same always—for indeed “the child is father to the man,” and all its days are “bound each to each by natural piety.” And it is just here that prophecy will find its right place, which even the critical tendencies of the present age can hardly refuse to it. The modern spirit is very intolerant of isolated facts or unconnected interpretations of facts. Law, development, continuity, are its watchwords. It turns a deaf ear to detached texts interpreted as Messianic predictions. Its criticisms have in some cases successfully impugned such interpretations, while in others they have failed. But, whether they are right or wrong in individual instances, the present age is plainly not impressed by isolated predictive utterances. On the other hand, point out that the whole history of the Jews is prophetic, is Messianic ; that, unlike the spirit of heathendom, it looks not back to a golden age in the past with vain sighs of regret, but looks forward with ever-buoyant hope and ever-increasing distinctness of vision to a glorious future, to a coming deliverance, a coming deliverer : and when you have established this, the isolated prophetic declarations may be left to take care of themselves. They will then appear as points of intensified brightness, stars half or wholly formed floating in the stream of nebulous light which spans the heaven of Jewish history.

I alluded to the tributaries of this great river of God. Here again is an eminently fruitful thesis which well deserves working out. You will survey the relations of the Israelites—the nation chosen out of the nations—with the surrounding peoples. You will mark how in succession they were brought into connection with the great powers of the ancient Oriental world—with Egypt, with Assyria, with Babylonia, with Persia—and how by affinity or by repulsion each successive connection contributed some new elements to the education of the Church. As you follow the stream down, you will turn from the east to the west, and you will there trace its successive confluence with the two great European tributaries which have so largely impregnated all later civilisation with their influences. You will observe how in each case the contact took place at the right moment—how Greece first diffused her matchless language and her fertilising intellectual resources through the civilised world, and then Rome, in consolidating her conquests, extended the principles of law and order, and established easy communications throughout the farthest provinces of her vast empire, each doing her part in preparing the way for the sudden and striking development of God’s Revelation, which was next to follow. And thus history will lead you to the conclusion that in the truest sense the “fulness of time” had arrived, when Christ came, and the Church of a nation expanded into the Church of mankind.

And corresponding to the course of the history is the character of the record. This record of the revelation, the Bible, is continuous and progressive, as history itself is continuous and progressive. When we are told that the sacred books of Judaism and Christianity are like any other sacred books, we are prepared on historical grounds alone to deny the resemblance. What connection for instance have the Vedās, or the Avesta, or the Koran, with the life and growth, the progressive energies, of a people or of mankind? In most cases you cannot even tell within some centuries when the books were written, for they present absolutely no certain points of contact with external history. If, as is the case with the Koran, the date and author are known, it is the product of a single mind, monotonous and stereotyped, having no relation to history and containing no elements of progress. On the other hand, the remarkable feature in the Bible is this; that though it spreads over many centuries, and presents the life of the race at divers epochs and from divers points of view, though, humanly speaking, it has grown accidentally, being not a book but a library, as St Jerome aptly called it, yet there is a oneness and a completeness in the result, which cannot fail to strike the mind when attention is directed to it. From the earliest chapters of Genesis to the last verses of the Apocalypse—the one laying the foundations of theology and religion in the elementary relations of man to His Creator, and his alienation from Him by sin (whether you regard it as hard fact or as poetic allegory, matters not for my purpose), the other directing our gaze forward to the final consummation of the world's history when the reconciliation of mankind to God shall be complete—it is one great epic of which Sin and Redemption are the subject, a work having beginning, middle, and end, and thus bearing witness to the guiding mind of One great Author, though the human authors are many, and though it is manifold alike in form and contents, comprising history and poetry, religious allegories and philosophical treatises and prudential maxims, all bound up within the same boards.

But to return from the record to the history. In the fulness of time Christ came, and yet He was not the product of time. His person and character cannot be derived from any historical elements then existing in the world. The train was laid through long centuries of history; but the spark which alone could fire it, came immediately from heaven. The attempts to derive the Christian idea, as embodied in the person of Christ, from any intellectual or moral or political tendencies then influencing the world, have signally failed. On this point, however, there is not time to dwell. It must suffice here to insist that at this epoch, which on all historical grounds must be allowed to have been the "fulness of time," appeared One whose character, on the lowest showing, is pre-eminent and unique among mankind, who is universally recognised as the central figure on the canvas of the world's history.

For as Jesus Christ is the goal of all preceding history, so is He the starting-point of all succeeding. As to Him all the lines of the past converge, so from Him all the lines of the future radiate. This thought, if I remember rightly, is as old as Pascal, and has found expression in more than one writer since.\* But the closer investigations of the past and the

\* See especially Luthardt, *Apologetic Lectures*, p. 55 sq. 265 sq.



more philosophical conceptions of history, which distinguish our own age, should enable us to work it out in greater detail, and from more various points of view. Of history before Christianity I have already said a few words; but it would be impossible in the short time allowed me to sketch, even in outline, the argument which post-Christian history contributes to the evidences of revelation. Its main purport would be to show how Christian ideas, propagated through the Christian society, have mediately or immediately, consciously or unconsciously, been the vivifying principle, which, containing in itself the seeds of a progressive growth, and animating the successive forms of social and intellectual life, has led them to their noblest moral achievements; which nevertheless has throughout maintained a hard struggle against the vices and the defects of the organisations in which it has been embodied, and which has been found effective always in proportion as it is accepted in its simplicity and integrity.

(2.) From the History of the Revelation let us turn to the second great branch of Christian evidences—the Substance of the Revelation. "Evidences of Christianity," exclaims Coleridge, "I am weary of the word. Make the man feel the want of it. Rouse him, if you can, to the self-knowledge of his need of it; and you may safely trust it to its own evidence—remembering only the express declaration of Christ Himself: *No man cometh to Me, unless the Father leadeth him.*"\*

Responsibility, sin, repentance, redemption—such ideas as these, which most profoundly stir the heart and influence the conduct of men, clamour for an explanation. In revelation alone, as consummated in Christianity, this explanation is given. If you reject it, your noblest yearnings and your deepest thoughts are denied satisfaction: you are thrown back on your despair. And not only so; but life, death, immortality, become once more a blank mystery, an insoluble enigma, about which nothing can be known, on which it is useless to speculate, and which you would do well to bury out of sight as rapidly and as completely as you may. And yet—you cannot help yourself—these thoughts will rise up unbidden, and your attempt to stifle them is vain.

It is just because the Christian idea—simple in itself—does contain an answer to these manifold and grave questions, that it claims our allegiance. It is just because the life of Christ, embodying this idea—though a plain story told in almost childlike language—is at once so far-reaching in its applications and so profound in its significance, that we accept it as "the truth."

It would be foolish to maintain that all difficulties, regarded as intellectual questions, are thereby solved. Has any other system solved them? But when the idea of the Person of Christ, as communicated through the history of the Life of Christ—the incarnation, the words and the works, the passion, the resurrection, the ascension—is once accepted, it is found to unite in itself the *practical* solution of so many perplexities, and brings out in distinctness of colour and outline so much which before was vague and confused and meaningless to the eye, that its moral evidence is overwhelming.

Moreover, the idea and the narrative bear reciprocal testimony the

\* *Aids to Reflection*, Conclusion, p. 338 sq.

one to the other. The idea justifies the narrative, and the narrative involves the idea. And not only so ; but the whole is as a building "fitly framed together," of which each part is sustained by and sustains all the others. Here will be found the support which is wanted for the supernatural. For the leading miracle, the resurrection, if it had stood alone, fuller testimony might not unreasonably have been demanded than is vouchsafed ; but considered in its manifold relations,\* it is found no longer to depend for support on the testimony of eye-witnesses alone, whether few or many, but derives strength from every part of the architectural whole, of which it is the corner-stone. The case is not very dissimilar with the miraculous conception of our Lord. We sometimes hear persons, who are otherwise sincere Christians, and accept the main incidents of the gospel history, expressing hesitation on this one point, on the ground that the evidence is scanty and inadequate to support so stupendous a fact. No doubt it is, if the fact had stood alone ; but viewed in connection with the other facts of the history, and in connection with the main doctrines of Christianity, it appears no longer as an architectural encumbrance endangering the safety of the building, but rather as a necessary part which serves to bind the structure together. And this consideration will appear still more forcible, if it should be found (as I believe to be the case) that the Evangelists themselves who recorded the facts did not in every case see their bearing, and it was reserved for later ages of the Church to trace these harmonies and correlations as finding their meeting point in the main idea of Christianity.

This is obviously a wide subject, and I am obliged to draw to a close. Let me say in conclusion, that this branch of evidences—the Substance of the Revelation—is pre-eminently worthy of study, for we cannot study it to any effect without throwing ourselves into the Life of Christ. Here then is united the education of our intellect and of our heart. Here we may look for the fulfilment of the poet's prayer that henceforth

"Mind and soul according well,  
May make one music as before,  
But vaster."

Here we may realise the truth of our Lord's own promise, that "if any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

The Rev. E. GARBETT, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church,  
Surbiton, Kingston-on-Thames, read the following paper :—

EVIDENCES are the reasons we have for belief. The evidences of Christianity therefore consist of all the reasons which lead us to believe in the Divine origin and authority of Christianity, whether they are external to the Bible or internal, whether they are historical, drawn from the facts of the world without us, or moral, drawn from the facts of the world within. We class them together under the common name of the evidences, because there is one organic unity among them. They are not an aggregate of desultory and isolated arguments, which only meet in the common nature of their conclusion ; but they form a body of proofs closely related among each other, often intersecting each other's lines of argument, and con-

\* See Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection*.

nected by mutual interdependence. They are not represented by a multitude of separate instruments accidentally harmonised, but by one grand instrument of music, of which every note is but a part, and the harmony of the whole the result of the intelligence which planned and constructed it.

The relation to which the Christian evidences stand towards the current forms of scepticism derives its peculiarity from this, that in no point of detail do these adverse lines of argument come directly into conflict. The conclusions are utterly antagonistic, but the Christian apologist on one side, and the modern sceptic on the other, reaches his conclusion by lines which never actually touch, however closely on some points they may appear to come into contact. The conflict is rather a conflict of conclusions than of arguments in detail. Let it be supposed for a moment that all the pleas of the sceptic are unanswerable. Nevertheless the fabric of proof which the Christian has raised in the opposite direction may stand side by side with it, so wholly untouched that not a fact on which it rests will be called into question, nor the logical coherence of premises and conclusion be affected. Or supposing the cogency of the Christian evidences to be complete, yet they supply to themselves no disproof of the counter arguments of the sceptic. The actual arguments never touch each other. The combatants are like two armies, when each party seizes on the largest space of the disputed ground he can, and so shuts the other out of it, endeavours to out-march and out-manceuvre his opponent, maintains a strategic duel of artillery at a distance, but never actually crosses bayonets with its opponents, never comes to a positive conflict of strength on the same spot, foot to foot, and man to man, so that the one can only advance over the prostrate body of the other. The two armed lines march and countermarch, but never actually meet.

The practical position of the men, separate from their opinions, furnishes a general presumption in support of this estimate. For we have two parties supporting contradictory opinions with a conscious sincerity of conviction, on which no man has a right to throw a doubt. Each side is honestly surprised at the ground held by the other. The sceptic, convinced by his own chain of reasoning, is astonished at the tenacity with which the Christian apologist repeats his old arguments, and maintains his dogmatic belief. The Christian apologist is astonished at the subjective difficulties in morals and the new theories in science, which are sufficient to the mind of the sceptic to overthrow the objective facts which form the groundwork of the Christian evidences. Both parties go their own way, firmly convinced by their respective arguments, but wholly unmoved by the arguments of their opponents. Such a position on a question so vital could not exist, if the pleas of the two parties came into direct conflict. On any other question but that of religion, the issues would be reduced to definite issues, and the common facts be submitted to the most rigorous examination. In religion it is not so. And we must not be hasty in attributing to a fault in either party what may be, and I believe is, inherent in the nature of the subject.

I claim for myself and my brethren, that of the two the Christian apologist is more competent to estimate the special arguments of the sceptic, than the sceptic is to estimate the special arguments of the Christian, and that he is more accustomed to do so. There are plain reasons why this should be the case, which want of time compels me to omit.

Nevertheless, it remains true that neither party lives in the thoughts and arguments of the other. It is impossible that they should do so. The sceptic cannot live the inward life of the Christian, nor can the Christian live the inward life of the sceptic. They may, if they will, become conversant with one another's arguments, but the idiosyncrasies and tendencies of the mental and moral self lie beyond their reach. The peculiarity in the relation between the Christian and the sceptic, is not, therefore, conscious and voluntary, but is in the nature of things, and can never cease, however much it may be modified. I venture to recognise a providential design in it. For thus the two, belief and scepticism, are ever kept confronting one another, and a state of probation is maintained. Could the evidences ever make the existence of intellectual unbelief impossible, the evil of human nature could only survive in its gross and coarse forms, and all the finer discipline of faith would of necessity be lost.

But is the distinction I have drawn a correct one? Take the historical aspect of the Christian revelation first. This is twofold. One part has regard to the historical credibility of the sacred history; and one to the place which the Church of God has filled in the history of mankind and of the world. The historical credibility of the narrative has its roots deeply seated in the historical relations of the Church. It is, moreover, confirmed by that very considerable series of proofs furnished by archæology, by which ancient stones, and monuments, and desolate cities, and shattered fragments of the far past, have found a voice to witness for the Bible. They are the most impartial and the most unanswerable of evidences. The historical critic has never disproved a single one of these facts. It is impossible that he should do so, for there the facts are, blazing to the blindest eye; but he quietly ignores them. In the historical relations of Christianity, the apologist points to the living Jew and to the living Church, facts of the present which could not be other than they are if Christianity be truly a revelation from God; but inexplicable if it be not. No serious effort has ever been made, to my knowledge, to explain them; for even Mr Lecky's History of Rationalism only deals with them indirectly, and by an exceedingly loose generalisation. To neither of these branches of evidence does scepticism give a direct answer, but it makes an independent attack on the historical character of revelation, either from imaginary discrepancies, as ingenuous in conception as they are groundless in reason, or from an imaginary reconstruction of all human history, evoked, like the map of the world famous in popular tradition, out of the depths of an historical consciousness. Thus, there is a direct conflict of conclusions, but no direct conflict of argument.

Next comes the critical aspect of the Bible. The sceptic tears into pieces the sacred fabric of the Word of God, and does this with such an arbitrary caprice that no two critics agree in the same result. The Christian apologist on his part relies on the organic unity of the Scriptures, and on the manifest intelligence which has planned and directed to one systematic purpose books so varied in their characters, their authors, and their periods, as are the contents of the Bible, and then argues that one plan involves one mind, one design one designer. Scepticism does not touch this argument, or attempt directly to disprove this unity which makes each fragment of the Bible more palpably Divine, the more it is dismem-

bered; but, without attempting an answer, complacently pursues its own critical instincts. The two lines never meet. The Christian cannot disprove the critic, because there is no evidence to disprove beyond the speculative opinion of the individual. The critic cannot disprove the argument of the Christian and does not attempt it. Again there is a conflict of conclusions, but not of arguments in detail.

The philosophical sceptic comes next. The Christian apologist points to miracles and prophecy, or rather to miracles, for miracles include prophecy, in proof of the Divine commission of the men who wrote the Christian books. The sceptic has never refuted this proof, but dismisses it altogether from consideration, on the ground that the constancy of natural law renders the supernatural impossible *per se*, and incapable of being rendered credible by any amount of evidence whatever; that is, he meets the conclusion drawn from the argument of facts, with another conclusion drawn from the realm of philosophy. Or again, the Christian points to the internal evidence furnished by the elevated morality of the Bible, and the pure loftiness of the principles which it lays down for the regulation of human action. Scepticism does not deny the fact, but candidly admits, when it is pushed, that the Christian morality is the best and highest of all morality known to man. But it passes this by, and picking out a lesson here and there out of the inspired code, or a fact here and there out of the inspired narrative, sets up the natural conscience in judgment over it, and on the strength of this counter-argument, charges the Bible with immorality inconsistent with the supposition of its Divine origin.

This brings me to the only point in which there appears to be a conflict of argument in detail. The living centre of Christianity is Christ, and the perfect character of Christ has hitherto elicited the loudest and most eloquent admiration even from the lips of the infidel. It has been reserved for Renan to sound a discordant note in this song of praise. Here there appears to be a conflict on a question of detail. The Christian points adoringly to the spotless perfection of his Master. The school of Renan replies, that He is not, was not perfect, but alleges that the moral excellence conspicuous in the early part of His career became clouded and deteriorated in the latter part. But this apparent collision is modified by the fact, that when the logical value of Renan's argument is considered, it is found to involve a manifest *petitio principii*. For Renan bases his charge of moral deterioration on the frequent assertions of his Messiahship, which our Lord made, with ever-increasing emphasis as the earthly end drew near. But this fact only supports the charge on the assumption that He was not the Messiah, which is the very question in debate between the Christian and the sceptic. The question is begged in order to enable the ingenuity of a French philosopher to find a flaw in the perfect character of Jesus. For if He was the Messiah, as we believe, the fault would have been if He had failed to make known a fact so vital and infinitely important to men's souls. I therefore put this argument on one side as being logically worthless; and so treating it, it still remains true, that the conflict between the philosophical sceptic and the Christian is a conflict of conclusions but not of arguments in detail.

Lastly, take the scientific aspect of Christianity, or rather the scientific aspect of the attack on Christianity. Here a sentence almost will suffice,

so broad is the separation between the sphere in which the physical philosopher pursues his inquiries and the sphere of Christian belief ; so slight, I had almost said so accidental, are the points of contact between them. Any references we may make to the phenomena of the natural world in attestation of the divine character of Christianity, are secondary and controversial. If the sceptical man of science can establish as an accepted truth a contradiction on a matter of fact to the language of Scripture fairly interpreted, then the innerrancy of the Bible would be gone, and so far the proof that it comes from an infallible Author. But he has not done it yet, or approached towards doing it ; and till he does, there is no true conflict even of conclusions, still less of arguments and detail, between science and belief.

I venture, therefore, to repeat the assertion that the relation between the evidences of Christianity and modern scepticism is indirect, not direct ; by which I mean that it is a conflict of conclusions and not of arguments, in detail. The two frowning lines of attack stand over against each other, but never meet on details, and so far as I see never can meet in such direct collision that the one, like a vanquished foe, must go down before the other. Neither one can destroy the other. Scepticism cannot destroy Christianity, because it is based on irrefragable facts lying without us and within us. Christian apologists cannot hope to destroy scepticism, because it has its seat, if the doctrine of the fall of man be true, in a moral disease, and because its intellectual tendencies can never thoroughly be appreciated by those who are in health. He alone can destroy scepticism, who can heal the soul's inward malady, and say in the gift of His quickening Spirit, "I will, be thou whole."

What, then, is the conclusion to which we are led ? Are we to regard each system as on its own premises and from its own standpoint equally true, and therefore be content to leave it alone as a natural arrangement of Providence ? I reply, Certainly not ; such a conclusion is impossible. For both parties agree that this world of ours, material and spiritual, is but one world—cosmos, it is true, somewhat distempered and out of joint, yet in its constitution full of regularity and order. The idea that two parts of the one world can contradict each other would therefore be absurd. The facts of natural science are true and indisputable on one side, and we only protest against theories being assumed to be facts. The facts on which the Christian evidences are founded are equally true and indisputable on the other. The book of nature and the book of revelation alike acknowledge the same Author, utter with adoring accents the same name—God. That which has the same authority must have the stamp of the same infallibility. The apparent contradiction is not in the books, but in the eye which misspells their language and the voice which misreads their meaning.

What then ? Is judgment to be suspended on both sides till some common consent can be obtained, as if the two conclusions were equally uncertain ? Again I reply, No ; and I base the answer on no mere sentiment of reverence for the grandeur, majesty, and antiquity of the Christian faith, but on grounds of strict reason. Considerations are crowding on my mind while I speak, which on every recognised principle create a vast and overwhelming probability in favour of the truth of Christianity, weighed in the scales of the mere intellect. The fact that Christianity is positive and

scepticism only destructive, may well take the lead, in this strain of reverent witness, for the human soul cannot live on negations, but craves in all its inward experiences for exactly that which Christian faith supplies. The very sceptic wishes that he could believe, but who ever heard of a Christian man who wished that he could disbelieve, or who, when he caught a glimpse of the blank horror of unbelief, no easy thing to do, did not start back aghast from its awful darkness. The testimony is taken up by the fact, that there is no positive truth held by any school of thought in the world which is not a part of the Christian revelation. Directly scepticism ceases to deny and begins to affirm, its speech is that of the Bible. Take away from human knowledge all that is taught in the Christian Scriptures, and there will not be one solitary truth left of a fixed and positive character. Then another voice takes up the strain of witness in every language under heaven, gathered from eighteen hundred years of triumph, from the countless company of souls it has nurtured in life and supported in death, and from every blessing of the Christian civilisation which has grown beneath its wings, deformed with sins and errors enough, God knows, but still, compared to the choicest periods of paganism, beautiful as the beautiful and sunny south compared to the icy solitudes of the poles. Amid this chorus of praise is heard the calm unimpassioned testimony of the past, that of all the facts contained in the Christian history there is not a single one which has ever been proved to be false, while crowds of them have been proved to be true beyond all possible question. It would be easy to count off on the fingers a dozen instances where Christianity has been supposed to be wrong, but has subsequently been proved to be right; while we may enumerate, on the other hand, the instances where scepticism has affirmed itself to be in the right and has been proved to be in the wrong. In no one point in dispute has the common accepted verdict of mankind—that seal which attests a recognised and universal truth—on no one disputed point has it pronounced Christianity to be wrong, or has it pronounced scepticism to be right. And then to all this is added another voice issuing out of the depths of the soul itself, and attesting, as with the tongue of the Deity, the claims of faith. I refer to the inward witness of a Christian consciousness, that knows, because it has tried and proved the power of Divine truth, that lives upon it as the light of the intellect and the joy of the heart, the most clear and certain fact of the soul's existence. With all these witnesses we appeal to reason itself, and demand its admission, that trust, not distrust, faith, not doubt, should be the Christian attitude, till the last earth-born mist is cleared away from mortal eyes, and with the vision of the glorified saints we see God face to face, and know even as also we are known.

Our proper attitude, therefore, is that of patient waiting; not till Christianity shall be proved to be true, for we know it to be true already. Probably there are none here to-day—there can be none at a Church Congress—whose lives would not be a living lie, if Christianity were not true; but patient waiting till it shall please God, who is a God that hideth Himself, to come forth in His manifested glory, and before the lustre of His revealed presence all doubts and perplexities shall for ever flee away. Our ecclesiastical firmament is like a sky divided between cloud and sunshine. On one side, the dark bank of cloud touches the horizon, and stretches up as if it would darken all the heavens. But here

on this side is the clear cloudless blue, divided sharply, it may be, from the gathering line of clouds, and the clear sun shining over all. We stand and watch, and cannot tell by any evidence of the senses which will prevail—the darkness or the light, the storm or the sunshine. Now it seems as if the blackness grew and deepened; now the clear blue spreads, as if an angel hand were pushing the clouds back. We watch and wonder and hesitate. But lo! the breath of heaven rises in its strength, and before the steady wind the thick cloud breaks, and the broken cloud disappears, and not a lingering spot dims the clear blue of heaven. So it will be with the contest between faith and scepticism. We have God's word for it, and must wait for its accomplishment. The total removal of every cloud of error, every lingering mist of doubt, every shadow of mental perplexity, is all involved in the inspired declaration to which God has set His eternal yea and amen. "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

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The following paper by the Rev. C. A. Row, M.A., was read by the Rev. J. H. TITCOMB:—

THE vast extent of this subject, and the shortness of the time allotted to this paper, will be my excuse for entering on it without any prefatory observations. It will be impossible to treat it to any practical purpose without a few words in explanation as to the aspects of existing forms of unbelief. Does the unbelief of the nineteenth century differ from that of the eighteenth, as to the ground on which it rests? The unbelief of the eighteenth century was met and answered by a multitude of apologists. Do the lines of modern thought render the opening of fresh ground necessary? It is evident that a certain class of objections will lie against Christianity in every age. They arise out of the nature of the subject and the limited character of the human intellect. Such objections, and the answers to them, can only vary in point of form. With respect to these the Christian apologist has little to do but to furbish up the old armour.

But as the advance of knowledge has brought to light a vast amount of additional evidence in favour of Christianity which was unknown to our predecessors, so it has raised a new set of difficulties of its own; e.g., the school of historical criticism was scarcely in existence when the great defences of Christianity were composed. It is no reproach to them to say, that in many points connected with the difficulties suggested by this school they are inadequate to meet our present wants.

In all practical handling of the subject it is necessary carefully to observe that modern unbelievers are divided into two great divisions, who require to be dealt with on very different principles—that of educated and of uneducated belief. I am aware that the one runs up into the other; but the distinction which I speak of is a real one, and holds good for all practical purposes. My experience on the Committee of the Christian Evidence Society enables me to say, that the popular objections to revealed religion which the street declaimer or the popular lecturer adduces are usually the hackneyed objections of the unbelievers of the eighteenth century. I do not deny that other classes of objec-



tions are adduced by their more gifted men, such as Bradlaugh, Watts, &c., who are not only men of great ability, but of considerable reading in the higher forms of sceptical literature. But multitudes of these lecturers, in the depths of their own ignorance or dishonesty, adduce objections which have been answered over and over again, with as much confidence as if they had never been replied to; and seem to be perfectly ignorant that they have been abandoned as untenable by all educated unbelievers. I regret to state it as a fact, that a regular organisation exists for propagating infidelity among the working-classes and that its leaders have no hesitation in trading on their ignorance.

This form of unbelief owes its existence in no inconsiderable degree to moral causes. The present assembly will not require to be informed by me as to their nature. Their removal is the only way of effectually subverting it. Viewing it on its intellectual side, the only effectual mode of meeting it will be the diffusion of a wider education and sounder knowledge among the classes with whom it is prevalent.

My remaining observations must be confined to the educated forms of unbelief, for it is my strong conviction, that if unbelief in high quarters could be successfully dealt with, ignorant unbelief would in time collapse under its own weight. I think that, throwing aside its moral causes, on its intellectual side it may be viewed under four heads. First, that which originates in abstract philosophical and *à priori* objections; secondly, that which arises from the alleged discoveries of modern science; thirdly, that which originates in the supposed moral difficulties of revelation, especially of the Old Testament; fourthly, those objections which the sceptical school of criticism direct against the truth of large portions of the Bible, culminating in their attacks on the historical truthfulness of the character of Christ our Lord as it is delineated in the Gospels.

The leading tendencies of modern philosophical unbelief are unquestionably atheistic. I say, atheistic, because I am myself unable to conceive of Pantheism other than as a disguised form of Atheism. It is becoming increasingly evident that there is no alternative between accepting such a form of theism as Christianity, or denying a belief in a personal God.

It is in vain to deny that the exclusive concentration of the mind on the physical sciences has predisposed a large number of gifted men to the denial of the miraculous, and with it, of the supernatural. I have used the word "predisposed" as exactly descriptive of the state of existing thought on that subject. Viewing the controversy logically, it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that those who maintain the abstract impossibility of miracles have been fairly driven out of the field. The denial is only consistent with the assumption that there is no personal God. The fact as to whether a miracle has or has not been performed is a matter of testimony.

The great trait of modern philosophical unbelief, perhaps the only basis on which it rests, is its denial of what has been designated "design in creation," and the resolution of all causation alike, whether physical or moral, into a bare succession of antecedents and consequents. As I am aware that the term "design" has been objected to, I will put it thus: There is no point which so distinguishes modern unbelief as its

persistent assertion that the adaptations which exist in nature are no proof of the presence of mind, wisdom, or contrivance ; and that although it is legitimate to argue from the inductions of contrivance in human things to the existence of a contriver, that the argument wholly breaks down when applied to the works of nature. On these points it therefore behoves the defenders of Theism to concentrate their attention. They constitute the key of our position, which our opponents are making ceaseless efforts to carry. Some of the objections are metaphysical, but adduced by scientific men who have never made metaphysics their study. Among these is the assertion that all causation lies beyond the cognisance of the human intellect, and that the knowledge of it is impossible. In other respects, the holders of these views are compelled to take refuge in propounding a multitude of theories, among the chief of which is that man's moral being has originated by simple evolution from his physical nature.

In conducting this controversy it is of the highest importance that we should expose no weak point to the enemy. We must be, therefore, very careful not to credit him with what is no necessary deduction from his principles. I am quite aware that it is possible to hold a theory of evolution which is consistent with Theism. If all things have been evolved out of one simple principle, by the mere force of natural laws, wonderful must have been the power of that being who first set the machine in motion, and by means of it produced the results. But if moral causation is a mere succession of antecedents and consequents, in no intelligible sense of these words can man be responsible for his actions.

The tendency of modern thought to hasty generalisation, or, in one word, to erect a pyramid on its apex, is one which requires our earnest attention. Hitherto it has been the great reproach thrown on theologians, and I believe that the charge against them is most just. The disastrous consequences which have occurred from adopting the practice in the study of theology is, perhaps, the strongest reason which can be adduced against adopting it in science or philosophy.

The great question as to whether the existence of adaptation proves the presence of intelligence is, I apprehend, of a very practical nature, and one which only requires the appeal to common sense to make it triumphant. The existence of adaptation is a fact, and no theory. If we keep clear of metaphysical cobwebs, it will be impossible to persuade the ordinary intelligence of mankind that one class of adaptations unquestionably prove the existence of human skill, although we have never seen the contrivers, and that another far more perfect came into existence without the presence of a contriving mind. Happily for us, the distinction between physical and moral causation is indelibly impressed on the structure of language.

It should be carefully noted, that these theories of which I have been speaking owe their importance to the propounders having acquired a great celebrity in some other department of thought. It is a general fact, that the exclusive study of one subject is a bad preparation for enabling a man to deal successfully with one which is essentially distinct from it. Yet there is a striking tendency among men of science to theorise on subjects which have formed no special subject of their studies. Mr Darwin is a great naturalist, but I apprehend that his acquaintance

with moral philosophy is limited. Hence the absurdity of his speculations with respect to the origin of the moral nature of man. Such persons require to be made to feel that they may be veritable Samsons in their own department of knowledge, but that when they venture beyond it their locks are shorn, and they become like other men.

I now briefly draw attention to the second and third forms of modern unbelief, viz., the difficulties which arise from the alleged discoveries of modern science and the moral difficulties contained in revelation, and to the right mode of meeting them. A certain portion of the alleged opposition between science and revelation is unquestionably due to the over-hasty generalisations of scientific men. It is a fact that we have of late had a multitude of theories propounded as scientific truth which do not participate in that character. This has been the case especially with those sciences which are of recent growth. There has been an impatience of the slow processes of scientific inquiry, and men have been led to try to advance more rapidly by substituting theories for the cautious deductions of science. The right answer to all objections arising from such causes is the imperfect state of the sciences in question. Still, after having made all allowance for this source of error, it is an undeniable fact, that the discoveries of science have brought to light a multitude of truths which, in a greater or less degree, conflict with the popular ideas of what constitute the contents of the Bible. It is, therefore, a most serious question to determine if the alleged antagonism between Scripture and Science is in any way justly assignable to the erroneous processes of theologians. It is an undeniable fact, that in times past theologians have confidently asserted many things as revealed truths which subsequent discoveries have proved to have no foundation. My hearers will at once call to mind many such, which it will be superfluous for me to specify.

It follows, therefore, that it is of the utmost importance in relation to the present aspects of unbelief that the earnest thought of the defenders of revelation should be concentrated on the great question, What are the actual assertions of the Bible on certain important points of modern controversy, and what are the limits, if any, of the inspiration under which Scripture has been composed? This seems to me to be the great question of the present day, and the future of the Church turns on its successful solution.

I cannot conceal from myself that a large portion of the difficulties as between science and revelation, which are troubling, nay, oppressing thoughtful minds at the present day, and many of those which arise from the moral difficulties of the Old Testament, are justly chargeable on incorrect though popular interpretations of the Bible, and that these owe their origin to incorrect views of the nature of revelation, and the extent of the inspiration with which it has been communicated. The subject is so important as to justify great plainness of speech. I cannot but feel that a great portion of our difficulties are mainly due to the wide prevalence of a theory of inspiration popularly known by the designation mechanical or verbal inspiration, and its cognate theories, and the want of a distinct recognition that a human element exists in the Bible, alongside of the divine one. On the recognition of a sounder theory of inspiration, nine-tenths of our existing difficulties vanish.

It will be urged that the precise *modus operandi* of divine inspiration lies beyond the cognisance of the human mind. I reply, that existing views are for the most part the result of pure *à priori* speculations, and that such are incapable of throwing any light on this subject. The only way of investigation is not by propounding abstract theory, but by a careful inductive study of the facts and phenomena of the Bible. Even if we should fail in ascertaining its precise *modus operandi*, an inestimable service would be done to the cause of truth by a careful investigation of the class of subjects which form no necessary portion of a divine revelation. It is the greatest of all stumbling-blocks when Christian men propound against the steady advance of scientific, historical, or moral discovery, human inventions as divine truths.

The prevalence of the popular theories on this subject, which have done more to endanger the faith of thoughtful men in revelation than any one single cause, is to me perfectly wonderful. Not only do they contradict all the phenomena and facts of the Bible, but the authority of the most eminent Christian apologists. No work has been more widely read, or justly praised, than the great work of Bishop Butler. Yet that work contains the most emphatic cautions against dogmatising on *à priori* grounds on what must or must not form the contents of a divine revelation, and the degree of inspiration with which it must be communicated. The passage is too long for quotation: it is contained in Chap. III., Part II. of the *Analogy*. The Bishop justly observes that we have no trustworthy *à priori* means of ascertaining the amount of knowledge which would be communicated in a revelation, the mode of its communication, the extent of its disclosures, or the degree of inspiration with which it would be communicated. "Nay," says he, "we are not in any sense able to judge whether it were to have been expected that the revelation should have been committed to writing, or left to be handed down, and consequently corrupted, by verbal tradition." He then gives a formidable list of things which would not invalidate the title of a book to be a divine revelation, "unless the prophets, apostles, or our Lord had promised" that the book containing the divine revelation should be free from these things. I need hardly refer to the emphatic warning of Paley on the same subject, in Part III. Chap. III. of his *Evidences*. Yet these warnings of these two great apologists have been disregarded by those who have loudly sounded their praises.

If, then, Bishop Butler is right in his assertions, nothing is more dangerous, in the present advance of science, than the laying down a hard and fast line, which dogmatically determines that it is impossible for a man to believe in Jesus Christ unless that belief is united with others of a more doubtful and questionable character. Nothing is worse than the habit of unchristianising a man because he feels the force of some serious difficulties, or because the progress of discovery has led him to doubt whether certain things, which former times esteemed to be veritable portions of revelation—such as the belief in witchcraft, or the earth's age as greater than 6000 years, or the motion of the sun—are really entitled to that character. A better spirit is happily beginning to prevail, in dealing with even the doubts and difficulties of professed unbelievers. In proof of this, I appeal with satisfaction

to the *animus* which pervades the course of lectures which have been delivered at St George's Hall on this subject, under the auspices of the Christian Evidence Society.

In conclusion, I must offer a few remarks on the right mode of meeting the school of sceptical criticism. What I have said on inspiration has a direct application to this also. Incorrect theories on that subject are the stronghold of our opponents. Their attacks are unquestionably formidable. They have had a greater influence in creating unbelief, and raising doubts, than all the attacks of science. It seems to me that it is high time to abandon the negative line of defence, or at any rate to use it merely as subsidiary, and to adopt the positive. Recent events prove that the generalship which carries the war into the enemy's country, instead of waiting to receive his attacks in our own, is the one likely to be crowned with success. To attempt to answer all the objections which criticism can suggest against the Bible is an endless one; and even if it could be accomplished, a fresh set would be adduced. I believe that there are ways and means of disposing of large bodies of them *en masse*; but I am far from saying one word against all attempts to solve all difficulties which it can suggest. But if we wish to make real progress, we must adopt the positive, and not the negative, method of dealing with our opponents. We must show that their principles will neither stand the test of a sound logic or a sound philosophy. We must make it apparent to those who question the historical character of the Gospels, that the difficulties of those who admit it are a mere nothing compared with those who deny it. Above all, we must put in the foreground of our defence the glorious person of Christ our Lord, and the moral grandeur of Christianity as exhibited in Him. I admit that the force of the miraculous testimony to Christianity has somewhat diminished by lapse of time. The miracles stand in a different relation to us compared with what they did to those who witnessed them. We have to defend the miracles. Those who saw them admitted at once their evidential force. But if the force of the miraculous evidence has diminished, that of the moral evidence, as it is exhibited in the person and work of Jesus Christ, has increased. I apprehend that in this nineteenth century we are in a better position to estimate its power than men were in the second century. A vast accumulation of experience puts us on a vantage ground for determining whether the person and work of Jesus Christ belong to the natural or the supernatural order of things. The evidence has the advantage of lying within a narrow compass. We need only appeal to an ordinary acquaintance with history and the facts of the New Testament illustrated by sound sense. It is emphatically true that Christ Himself is the great witness to the character of His own mission. If we can show that in their main features the Gospels are historically true, it follows as a necessary consequence that Christianity is a revelation from God. We can then afford to wait for a solution of a multitude of difficulties, especially those of the Old Testament. But if we cannot defend this citadel of our faith, however excellent Christianity may be as a fiction, it is no divine revelation. The entire controversy as between Christianity and unbelief is summed up in the one great question,—Is Jesus Christ, as He is portrayed in the Gospels, an historic truth? or is He a myth, a

fable, a development? or, in other words, a creation of the imagination? I apprehend that it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this portion of the evidences of Christianity. It is of the highest importance that we should lose no opportunity of urging it on the consideration of all thoughtful minds, as especially adapted to the difficulties of the present time.

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#### ADDRESS.

The Rev. W. WALSHAM HOW, M.A., Rector of Whittington, Shropshire, Hon. Canon of St Asaph, read the following :—

WHAT I shall say is intended to bear upon those forms of scepticism which are connected with the present phase of scientific inquiry. The great characteristics of modern scientific opinion seem to be the continual widening of the domain of general laws, and the continual pushing back along the chain of cause and effect to remoter and remoter links. Not that these two very noticeable tendencies are in reality distinct, for it is obvious that the farther back we trace the links of cause and effect, the greater number of phenomena we of necessity embrace under general laws, just as the farther back we push an angle the greater will be the gape of its lines at any given point; and it is equally obvious that the more phenomena we are able to classify under general laws, the farther back we are compelled to go for the angle, the lines of which in their divergence embrace so much. Now perhaps it is impossible that scientific studies thus characterised should be quite exempt from the peril of sceptical suggestions. Not only do such studies touch of necessity here and there the phenomenal language of Holy Scripture, but also they of equal necessity touch various popular notions and forms of expression concerning those matters which lie, as it were, on the border-land between religion and science. In this way confidence in preconceived ideas and customary modes of thought is shaken; and we all know that doubts are too like cracks in the embankment of a reservoir: they are apt to widen and deepen till the rush comes, and the emptiness, and the ruin.

But the question is, How to meet and to deal with those doubts and difficulties? One way is, to denounce the studies which give rise to them. That is, in my opinion, an exceedingly bad way. Another way is to denounce the students themselves, and to cry down men of science as enemies to truth. That is, in my opinion, the worst way of all. And one reason why I accepted the invitation to speak upon this subject was the wish to repel as strongly as I can the charge which I had heard brought against the clergy of declaiming against scientific studies and scientific men. I have no doubt this has been done. There is nothing so silly, I am afraid, that you cannot find at least one of our 20,000 parsons silly enough to do it. But I do believe I may most honestly, in the name of the clergy at large, disclaim all hostility to either scientific studies or scientific men. I speak myself to some extent in a double capacity, for, besides being a parson, I am president of a naturalists' field-club. Perhaps our field-club science is not very deep, but at any rate the collection of facts is at the bottom of all true physical science; and at this we aim. And, my lord, having allowed the tendency of the present phase of scientific study to have its perils, I nevertheless heartily welcome that study as a right and blessed thing, and as heartily welcome scientific men as fellow-seekers with myself after the truth of God. I can sympathise with those who cannot regard the studies and the men with the same frank acceptance which I accord to them myself. Shall we blame overmuch those who love their faith so dearly that they tremble at whatsoever may seem even distantly to imperil it? Yet I think a true love of our faith may lead to a different result. It may surely be possible to love, and to grasp,

and to hold fast our faith with such strength of intense conviction, that fears are banished, and, even though we know that *parva est mens, et errabit*, yet we are sure, through all, that "*magna est veritas et prevalebit.*"

The conclusions, no less than the floating opinions, of science, come into contact here and there with the language of the Bible. I have called (as Mr Warrington has called) the language of the Bible upon physical matters "*phenomenal,*" because that language is most evidently not meant to teach scientific truth or to help scientific discovery, but is the language of appearances, describing such things (as all language does popularly) as they seem, and not as they are. I presume, if the writers of God's Word had been inspired to speak of things as they are in the truth of God's own divine knowledge, the mode of speaking would have been wholly unintelligible to man. The speculations of Berkeley, Hamilton, and Mill, to name a few only of the more familiar of our philosophical writers, are sufficient to show how little we really know of things beyond mere phenomena. Thus God's Word, in abstaining from scientific revelations, is simply adapting itself to our understandings in the same way that it does when it speaks of God Himself in anthropomorphic language, ascribing to Him the members of a human body, that we may see a shadow of His actings on the wall. But what is more important to say is this: God has given us two records of Himself—the one in His Word, the other in His works. Some of us are students of the one record, some of the other; and there are points in which, treating of the same subject, they appear to disagree. But it is plain that either reader may misread the record lying before him. If the two proceed (as I for one most surely hold that they do proceed) from the same Author, when there appear difficulties of reconciliation, it is surely wise to assume that we are interpreting the one record, or the other, amiss. Nor do I see why we students of Holy Writ should be either alarmed or unprepared to admit that we may on various points have still to readjust our views of the meaning of certain passages in the record we love to read.

We may not at once see clearly the way in which this is to be done; but we know it has been done. First astronomy, then geology, appeared to contradict statements in the Word of God. Men's minds were troubled. But what happened? The deductions of science were proved impregnable, and the Church readjusted her interpretations of the Bible. She had been reading her record wrongly. It was not so much that ways of reconciling Bible language with scientific fact were at once discovered, as that the difficulty quietly vanished away. It is no difficulty now to the student of the Bible that the earth goes round the sun, or that long epochs were employed in the work once held to be confined within six revolutions of the earth upon its axis. And why should it be otherwise with the biological speculations now of such fascinating interest? Suppose the theory of evolution, in some shape or other, incontestably established and universally accepted (which it may possibly be some day), would there be any greater difficulty to be overcome by believers in the Bible than was involved in the acceptance of the Copernican theory, or of geological epochs? Why should it really be harder to accept a derivative creation than a successive creation? Why start back affrighted at the phantom of creation by natural laws? We recognise abundance of such natural laws. Why recoil from an addition to their number? The truth is, so long as we banish not God from His own laws—so long as we believe that God is ever present, ever acting, in and with His laws—so long as we believe in a living, active, personal Will, governing and superintending these laws—so long as we hold God to be Master over His laws, and not their slave—so long we need not fear. Go back as far as you will along the links of the great chain, a point there is where science stops. It has not found—it will never find—that which holds the first link of all. Frame by your inductions as many, or as comprehensive, general laws as you may, a power there is with which induction cannot grapple. At the beginning, *there stands* God. At every link of the chain, *there works* God. The *ways* of His working let science delight to unravel. The *power* which works we proclaim to be God.

I have spoken of points in the border-land where religion and science approach

one another; but is there nothing to be said of the vast regions which lie far as the poles asunder, and in which no point of contact is to be found? We Christians believe we have a whole realm of precious truths and realities wholly removed from the purviews of physical research and scientific classification. Have we nothing to say about this? Shall the astronomer say, "Come with me, and I will reveal to you stars so distant that the ray which strikes upon your eye has travelled for thousands of years on its way with a swiftness inconceivable, since it left its distant birthplace"? Shall the chemist say, "Come with me, and I will resolve the earth you tread upon, the water you drink, the air you breathe, into their component elements"? Shall the optician say, "Come with me, and I will show you the very gases and metals which in their combustion produce the light of Sirius or the Pleiades"? Shall the geologist say, "Come with me, and I will unveil to your eyes the mystery of the formation of the mighty rocks, and you shall handle the very creatures that lived in the boundless periods of the primeval earth"? Shall the zoologist say, "Come with me, and I will let you behold the germs and rudiments of the various parts of your own wondrous frame in the animalcule which your unassisted eye can scarcely detect"? And shall we be dumb? Have we no like invitation to make? Have we no marvels to boast of in the region which we profess to know? Or shall we not say this, (and I think there are men of science who will be glad to have this said to them,)—"Come with me, and I will take you into a fair land, and show you things that will make you glad. Perhaps you think the land I speak of, a dreamy, unsubstantial cloud-land; but come and see. It may be you will find some things in it better than dreams or phantoms. It may be I can show you there a stream that can wash out the stains that blot a guilty conscience. It may be I can find you there medicines to heal a sick soul. It may be I can guide you to a fountain which will slake the thirst of a fevered spirit. It may be I can show you a light which will guide you safely through a world of peril. Nay, away with allegory. Come with me, and you shall learn how to conquer a rebellious will, and to purify a corrupt heart. You shall gain a strength that shall give you mastery over self, and victory over sin. You shall pass behind the veil of sense, and see the things that are not seen—things too sacred and solemn to speak of now; but from the sight and knowledge of which you shall go back to your science, rich with new treasures of wisdom, strong with new life and power, glad with new hope; and worshipping not nature, but nature's God."

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## DISCUSSION.

### EARL OF HARROWBY said—

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—It is happy for me and for you that I do not offer myself to pursue the track which those gentlemen have been pursuing, to whose able discourses you have been listening. I wish only to ask you one or two questions which naturally arise. Is it not a great gratification to us that we have been called together to hear such discourses? Is it not a great thing that we are not afraid of the highest truths in science, and are prepared to greet them, to welcome them, and to admit them within our own circle? Is it not a fact that hitherto we have left religion to rest too much upon mere tradition—that we have been content to leave it as tradition, and to convey it to our children as a matter of course—and that we have neglected to arm them with the means of defending those traditions when they have been invaded? The time has come when we must not rest upon the impressions, simply conveyed and created, as has been often said, at the mother's knee, deeply as those impressions are



fixed upon our earliest affections and recollections ; but we must arm our young men, and our young women too, with the means of meeting the objections which meet them now at every turn. We must come forward in the field, and, as has been said before, we must ask those who present difficulties in our course, "How do you meet the difficulties of, unbelief?" I confess, to my own mind, it has often been a great resource to look at things in this point of view. There are in physics, in metaphysics, and in morals, some difficulties that we are called upon to believe; but I turn round to myself and to others and say, "Can you give me grounds for, or can you meet the doubts of, unbelief? Can you present any other theory, whether in physics, in metaphysics, or in morals, free from the objections which arise in themselves, free from the objections which arise in the evidence that we produce in favour of our own views?" And I think we are bound to act in that way upon the aggressive. We are bound to say, "You find difficulties, do you, in our belief? Well, I say there are some difficulties here; but let me tell my story to you. Can you explain our difficulties and our condition—can you by any theory explain the question of Christianity as it now exists—can you explain the historical difficulties—can you explain the metaphysical difficulties—can you explain the moral difficulties which arise if you do not believe in the Christian faith?" Well, now, this, I think, is a question that has been hitherto very much neglected in our schools and colleges. We have never told our young men why they believe, and why it is impossible not to believe. We have not armed them. We have left them to take it as a matter of course that, because they have been brought up in a Christian country, Christianity is true; but that is hardly the condition of things now. We can hardly call ourselves a Christian country, or rather, our country is hardly in that condition that is supposed to have existed since the days of Constantine, during which time society has been presumed to be Christian. It is not so; Christianity is now put on its defence as in the early times of Christianity. It has to prove its own credentials, and I believe there will be no difficulty in doing it if we look fairly and honestly our difficulties in the face with that seriousness of attention which so important and serious a question requires. But I have heard it often said, "How can you treat faith as a moral question? it is a question of conviction." I say, No. I say that there is a moral element in faith as well as an intellectual element too, and that it is a great evidence of the moral conditions of the mind what reception you give to the evidence of Christian faith submitted to it. There are minds so limited that they cannot appreciate it. There are minds so limited that they cannot see the moral force of such arguments. There are minds so limited that they can neither see the force of those arguments, or be made to attend to them with sufficient heart. I say, there is a moral difficulty which makes it difficult to produce conviction; but where that moral difficulty does not exist, I believe the battle only remains to be fought to be successful. Well, we have had allusion made in the course of the evening to "The Christian Evidence Society." Perhaps it will be excused in one who has had the honour of filling the chair of the committee of that Society in London to ask your adhesion to its operations, and to ask your co-operation too. I say, we have become more convinced than ever we were before that this battle has to be fought—it has to be fought by argument. We may do it in different ways. There must be classes; our schools and our colleges must undertake this question; we must have meetings like the present, at which able men will be able and willing to meet the arguments and difficulties which are now and then propounded. There is, also, a different class of objectors alluded to—those who go about and trade on the ignorance of the ignorant. You must follow those men wherever they present themselves. There must be men engaged competent to undertake such discussions—ready to meet all the objections that can be made—in a tone and spirit fitted for the occasion, and adapted to the utterances that they have to meet. Well, now, I would ask you here to carry this away with you—think how you can promote this object, whether in parishes or in great towns, in any way or anywhere. Communicate with the Society, and let them know if your neighbourhoods are invaded by this lower class of mischief. I say, if your neighbourhoods are so invaded, commu-

nicate with the Christian Evidence Society in London, and they will be able to furnish you with men competent to follow upon the traces of those disturbers of society, for these men are nothing else. I would ask you now merely to carry these things along with you, and to join with me in congratulating ourselves upon the opportunity that we have had of listening to the convincing arguments, to the high instruction, and to the noble and Christian spirit, that has inspired the addresses which we have heard.

There is probably not one man here who has not carried away something fresh from what we have heard—some new suggestion, and some new assistance in some of the difficulties that have been brought before him. I beg pardon for troubling you under the physical difficulties under which I am labouring; but having regard to the position that I have occupied, I felt I could not do less than say something upon the subject.

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The Rev. M. W. MAYOW, M.A., Rector of South Heighton cum Tarring Neville, Sussex, read the following paper:—\*

MY LORD,—I believe I shall do best to confine my remarks to a single topic. I desire to say a few words upon that special phase of scepticism which denies the efficacy of prayer.

It must be known to all that there is in these days a philosophy (so called) which decries prayer as altogether unreasonable and useless. And this, I think, chiefly, on two grounds, first, that the laws of nature are eternally immutable, admitting no change (as if nature were God, which is atheism, under the name and idea of Pantheism); or, secondly, that though there be a personal, all-powerful, all-knowing God, who made all things at the beginning, yet, from the very fact of His omniscient prescience, it is impossible that anything can suffer change in that immutable order which from the beginning He has established (which, let it be observed, is making God, under the plea of magnifying His greatness, a creature of fate or necessity, and causing Him to tie up, as it were, His own hands and will by His own foreknowledge and predestination); so that prayer can be of no use, as, if answered, it must suppose an alteration in the eternal counsels and will of God, and be contradictory (some may even add) to His essential attributes of perfect wisdom and unchangeable purpose. In times past, this argument or view of the nature of God was mainly put forward as a difficulty in connection with the liberty of human action; for, to use the words of Davison, in his "Discourses on Prophecy:" "When the teachers of Christianity applied the argument from prophecy to demonstrate its truth, a discussion was soon introduced as to the reconcilableness of the divine foreknowledge with the liberty of human actions. For" (he adds, with a lucid discrimination) "some of the things foretold being in their obvious and formal character of the nature of sins, and others the effect and consequence of them, it came in the way to examine whether the agents could be left free when their actions were thus ascertained and foreknown. The question was not wholly a new one. It had been discussed with some difference in the form in the schools of philosophy, where the debate commonly had been, whether the foreknowledge of future events, if such foreknowledge anywhere existed, did not infer a fatal necessity of things."† Now I am not about to consider the whole or the main question of foreknowledge, fate, necessity, and free-will. I shall merely touch upon the matter so far as any part of it may bear upon, not the liberty of human actions, but (as we see it is now used) to call in question the liberty, if we may

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\* *N.B.*—This paper should have followed that of the Rev. W. Walsham How; but as three clergy had read papers in succession, the Chairman asked Mr Mayow to allow Lord Harrowby to precede him.

† "Davison on Prophecy," Discourse vii. pp. 375, 376.

so say, of God himself, and in connection herewith the usefulness or reasonableness of prayer made to Him—in other words, the question whether the course of events *can be* influenced by man's use or neglect of prayer.

Let me here, my Lord, however observe, that this question is no question for a Christian. It is absolutely impossible for any one to believe the Scriptures and the witness of Christ, the injunctions and practice of Himself and His apostles, and to maintain for one moment that, whatever may be supposed to be the abstract or philosophical difficulty—if such difficulty there be—it can ever override the plain doctrine of Christianity upon this point. If prayer be contrary to reason, if it be useless, if, in relation to the nature of things or to the nature of God, it be impossible that prayer should have any effect, then we are thrown back upon something a great deal less than natural religion—the whole revelation of God, as contained in the Bible, is an imposture, and both our Lord and His apostles must have been miserably deceived, or have intended wilfully to deceive us. But even so, the question may yet not be beside the purpose of this Congress of Christians and Churchmen, if, as I apprehend, one of its main objects be to consider the objections raised by unbelievers in such a way as to help to arm any who may fall amongst them against the assaults of philosophy, falsely so called. If we can show, as it is believed we can, that an answer may be given to the objector and the objections advanced in this matter of the efficacy of prayer, such as shall (I will not say make us understand all its mysteries, or lay bare all its mode and means of prevalency, yet such as may), at least, show there is no real sound argument against it, and therefore such as may leave us open, on the ground of reason, to believe all that the Holy Scriptures teach, and the natural heart of man yearns to receive about it, then I trust that neither our pains nor the time of this Congress will have been misbestowed upon the question.

Now to return directly to our subject, and the two objections which I named. And first, a word as to the first:—That the laws of nature cannot be disturbed, and therefore that no prayer can be of any avail.

Observe, this view is, and must be, a materialistic atheism. It cannot recognise any Creator. It can proceed upon no other hypothesis than that the world never had a Maker; that it must be itself eternal; that it has somehow, by some means unknown, had impressed upon it—(no, I must not say “had impressed upon it,” for upon this theory, there was no one to impress anything upon anything; if there were, we should get to a God who alters immutable things by an impress upon them; but I must say)—has had in itself from eternity certain fixed unalterable laws, leading always to certain fixed unalterable results; and this all one and the same whether it be held that these fixed laws have kept all things just as they now are from eternity, or have produced developments (“after their kind”)—bringing the earth, for instance, from some nebulous state of chaotic mud to its present condition of order, utility, and beauty; and man from a state or germ of vegetable life, or even of inorganic existence, to his present powers of art, science, reason, and conscience. And all this atheism, observe, without a word or syllable of disproof as to a Creator; the mere assumption of the objector's philosophy, affirming *it* can see all this could not be otherwise, because the laws of nature *must be* fixed, immutable, eternal. And all this too, remember, propounded as an *easier* theory, a *more credible* solution of the problem of the world's existence, than the dogma of creation and providence which the Bible gives us, and which the natural unsophisticated heart of man unhesitatingly receives.

I have said that this argument of the utter immutability of the laws of nature must be a materialistic Atheism. And it is so, for if, upon this theory of immutability, matter were yet supposed not to be eternal, it must have had a Maker, and been made at a certain time. And thus there must have been an external cause—a cause external to itself; for nothing could ever make itself. To do this it must be before it *was*, which is a self-contradiction and an absurdity. But then, if this be allowed, there must be a Creator; and if so, there can be no eternal immutability in matter or its laws, for it could not have laws before it was—that is to say, the very fact of creation is itself a change,

when that which *was not made to be*. And if such change were once, at the will of a superior Being, surely by the same power a change might be again. Creation is as great and wonderful a thing as providence. I say, then, this theory of eternally immutable laws is a materialistic atheism, inconsistent with any notion of creation or a Creator. And I affirm further, that if there be an Almighty Creator, there is no ground in reason to say the same Almighty power which created may not also rule.

But even as I have here put the argument, I have *under-stated* the case as against the eternity of matter and the system of the universe; because, treating this theory as a question of credibility I have only said, it is without a syllable of proof in its favour; whereas, I believe I ought to have said (over and above all moral reasons in *dis-proof*), that it is met by at least another disproof, even from the voice of science itself. I mean, as against the theory that the world and our system are thus eternal and self-existent; for I believe it is not disputed by such of our greatest astronomers as have investigated, to the utmost of our present power, the system in which we are placed, its laws and their results, embracing the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and their relation to each other, that, arguing from physical causes alone, the whole system is one which is not made for absolute permanence. In other words, that it is not so framed, or constituted, or existing, as to run to eternity, but (after perhaps millions upon millions of years) that it would collapse and come into confusion. This I say simply as the verdict of science, dealing with the laws of nature as we have them, and to what they would lead as result in course of time. Now, the importance of such admission to our present purpose is this—that if the system as it exists cannot run to eternity, neither can it be *from* eternity. That which is necessarily to end, necessarily must have begun. Because, evidently, if the machine be one calculated to last but for a time (however extended that time may be), it would at last run out. And if it would thus in *any* period run out, such a system, upon the theory of its running from eternity, must have run out already—run out, in fact, before any assignable date whatever. For if the starting-point be conceived to be eternity *à parte ante*, the distance of time from that starting-point to *now* must be greater than any finite time whatever—which absurdity only shows, if what I have stated be, as I believe it is, the result of investigation by science as to the instability and impermanence of our solar system, that this whole theory is unsound, and the laws of nature, thus assumed to be so fixed and immutable as to preclude and prohibit prayer to God, cannot be itself God, nor have eternal existence.

But perhaps the sceptic may say, No! for even if one system may thus collapse, what hinders but that it may be succeeded by another; and, indeed, that system after system may continuously have existed, each after each, even from eternity; that is, suppose matter to have existed from eternity, at times a chaotic mass, floating, as it were, in space, then by its own fixed laws emerging for a period into order and regularity and beauty, then perhaps again collapsing, and so becoming again this inert lump, but again to renew in some fixed cycle its inherent powers, and to assume the form and substance of a system; sun, moon, and stars again moving in majestic order; the earth again producing its races, and developing its powers, and so still being without a Creator, itself eternal, self-existent, indestructible! Why may not this be the true account? To all this (a theory, observe, without a word of proof), I will only answer, Let him that will accept it, only let him remember that it is proposed as an alternative; as an easier and more credible account of things than the simple word of Moses, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

I merely remark once more under this head of my subject, that such Pantheism, such saying that nature is God, is mere Atheism; for who can believe in nature or matter, even if thus self-existent and eternal, as a personal God set over us, loving and caring for us; whom, therefore, also, man may love, honour, worship, and obey; to whom, likewise, in any true sense he can be responsible, and by whom he can be, and is to be judged? This surely is worth insisting upon; for it is well that men should know to what they

come in logical consistency, when they decry or deny the power of prayer, under plea of the eternal fixedness of nature's laws.

But next, a brief word as to the second objection drawn from the immutability of God's own nature and His unfailing prescience of events, making it, it is alleged, impossible that there should be efficacy in prayer.

First, I ask, Is it maintained that such nature and such foreknowledge make all prayer useless? Then—for God's foreknowledge extends, of course, to all that His creatures do, or will do—it must equally render petitions, or asking anything from man to man, in all cases unavailing. Nothing will take place upon asking a request which would not have taken place without it. But what is request from man to man but petition or prayer? And when a request or petition is granted by him of whom it is asked, surely, it is prayer so far availing.

Will it be said, Yes; but there is a difference. Man's will is mutable; God's nature is immutable. I think the adequate reply is, that even thus a very large portion of the events of life (foreknown as they are of God) would yet be mutable, if the changeableness of man's will may alter them. And if man's will, when it produces results one way or the other, may be moved, or have been moved, by man's request, so (unless God's attributes forbid it, which we will come to more particularly in a moment), may it surely (this same will of man) be moved by an impulse from God. And why may not such impulse be vouchsafed in answer to prayer from man to God, as well as from man to man, which, I suppose, we all know, does often act efficaciously? "For if any deny this," as Bishop Butler says in a cognate case, "I shall not pretend to reason with him."

But further, as to the immutable nature and eternal decrees and prescience of God. Suppose we grant that prayer cannot change God's decrees, nor make that which He has determined and foreknown to be other than has been determined by His will from eternity. Perhaps the sceptic may think, if I admit this, I have given up my whole position, and granted him all he asks; that he has caught me confessing the impotence, and therefore the unreasonableness, of prayer. But he is too hasty. I must demur to his inference. For suppose the prayer of man to God to be allowed, and to have been allowed from eternity by the Almighty Creator, to form and mould those decrees, and to make them what they are—in other words, suppose He determined (whether by the use of fixed laws, or by their suspension in particular cases, this makes no difference in this argument) to order that such and such events shall take place upon prayer (which He foreknows will be offered to Him), but shall not take place without it (if He foreknows it will not be offered)—and suppose Him at the very time, and by the very act of giving man a will, and permitting him to use it (which part of the subject, however, and how this should be, I am not now discussing), and knowing how he *will* use it, to have also settled and determined what those events and results shall be which He has thus foreknown, and which He has thus ordered from eternity, so that they could be no other than they are, and yet *are, as they are*, because of prayer;\* then surely it will be absolutely true, and absolutely reasonable, to say, "The effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much;" not because "God is a man that He should lie, or the son of man that He should repent;" but because, indeed, "He is the God that heareth prayer," "the same, yesterday, and to-day, and for ever;" and because "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day;" and thus, when He willed any end to be accomplished, He willed also the means, every link and step as to its performance; and permitted, in many instances, this step and means to be the pious prayer of such as trust in Him and believe in Him—believe in His power—believe in His knowledge—believe in His truth—believe in His

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\* "More things are wrought by prayer  
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice  
Rise like a fountain day and night."—*Morte d'Arthur*.

goodness—believe in His love—and who, without being troubled with a single thought of the vain philosophy of Deists or Pantheists, or Atheists, go on straightforward, under the dictates of their heart and their simple faith in their Bible, to pray to Him in every need, and look to Him to answer their prayer (not always by granting it, but) according to His never-erring wisdom and never-failing mercy.

I have but two points more very briefly to refer to. One, as to the *reverence* with which we should approach all matters of evidence in regard to Christianity; the other, as to the *humility* which becomes us at all times, but particularly when we venture to touch upon or handle the deep things of God. And on each I will use words far better than my own. If there be any who are inclined to treat with levity or ridicule any arguments as to prayer, or any Christian teaching (and though this be not the case with all sceptics, I fear it is so with not a few), let them weigh well the words which sum up the argument of the greatest of all works of its kind, "The Analogy." "Lastly, it will appear," says Bishop Butler, "that blasphemy and profaneness, I mean with regard to Christianity, are absolutely without excuse. For there is no temptation to it, but what arises from the wantonness of vanity or mirth; and these, considering the infinite importance of the subject, are no such temptations as to afford any excuse for it. If this be a just account of things, and men can still go on to vilify or disregard Christianity, which is to talk and act as if they had a demonstration of its falsehood, there is no reason to think they would alter their behaviour to any purpose, though there were a demonstration of its truth."\* Whilst, as to the humility becoming us in dealing with such matters as the nature and attributes of God, *who* will not adopt and echo the noble words of Hooker? "Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High, whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name, yet our soundest knowledge is, to know that we know Him not as indeed He is, neither can know Him; and our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, when we confess, without confessing, that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness above our capacity and reach."†

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Major-General BURROWS, Hon. Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society.

MY LORD,—After the able papers we have heard this evening, and from the interest shown by the whole of this audience, it must be evident that the subject of infidelity and opposition thereto is a very important one. I was struck by the opinion expressed in Mr Garbett's paper, that the arguments of the Christian do not correspond with the arguments of the sceptic. He did not, however, intend to convey that no opposition should be made to infidel views; for he afterwards spoke of sceptics being turned from their errors to the truth; and therefore his paper strengthens that which I consider is the great subject of this evening—viz., How can we best oppose the infidelity which we all so much regret? The manner of opposing infidelity may be said to be twofold—that of attack, and that of defence. That of defence has regard to the study of Christian evidence, by enabling persons to be furnished with arguments gathered from the prominent books upon the subject, and that of attack by means of lectures and other modes of direct opposition to infidels; and these efforts are now carried on with great effect, the lectures being given either with discussion or without discussion—the latter chiefly by Mr Cowper, who is well-known in London. Others have also delivered successful lectures against sceptics, allowing discussion; that is, the latter

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\* "The Analogy," Pt. ii., Conclusion.

† Hooker, *Ecl. Polity*, Bk. ii. ch. 2, § 2.

are permitted, at the close of the lecture, to oppose the arguments which have been adduced ; and it has been found that many waverers and doubters have to a great extent been benefited, owing to the weakness of the sceptic argument. It is not right to reject the doubts of persons without entering into the questions which trouble them by fair argument. I believe many people have been strengthened in their doubts by injudicious treatment on the part even of religious friends, who have treated them with a kind of indifference, thinking that the promulgation of the gospel, as it is termed, is quite sufficient without entering into their arguments, by doing which, however, they might have convinced the doubter, if the cause of truth had been vindicated in a reasonable, candid, and kind manner. It may not perhaps be known to all present what great efforts the infidels are making in many parts of this country, and successfully too, in leading the people away from the truth, and particularly working-men, who never, or scarcely ever, attend the means of grace, and who are therefore very liable to have their minds poisoned with infidel periodicals, and with the lectures which are being given in various parts of the country in a systematic manner. There is an organisation for the purpose. The infidels employ a paid lecturer, who visits the chief towns ; and you would be surprised to know the efforts that are being made, and the sad results that ensue from them ; and I trust you will agree with me that there should be organised efforts to meet the increasing infidelity of the day. The infidels have now Sunday-schools for the actual instruction of the young in their pernicious doctrines and sentiments, and I think we should endeavour as much as we can to instruct our Sunday-school teachers, and the young persons of the congregations, in the great truths of the evidences, in order that they may be able to meet the arguments of their companions who may be led away in the manner described. It has been found that the chief phase of infidelity among the lower classes is that of materialism, and that of questioning the authority and morality of the Scriptures ; it would be desirable, therefore, in opposing infidels, to direct attention to these subjects. Mr Joseph Barker, who is well known to the infidels, gave a short time ago, in London, a lecture on Design ; Mr Bradlaugh was present and answered him in his usual manner, saying much in opposition to Scripture, and finding contradictions therein to the Christian view of God's character ; and therefore the arguments from design, and likewise in defence of Scripture, are two most important lines to follow with regard to the working classes. With respect to the educated classes, although the Rev. Mr Row has said that pantheism may be resolved into materialism, yet it may be considered that the infidelity of the upper classes inclines more to pantheism and to positivism. It is, however, clear that if we are to reach free-thinking and infidelity in the upper and lower classes, it must be done in a systematic and organised manner ; and it is to be hoped that this large and influential audience, representing persons from all parts of the kingdom, may go back to their homes more desirous than before to oppose the infidelity that exists to so great a degree. My friends, if we desire that our happy land should never be like a neighbouring country, which greatly suffers from this evil, and God forbid that we should find that we are approaching towards it—surely we should do everything in our power to instruct the population of our country in the Christian truths of their holy religion. It cannot be denied by all seriously-thinking persons that the sorrow and bloodshed and the awful troubles that have befallen France have been, in some sense, a judgment for their denial of God ; the restraints of religion have been put aside, and the people have been brought up to a great extent in abnegation of the Bible and the truths thereof ; may we not then be encouraged to go forward in this work—to take timely warning by what has happened there, and to instruct the young and the middle-aged, and all classes in our favoured country, in the great truths of the Bible, teaching them not only that glorious gospel which is the means of saving their souls, but also instructing them as to the foundation on which the Bible and divine revelation firmly rest, even that Word of God which we are bound to transmit, pure and undefiled, to future generations.

The Rev. JAMES BARDSLEY, M.A., said—

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Mr Disraeli, some two or three years ago, at Oxford, when referring to a very prevalent form or type of scepticism in the present day—I mean that of “development”—said, “There are some persons who say that man has ascended from an ape, others who affirm that he has descended from an angel;” and that distinguished statesman said, “I elect the angel.” Like him, I say, “I elect the angel.” I have not the least objection that the person who bears the name of that developing theory—or any other person, if he think proper—should say and believe that he has ascended from an ape, but I do most energetically protest against my being placed in the same genus. I know that I have a higher origin, because God tells me so; and I can prove it, as a matter of arithmetic, as simply and as well as from God’s Word. Bishop Beveridge, in his “Private Thoughts on Religion”—a book that is worth its weight in gold—when speaking about the Great First Cause, uses language to this effect:—“Wherever there is succession there must have been a commencement. We see that successive generations of men pass away, and that no persons now living have existed from eternity, and therefore all must have had a beginning! This is mathematically certain. You may go back millions and millions of years, if you please, but you must come to the period when there was the first man and the first woman. Where did they spring from? From a fortuitous concourse of atoms? or rise out of the mud? as some of the ancients suggested, when grappling with this difficulty. I will not pursue this inquiry. A little reflection will show us that we are shut up to the Scripture account which is given us of our first parents. So wonderfully adapted to each other, and so admirably fitted to perpetuate the great purpose of life? My Lord, I have another question to ask, Who nursed the first child? There is more in this question than appears at first sight, because there has been a succession of births just as well as of deaths. As no creature comes into existence in such a helpless state as man, the first child that was born must have perished unless it had parents to take care of it; and thus you will see that, though my question is very quaint, it is very expressive. If you pursue the inquiry, you are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the parents of the first child must have been formed as adults, and never born; and thus, by the sober exercise of reason, are compelled to receive the record which revelation gives of the origin of man.

The links in this chain of argument are very simple and transparent, and absolutely invulnerable. In that simple and sublime account, the first chapter of Genesis, which contains the germ of the history of mankind, you are told, “Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit, *after his kind.*” You see it is “*after his kind.*” By culture you can improve the flavour, the size, and the beauty of the apple; but by no culture can you change the apple into the pear, or the pear into any other fruit. If you sow wheat, it comes up wheat; or barley, or corn, it comes up corn, because they are made “*after their kind,*” and remain immutably so. “Let the earth bring forth . . . *after their kind*”—cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the field, “*after their kind*”—“*after their kind!*” You can improve the beauty, the speed, and stature of the horse, but you cannot change the horse into an ass any more than you can change the ass into any other animal. You cannot intermingle them; and when you attempt it, they lose the power of reproduction. All the discoveries of geology plainly and convincingly confirm those simple statements of Scripture. When man is created, however, a different form of expression is employed, and the Triune Jehovah makes a solemn pause, and a deliberative council is held between the persons of the Trinity. They said, “Let us make man; and man was created in the image of God. God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.” Now, God endowed the



brute with instinct and man with reason ; and though the exercise of instinct and of reason sometimes appear to approximate, there is always a fundamental difference between them. The instinct is perfect from the first moment of its formation ; it cannot be improved by discipline, it cannot be elevated by education. It is very true, you may teach the parrot to talk, and the horse and the elephant to perform many wonderful feats, but they cannot teach their offspring ; they cannot transmit what you teach them to those that come after them. Brutes have no history, and therefore it is that they were just as wise four thousand years ago, when they came out of Noah's ark, as they are at the present moment. While, however, the brute with his instinct never changes, man, with his reason, is ever changing ; and though he comes into this world with an accumulated bank of knowledge at his disposal, he is always making fresh additions to it. He is either always discovering new laws in matter, or new applications of old laws, chaining the elements to his chariot, and making them to perform all his drudgery. Man is formed and endowed with such exalted powers that they are not confined to the bounds of time and space. He can wing his flight through the immeasurable regions of space ; he can soar from planet to planet, from world to world, until at last he arrives at the grand and magnificent abode of the great Creator himself, and there he can gaze upon that glorious Luminary of moral perfection until he is delighted and overwhelmed with the splendour of His perfections. Tell me that man has sprung from an inferior creature ! My Lord, I have simply to say that the creation of man is from God ; then came his apostasy from God—then the incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ—His death for the purchase of man's redemption. These are the simple fundamental facts of revelation ; and if the Bible does not teach me that, it teaches me nothing. Let these facts be denied, and then I say that the Bible you leave me is worthless, and if I saw it in the street I would not pick it up. It is not the book I want. I do not want a book to sit in judgment upon, but I want a book to sit in judgment upon me. I do not want a book which I may have a verifying faculty to exercise upon. That being so, if there is a verifying faculty, one thing is clear, that the remainder of revelation, which I admit, possesses no power but what I gave it ; therefore, I say I do not want a book that I take exception against, but I want to deal with a book from which there is no appeal, and that is God's ever blessed Word.

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The Rev. W. R. CLARK, M.A., Vicar of Taunton and Prebendary  
of Wells.

MY LORD,—I quite agree with the noble Lord (Lord Harrowby) who has addressed us this evening, that it has been a great privilege to listen to the papers that have been read ; but at this moment I feel that it is a very much greater privilege for those who listen to them, than for those who venture to speak after them. I will, however, make two or three remarks, gathered out of several which I had prepared to make—many of which have been anticipated—which may not be altogether unsuitable to the subject which has been brought before us this evening. I think, my Lord, that the Christian apologist ought to remember, in dealing with scepticism, that there are sceptics and sceptics—that there are various kinds of sceptics. If there be a kind of scepticism—as there is—which we have no right to tolerate, and are bound to denounce not only in the name of Christianity, but of humanity, there is also a scepticism with which we are bound to sympathise. If there is a scepticism—as there is—which is cruel, harsh, and overbearing, there is also a sorrowful scepticism which may sometimes be a schoolmaster

to bring men to Christ, and with which we as Christians are bound to sympathise. I think we ought also to be very careful, in dealing with these subjects, not to take up positions which we cannot hold, and not to relinquish positions which we can hold. With regard to the first of these two points, I think that some of the speakers have not sufficiently considered it. I think some positions have been brought forward here this evening—I say it with all deference—upon which I should not like to risk my Christianity; yet, as the subject has been so ably and amply dealt with—especially by the papers of Mr Row and Canon Walsham How—I shall do nothing more than simply express my agreement with them.

But if we must beware of taking up positions that we cannot hold, I think we are also bound not to relinquish any that we can hold. It seems to me that there has been of late days a tendency to concur too easily and too readily in the reproaches that have been cast against Christians and Christianity, and a tendency to give up too lightly good arguments that might be adduced in defence of the historical religion of Jesus Christ.

In regard to the reproaches brought against Christianity, we know of course that the vices and inconsistencies of Christians are some of the strongest arguments against the gospel; but I am sure we have been a little too ready in admitting to the infidel the truth of those charges which he has brought against us. For example, take the case, of which we have heard, of a living French writer, who speaks of the Christianity of the present time as weak and effeminate and contemptible. If I were a French believer I should hurl back the accusation in his face without fear. If we may judge of these tendencies by their prophets, I have no hesitation, for my own part, in contrasting the prophets of Christianity in France with the prophets of scepticism in France, when I remember that the most illustrious—or almost, if not actually, the most illustrious—prophet of French scepticism is M. Renan. If I were a French Roman Catholic, I should not hesitate to put over against him and his weak effeminate infidelity, men like Ravignan and Lacordaire; and if I were a French Protestant, I should challenge comparison with such men as Monod, Colani, and Bersier, as types of strength and manliness. I think, then, we are rather too ready in allowing the reproaches which infidelity brings against Christianity and Christians in our own day.

I think, too, we are perhaps a little too ready to give up lines of defence that have been proved to be amply sufficient in the past. There arose a few years ago, as many of us know, a half contemptuous way of talking of Paley and the historical argument. I wish that those who talked so contemptuously could have given us anything half as good; and I think there is hardly anything which is more striking when one glances his eye over the whole range of Christian apologists, than the substantial agreement which exists in the line they pursued, from the days of Justin Martyr and Origen down to the time of Lardner and Paley. One cannot help feeling that the great majority of them are men substantially of one mind; and I think we may turn this point against infidelity. How its face has changed even in my own short lifetime! I can remember when, as a young man coming into contact with the popular mode of thought of the unbelievers twenty or thirty years ago, something very different from what is most common at the present time. At that time Theodore Parker was the commander-in-chief of the army of infidelity, and those who followed him were never tired of sneering at a “book revelation,” as they called it, and asking us to believe in those divine intuitions by which man looked right into the invisible world. We were told that man needed no revelation, that he had eyes of his own by which he could see the invisible world and God. We are now told, on the contrary, that man cannot in this or any other way gain this revelation for himself—that there is nothing to reveal—or, at any rate, nothing which can be revealed to mankind. I think we have a right to use this as an argument against that ever-changing infidelity which confronts the unchanging truth of God and the testimony of Jesus.

I do not propose, however, to meet infidelity merely by a negative line of this kind. I think we can say that we are willing to meet it face to face. I did not quite

follow what one speaker said on one point, but I need not further refer to that. That which we teach is not, as we are often told, a mere matter of imagination, but it is a matter of fact. Dr Ludwig Büchner (the new apostle of Positivism in Germany, in the present day), travelled all the way to England, and to Mr Dickens' "Hard Times," to get a motto for his *Kraft und Stoff*: "Facts, sir, facts—what I want is facts." Now we are quite willing to meet Dr Büchner on this ground, because we too want facts. But we cannot ignore a certain order of facts which are as true to our consciousness as any others. When materialists speak of facts, they mean the facts of the material world, and we have a right to ask them this question, "How do you know that they are facts except by the evidence of your consciousness?" And my consciousness tells me that the facts of my spiritual nature and my spiritual experience are as certain to me as the material things on which they rely. My spiritual appetites and my spiritual longings are as real and true to my consciousness as those bodily appetites which lead me to crave for material food; and it is surely something awful, and too degrading, that there should be reasonable men using their reason to contradict the very existence of those faculties which they are employing in the study of those subjects. I say, then, that these facts of our moral and spiritual nature are as real and true as any others. If we deny our consciousness in the one sphere, how can we produce our consciousness as evidence in the other sphere?

Then there is another order of facts before our eyes, and about which there can hardly be any controversy. Take the things that have been moving in the world for centuries, and ask yourselves from whence came those great changes we have beheld, and the influences which produced them? Have they not come from one Divine Mind, manifested here in the world? What power was there in humanity to change the world as it has been changed? How can you account for those wonderful transformations of human society which have taken place in the ages that have gone by? I am not wishing to deny the inconsistencies of Christians, the failures of the Christian Church, and the other depressing scenes that have been witnessed in Christianity ancient and modern; but still there does exist evidence of the solemn fact, that the life of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Spirit of God have been influences visibly manifesting themselves in the world. Unless you allow the existence of these influences, the phenomena which have passed before men's eyes are altogether inexplicable.

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### REV. SAMUEL THORNTON, M.A.

MY LORD,—Experience has led me to doubt whether the prevalent forms of unbelief among the masses of the people are of so definite and scientific a character as some of the speakers who have preceded me have apparently been led to suppose. I have laboured among the masses of our great towns exclusively for twelve years, and the forms of scepticism I have met with (I am speaking generally, for of course there is a class that can understand and do entertain definite infidel objections) have been of a very vague and shadowy order, very difficult to be met by lectures or argumentation. I do not mean that professedly scientific arguments against Christianity are not caught up widely by the people, and reproduced in crude, mutilated, or exaggerated shapes. But I will illustrate what I mean. Go into my parish on Sunday morning, and you will see hundreds of working-men lounging at the entry ends, pipe in mouth, and newspaper in hand, or waiting near the public-house till it is opened. Push into a group of these men, take one of them by the button-hole and ask him why he does not devote God's day to His worship, or in any other way endeavour to get to close quarters with him and his companions on religious subjects, and you will find, in most cases, that the objections made are not of any definite or tangible kind at all, and you will meet

in many instances with arguments so stale, so weak, or even absurd, that you will come away amazed, distressed, ay, nauseated. To give an instance that happens to occur to my mind. One of us went out into the parish the other Sunday morning, dealing with this class of men, and was confronted by an argument so ridiculous that you will hardly bear with me for repeating it: "How can you say that God is eternal and was never made, when the Bible says God came from Teman? how could He be original or self-derived if He came from Teman?" And we are frequently opposed with reasoning not more worthy of attention than this.

The root of all this unbelief is the fallen heart of man. There is the source of infidelity. In most cases it is because men love their swine, that, like the Gadarenes, they tell their Saviour to depart from them; it is because these men love beer, love lust, love self-indulgence, that they take up readily with the sophisms of infidel lecturers, or persuade themselves that there is a great deal to be said against Christianity. But the shape such unbelief generally assumes, and the stronghold in which it mostly entrenches itself in the case of such men, seems to me to be this—the experiences of others may be different, I am only recording my own—they seem to consider that Christianity, as a matter of fact, has failed; that it does not produce the results which it would be sure to produce if it were a divine thing which they are bound to believe. When offered the one true medicine for their souls' malady, they do not examine the principles of its composition, or analyse its ingredients; but they look around them to see if it has cured other people, and many of them seem to have arrived at the rough and ready conclusion that, in most cases, it has done nothing of the kind. They take note of the very unpleasant facts which exist in the world in connection with Christianity, especially in our own country; they know of large numbers of persons within their own range of observation who, although they would profess to be actuated by gospel principles, allow religion to exercise scarcely any influence whatever on their lives. I do not often meet with quotations from Strauss or Renan, but I am often met among this class with stories about the iniquity of the parson of their parish years ago; with tales about ecclesiastics of the middle ages, and dignitaries of later times; of the inconsistencies of professedly Christian squires and employers; of their greed and vices and self-indulgence; their pride, indolence, and exclusiveness. I seldom meet with a challenge to prove the Thirty-nine Articles, but I am not seldom told by such men how the beadle behaved to them at a church door, or how the pew-opener treated them when they got inside. For them, Christianity has been embodied in that beadle and those inconsistent professors, and they turn away from it with disgust.

I venture to think, my Lord, and Ladies and Gentlemen, that this is the current form of scepticism with which the parochial clergy have mostly to deal. There is much of what we read and hear about upon this subject that we do not often encounter in practice—the practical form of unbelief to which I have referred is common indeed—and, if asked how we are to meet such current forms of scepticism as these, I should answer somewhat as follows: We want to begin with the evidence supplied by the presence of a pure Christian Church in our country. Our Church must be purged—ay, and purged speedily, of some of the crying abuses that still disfigure it; for there still remain abuses in our Church whose foulness goes up to heaven, and I do feel at times, that the wind, as it were, is taken out of the sails of my arguments as a minister of the Church when I am confronted by the people with the statement of some of these in that bare, naked, unpleasant, angular way in which persons who have no relish for religious things or respect for religious persons know so well how to put them.

But apart from the Church corporate and its reforms, what we want is a higher tone of faith and self-denial, of holiness and prayer, among individual members of the Church themselves, for these are the best of all Christian evidences. The evidence of Christianity that I want placed at my disposal, to take out amongst the unbelievers of my parish, is fervent Christian men and women to whom I can point as samples of what Christianity can accomplish! Men are disposed to choose their religion, depend upon it,

much as they choose medicines and doctors for themselves and their families. They go to the doctor who has cured other people. If I go and recommend to a man my own medical attendant, when I have a pale cheek, a sunken eye, and a trembling hand, he will turn from me and my plausible counsels, because he will see that the doctor in question has not done much good to myself. But if, while I bring a medicine in my hand, there be health mantling in my cheek, elasticity in my limbs, and brightness in my gaze, and I can tell him that my condition is to be traced to the use of that remedy, he will be very likely inclined to try my doctor, and to take my medicine. You may rely upon it, that a higher spiritual level among Christians is the evidence that we want in dealing with scepticism. Think of the familiar story of the devil expelled from the child. Why was it not cast out by the disciples? There was not enough faith, there was not enough fasting and prayer, and "that kind" would not go out without.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, there is a direct connection between the prevalence of unbelief in our great towns and the standard of your personal Christian life. It is perhaps to some of you a strange, but to me a very awful thought, that our want of prayer, want of self-control and self-denial, and firm grip of Christ and His truth, may be regarded as one cause of the peril and spiritual ruin (without any consciousness to ourselves of the fact) of thousands of our fellow-countrymen. That may be rather a novel way of putting it, but I am satisfied that it is a scriptural way.

May God pour down upon us a larger measure of His Spirit, that we may feel ashamed of ourselves for our weaknesses, self-indulgences, and coldness in the past, and cry to Him mightily for grace to offer to unbelievers in our country those truly potent evidences of Christianity of which I have spoken, and thus be the means of winning to His sweet service the souls of many now wandering at a distance from their Lord.

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### REV. CANON WINNINGTON INGRAM.

THE current forms of doubt would be most properly encountered by the clergy themselves making those sciences on which the sceptic chiefly relied for his arguments the subject of their inquiry. They ought to face the opponents of Christian truth in their own field. The course of study pursued formerly by clergymen in preparation for their ministerial work was not adequate to the requirements of the present age. Every period brought its accessions to human knowledge. Our own age had even given birth to new sciences. With these especially the clergy ought to become acquainted, and so be able to carry out in their discourses their Lord's advice, that a scribe instructed for the kingdom of heaven should bring forth out of his treasure things new as well as old. He assured his audience, that an attempt to discover evidences for Christianity in the revelations of such sciences would be crowned with success. He (the speaker) had himself been a student of geology for many years, and had detected in his researches much that corroborated the truths not only of natural but also revealed religion. For instance, the history of creation, as read in the volume of the strata by the geologist, afforded no feeble testimony to the assertion in St John's Gospel, that "all things were made by Jesus Christ, the Word of God, and that without Him was not anything made that was made." The order of the formation of the earth, and its colonisation by successive races of beings, pointed to the same love of God for man as was exemplified in Jesus Christ's life, doctrine, and death. Science brought to light that man was not allowed to arrive on the stage of existence till the earth had been prepared and richly furnished for his comfort and happiness, sown with plants and trees bearing fruit for his food and enjoyment, and supplied with animals adapted to minister to his convenience. The same forethought for man appearing to characterise the plan of creation

as well as the scheme of redemption, confirmed the gospel declaration, that both works originated with the same Divine Author. A thoughtful observer would also remark in the construction of the earth a design conceived from the beginning by the author of it to facilitate the spread of Christianity. It was, he believed, with this final benevolent purpose in view that thick seams of coal had been laid down and stored beneath the surface of our island. For on the great coal formations of our country the national wealth and power of England were mainly based, and through the resources developed from them her people had grown the rich and mighty nation that they were, had been, and would be still more in the future, powerful instruments to carry out the purpose of the Son of God, and disperse a knowledge of His gospel to the utmost confines of the earth. These, and other kindred lines of thought confirming the Christian's faith against the insinuations of the sceptic, would suggest themselves to one who, patiently investigated the lessons of science.

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The Rev. SYDNEY GEDGE, M.A., Vicar of All-Saints,  
Northampton.

MY LORD,—At this late hour of the evening I will not detain the meeting long; but I do wish to follow up, with a very few words, that which fell from my friend the Rev. Samuel Thornton. He spoke of the power of Christian example. Now I wish to mention one instance of such a person as that referred to. She is one of several who are now at this time working in my parish. That woman was a drunkard, and that woman was a blasphemer; but by God's great mercy her heart was turned to Him. No sooner was that the case, than she begged permission to go forth, under my auspices, to tell to her own neighbours—not to go to a distance, but to tell to those among whom she had been a drunkard, and among whom she had blasphemed—the blessed change which had come over herself. I would have employed her as a Bible-woman, and recompensed her for her services, but she said, “No, Sir; I served the devil for nothing, and I will not take anything for serving God.”

Now, that woman worked until her health broke down, and she could no longer do it. She fell into an extremely bad state of health. She was removed to the infirmary; we thought that every day would be her last; and the neighbours, among whom she had gone testifying of Christ, came to members of my family when expecting her death, and said, “We cannot bear that that woman, should she die there, should be buried at the expense of the parish. We will subscribe together to give her a decent burial, as a token of the good that she has done to us.”

Now, I would say only one other word. There are many here who have appreciated and admired, but there may be some who have not fully entered into the arguments on the subject of prayer, though so ably put forward; at all events, one way of answering objections to prayer was not mentioned. It is this—try the experiment—read (I would ask young persons especially to do so) the lives of the good and the holy, and see by what means they became what they were, and how they were able to accomplish what they did, and you will find that it was by the power of prayer. And I would ask, whether there are not many here who can say, “God has in such and such a perplexity given me guidance—God has in such and such distress given me deliverance—God has in such and such a temptation enabled me to triumph by the power of prayer? And therefore, let the infidel say what he will, I tell you I know, by what God hath done for me, that prayer is a real thing, and it doth bring down a blessing. Let the infidel talk about the laws of nature, and the unchangeableness of God's orderings, as long as he may, the facts of the case, which are within my own knowledge, answer all such objections.”

### **The CHAIRMAN.**

THERE is one point which must, I think, have impressed itself clearly upon us during this discussion—that the leading distinction between the two great classes of sceptics is that between the intellect and the morals. The great power that will overthrow scepticism is not to be found in this or that argument; no intellectual argument will ever make a moral man. It may drive him from the position he has assumed, but cannot change his will; that can only be changed by the establishment of a definite relationship between God and his soul. If such relationship be not fixed, no mortal power can win him to the truth and beauty of Christianity. His soul will continue to resist it; and why? because until the soul is at one with God, it cannot receive the things of God. “The natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.” The more closely, therefore, that we all look up to God, and implore the blessing of His Spirit, the more sure we may be that He will bring us, and those for whom we pray, more nearly to Himself.

The Chairman pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting closed.

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### *WEDNESDAY MORNING, 11th OCTOBER.*

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The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the chair at ten o'clock.

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### **WHAT IS THE PRESENT DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN HER RELATIONS TO THE STATE?**

The Rev. J. JULIUS HANNAH, M.A., read the following paper for the Rev. CANON GREGORY, who was prevented from reading it in person :—

It would be impossible to answer this question without first stating what we mean by the Church. Is it a Divine or a human corporation? Is it a creation of Jesus Christ, and as such endowed by Him with a certain form or manner of existence, with a corporate life, with the power of dispensing gifts and privileges? or is it a human invention, devised by man's skill for carrying on Christ's work in the world? In the one case, the Church's primary duty must be to fulfil the conditions of her existence prescribed by her Founder; in the other, it would be her wisdom in unfettered freedom to adapt herself to the requirements and wishes of each succeeding age, just as at her outset she was fashioned to carry on the work she was invented to fulfil. If the former be a true description of the Church's origin, the limits of our investigation are circumscribed, and we should no more think of examining whether her constitution might not be improved, than we should of discussing whether man's organisation might not have been more complete; whilst, if the latter more accurately describe the manner in which she sprang into existence, then she would be but the product of human ingenuity, framed by the skill of the men of

one age for accomplishing the work intrusted to them, and therefore as capable of being remodelled and reconstructed by men of other ages, as are forms of government or theories of science. If the Church be Divine, her relations to the State must be so adjusted as not to interfere with the institution of her Founder: if she be human, there is no reason why she should not be made flexible and comprehensive, and adapt herself, as best she may, to win the largest share of approval from the national will.

It is from the former of these points of view that I would regard the Church. I believe her outer framework as well as her inner spirit to have been derived from her great Head. The actual constitution of the Church from the first, and her methods of procedure, so far as we are able to trace them with accuracy, appear to me the most convincing evidence we could possess of what Christ the Lord designed His kingdom on earth to be. I could no more question the Divine origin of Episcopacy, and its inherent power in the government of the Church, because it is not in so many words set forth in the New Testament, than I could doubt the doctrine of the Holy Trinity because it is not therein technically defined and explained.

If this be so, the Church must have an independent existence of her own, as the State has of its own. The two cannot be identical; neither can be absorbed by the other without interfering with the efficiency of the power with which it was intended to work.

The ends for which they exist are not the same, though in many respects they are similar. The Church's office is to secure the glory of God by keeping pure and undefiled the truths of revelation, by proclaiming them to the world, by preparing men to dwell with their Divine Redeemer in heaven; and to fulfil these offices she is provided with spiritual weapons designed to bring the souls of men into harmony with God. The duty of the State is to uphold the glory of God by preserving order and goodwill amongst men, by repressing evil-doers, and by furthering whatever tends to man's happiness and well-being; and to accomplish these ends it is armed with the sword and the other terrors of the law. As Church and State ought equally to make the glory of God its first object, so Church and State ought ever to move harmoniously and in friendly co-operation. But as the Church's special duty is to mould the souls of men into resemblance to the image of Christ, and to train them to be citizens of heaven, whilst that of the State is to persuade, or, if necessary, to compel, them to be good citizens of an earthly kingdom, it is impossible in a fallen, sinful world like ours that the instruments employed by the one should be in all cases applicable to the other. There is much that the two seek in common, much in which they can assist each the other; either is made more efficient in fulfilling the end for which it exists with the other as its fellow-helper; but neither can usurp the functions of the other without ultimately injuring its own power of usefulness and crippling the good work which the other unenslaved might have performed. The Church, by overriding the independence of the State, and subordinating its functions to its own special ends, degrades religion by seeking to advance its interests by earthly motives, and at the same time overthrows that reverence for law which is essential for national well-being; whilst the State destroys the reverence and awe with which the Church ought to be regarded when it arrogates a supremacy over her; by such action it weakens the influence of the principle of religion over its subjects, and destroys the strongest



foundation upon which the subordination of classes and obedience to authority can rest. The former evils were experienced when the Church bade the temporal power to persecute her erring and unfaithful sons; under the latter we now groan when we see the Church's work grievously impeded by the State stifling the voice of her deliberative assemblies. No doubt the fear of death or bodily punishment deterred many from straying from the fold, and restored to it many who had wandered; but these would chiefly be the men who valued material interests above spiritual ones; whilst the employment of weapons of this world to further a kingdom which is not of this world, must have excited doubts, and stimulated opposition, in many a noble soul that would feel the abuse of power to be strong evidence against that which such abuse was employed to uphold. The opposite evils, arising from the usurpation by the State of control over the Church inconsistent with the exercise of her inherent rights, are those with which we are most familiar. The State is a loser, not a gainer, by seeking to govern in a sphere not its own; it is made weaker, not stronger, by trampling upon the freedom of the Church; and in the growing lawlessness with which its peace and security are troubled, it experiences the natural result of its own lawless use of the power which it wields.

And yet it is only fair for us to recognise that the present anomalous relations of Church and State partly arise from a natural reaction from the not less anomalous relations between them of a very different character, which previously existed; and partly from earnest and religious men having unhappily used the powers of the State, in ways for which they were not designed, for the spread of the Church's influence in the land. The usurped supremacy of the Papacy secured the settlement of many a doubtful, anxious question, as the more religious men of the age in which it grew to maturity would have wished them to be settled; for a time it ministered to the well-being of the Church and the civilisation of Europe. But what a root of mischief has it proved to Christendom! If it was sweet in the mouth, it has been bitter in the belly. If at first it flourished and grew, and produced an abundance of fruit, it has since brought forth an heritage of evil. If at first it promised to make the position of the Church firm as the everlasting hills, it has since proved the truth of our Lord's words, "Every plant which My heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." When it was plucked up from English soil at the Reformation, it left a void which has never been completely filled; by overshadowing, or by superseding the rightful authority of National Churches, it left ecclesiastical authority impaired, and for a time unfitted to occupy its true position when the bands of that which had tyrannised over it were suddenly snapped. And so when the usurped power of the Papacy was overthrown, it was succeeded, to a lamentable extent, by the State's exercising an authority not less usurped. Legal penalties for not faithfully adhering to the National Church succeeded the anathemas launched from Rome against those who faltered in their allegiance to her. The Star Chamber took the place of the Inquisition—religious duties were enforced in the one case, as in the other, by the civil sword—until, with gradually diminishing severity, the State sought to protect the Church by making participation in her communion a necessary qualification for civil or military office. Religious interests that Rome would have guarded by excommunication, the State of England sought to protect by driving unwilling aliens to an enforced

reception of Holy Communion. And the State of England thought it was acting in the interests of the Church of England when it decreed that no one should hold a commission in the army or in the navy, become a member of Parliament or vote at an election, administer justice as a magistrate or be a member of a civic corporation, be a gauger in the excise or a tidewaiter at the custom house, who had not outwardly conformed to her liturgy.

No more certain steps could have been taken to injure the Church than these mistaken efforts to uphold her. No greater injury could have been inflicted upon her spiritual character by her most deadly foes than was inflicted by these earthly defences erected by her mistaken friends. They evidenced want of faith in the spiritual power of the Church. For who that really believed the Church to be the Body of Christ could have trusted the iron arm of secular violence, or the infliction of disqualification for state offices upon aliens from her communion, to convert the souls of men to a loving apprehension of what their Divine Lord had wrought for them? whilst it would be impossible to imagine proof more demonstrative of the utter unfitness of statesmen to legislate for the Church. For let it never be forgotten that the enactments of which I have been speaking were State laws, not Church laws—were decreed by the Parliament of the realm, not by the Convocation of the Church. They convincingly show that the powers of this world cannot supersede Christ's commission to His Church without grievous loss and harm ensuing. Cæsar cannot legislate for Christ, or enforce silence on those to whom Christ has committed the custody of His Church, without eventually destroying the very principle on which all law must rest.

This is the danger with which we are threatened. The present generation differs from its predecessors in that it insists upon scrutinising the foundations upon which everything rests, in an almost reckless determination to grapple with first principles. It is not content with inheriting the past, with traditions that are glorious, or with principles which had been previously accepted without doubting. It demands that all should prove their own truth, their right to live. Much, therefore, that satisfied the more easy-going spirit of other times must now exhibit a better right to live or cease to exist. When men were content to believe, or profess to believe, what their fathers did—to act as their fathers acted, to accept, nominally at all events, the Church in the guise in which it satisfied their fathers—the heart of religion might be frozen or lifeless, the pulse of true piety might beat feebly or imperceptibly, the life-blood of devotion might course feebly through the veins or stagnate in the arteries. But in outward show the fabric of the Church looked fair as it did of old; none desired to anticipate the dissolution which time was hurrying on rapidly but unobserved; all wished that the form when actually lifeless and dead should be embalmed, that its external appearance might remain for ever unchanged. But with a truer understanding of the end for which the Church was created by her Lord, all this has changed: at first it seemed as though new life tingled in the individual members; there is now felt an urgent need for the exhibition of its true life by the Corporate Body. Like as in the vision of Ezekiel, at first the scattered bones began to live, so the power of personal piety was first mightily manifested amongst the individual members of the Church, until not only have the dry bones heard

the word of the Lord, but bone has come to his bone, and the body of Christ is seen to be living as of old. And for what does it live? for what has the ancient life been renewed to the Church of this land? The question is asked, and it must be answered. If the Church of England is to gather again into her bosom the sons of her lost ones, if the waste places which have long lain desolate are to be again the fruitful garden of the Lord, it must be by Church and State faithfully fulfilling each its own tasks, by Israel being delivered from the oppressive yoke of Ephraim, by the spirituality being no longer silenced at the bidding of the temporal power. That power no longer affects to act in the interests of the Church, no longer oppresses in the garb of a protector, no longer degrades spiritual blessings by making them instruments of persecution. But whilst the Church is happily freed from such protection, unhappily there has not been restored to her the liberty which was supposed to have been bartered away in return for such assistance. The State undertook the defence of the Church's interests upon the condition that the Church would lie passively in her arms. Miserable and pernicious have been the fruits of the unhallowed bargain to both Church and State; but surely now that the State has totally repudiated her share in it, the least it can do is to restore to the Church that freedom of which such protection was the price. For there can be no other way to peace and prosperity for the Church in this or in any other land than for her to exercise those powers which Christ her Lord has intrusted to her. Why is it that all efforts for increased unity fail? Why is it that out of trifles are perpetually growing offences so great as to threaten the well-being, if not the life, of the Church? It is because the true living voice of authority in the Church is silenced. It is because Christ is dethroned, and His true sons will not obey those who have usurped the right to speak in His name. It is because His promise to be with His Church is disbelieved: and in the absence of true authority erring men speak as though they claimed for their own words the authority of inspired truth. It is because men will think themselves wiser than Christ; because they will not believe that in obedience is safety, whilst in self-will there is ruin. It is because they will judge by an earthly measure of expediency, instead of boldly casting themselves upon the ordinance of Christ, assured that if He is with them all must work together for good. It is impossible, where there is life in a body corporate, that external manifestations of such life should not perpetually need controlling, directing, and moulding to suit altered circumstances and changed modes of thought. The truths of the Gospel are for ever and unalterably the same. True now as when they were first uttered are the words, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Gal. i. 8); but not less true is it that there are diversities of gifts and differences of administrations. The outward accidents of religion need to be adjusted to suit the wants of each succeeding age, whilst both in its form and in its spirit, in its polity and in its doctrine, in its ritual and in its worship, all that pertains to its essence remains unchanged. But the same State control that reared material bulwarks for the protection of our spiritual Zion has effectually hindered any change in the outward accidents, however necessary and desirable, from being made. If we might judge from what has happened, we should suppose that all power of alter-

ing the most minute detail of worship perished more than two hundred years since; that what had been flexible up to that time then petrified; and that it became English Churchmen in all future time to preserve untouched what could only be removed by being broken off; or, to put it in other words, it seemed as though the authority which had put forth our Prayer-Book in 1662 then died, and all that future ages could do was to consult the will of the deceased.

Hence all our troubles have flowed. If the same living Body could have been summoned to decide what should be done when questions arose about the manner of ordering the services, or the vestments which should be worn during their celebration, about the posture of the minister or the meaning of disputed rubrics, then should we have been spared most of those miserable controversies by which we have been afflicted *ad nauseam*. If the true voice of authority could have spoken, all true sons of the Church would have submitted to it, as all good citizens submit to the laws made by the State. But, as every faithful patriot would feel compelled to resist laws enacted in Germany or in France if sought to be forced upon them, so all true Churchmen feel not less constrained to resist enactments affecting the doctrine or the ritual of the Church if sought to be enforced by the sole authority of the State. Changes, which would have been readily accepted if made by proper Church authority, are steadily resisted when ordered by a tribunal which possesses no legislative power. Legal decisions, which would have been cheerfully obeyed if it had been felt that they only interpreted the law of the Church, have been openly resisted when it was thought—rightly or wrongly matters not so far as the result is concerned—but when it was certainly thought, that they set forth the personal bias of the Judges or their idea of what was most expedient for the time.

[The President expressed a hope that the sentence would be considered as not to have been spoken.]

Large bodies of Churchmen felt aggrieved when it seemed to them that legal decisions were in reality new legislative enactments, and when there was no legislative authority to which they could appeal. I am not now contending that they were right or wrong; I am only asserting what is notoriously true, that such a feeling was and is prevalent, that it robs the decisions of the final Court of Appeal of all moral weight, and that it encourages a deep and growing feeling that allegiance to Christ necessitates opposition to the commands of Cæsar. And so the lawless administration by the State of its usurped power over the Church is sapping all reverence for law; the sense of injustice created by its treatment of the Church's lawful assemblies rankles in the hearts of the most faithful sons of the Church; and those who would wish to be most devoted in their allegiance to Church and State (ay, and to the union of Church and State), mourn over the dilemma in which they are placed by the tyrannical action of the State towards the Church, and they have a deepening consciousness of the oppression and injustice with which the Church of their affections is being treated, which must at no distant day occasion much evil to both Church and State if the cause from which their disaffection proceeds is not removed.

What, then, is our present duty as Churchmen with respect to the State? Simply to claim for the Church that power and authority which Christ the Lord committed to her, and no more. It will not be by dislocating old

alliances that we shall remove the difficulties by which we are surrounded ; but it will be by reclaiming for the Church her inalienable rights. It will not be by bursting asunder ties which have bound together Church and State since the days of Constantine that existing wrongs will be righted, but by asserting for the Church her rightful voice in her own affairs, leaving to the State such control as is not inconsistent with the ordinance of Christ. Ever since Christianity was the accepted religion of the land, substantially the same Houses of Convocation have assembled to regulate the affairs of the Church as now sit to discuss but not to determine. Restore to them the power which is rightly theirs, remove from them the fetters by which their power of action is now restrained, and wherever, through lapse of time, they fail to represent the Church so perfectly as once they did, then so far reform their constitution as to make them more exactly what they were designed to be. Thus should we be acting as it has ever been the wisdom of Englishmen to act in the past. We should work upon the old lines, we should utilise the old institutions, we should adapt what was done in the past in obedience to Christ's ordinance to the wants of the present day. And so doing we shall plant again that reverence for law, that respect for authority, that obedience to what is enjoined, without which peace and prosperity can never be obtained, unity never even be sought after, and Christ the Lord never made to reign supreme in His Church.

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W. E. WELBY, Esq., M.P., read the following paper :—

I APPREHEND that the selection of the present subject for discussion is owing not so much to the fact that the Establishment has been formally attacked in Parliament by Nonconformists, as that a certain amount of sympathy with the assailants has been displayed by Churchmen. This sympathy can only proceed from the idea that her present connection with the State is not an aid but a hindrance to the Church of England in the performance of her duty as a true branch of the Church universal.

Which of the two it really is, is the question which, I take it, it now behoves us to consider ; for on the answer to that the duty of Churchmen with regard to it necessarily depends.

Now, no doubt, Establishment anywhere, strictly speaking, is merely a means to an end—in fact, a machine ; but whether well-devised or not, the machine which we possess is the handiwork of wise and pious men, supported during their construction of it by the unanimous approval of the nation ; it is at this moment in more active and beneficial operation than it has been for generations, and on those who are dissatisfied with it must lie the burden of proving its unsuitableness for its work.

I am now addressing myself, not to the small section of Churchmen who consider a State Establishment as “immoral,” “a sinful union of Christ with the world,” and so on, but solely to those who, admitting its abstract lawfulness, question its necessity or expediency. Among these the most prominent of late have been certain members, chiefly clergymen, of what is known as the High Church party ; and it is with the reasons that they allege therefore for their dissatisfaction with the existing system that I now am principally concerned.

These may, I believe, be briefly stated somewhat as follows. The objectors say, "The very footstone of the compact between Church and State was, that the supremacy of the Crown was to be exercised in temporal matters through the temporal power, in spiritual through the spiritual; but as a matter of fact the Crown has caused the temporal power so far to encroach upon the spiritual, that we, the clergy, are placed under the dominion of a temporal court, which may, 'in the name of the Church,' 'permit that which is not the Church's doctrine to be taught with legal impunity and commendation, and legally forbid that which is the Church's doctrine,' and may thus at any moment prevent us from doing our duty of instructing the people in the true faith. As men who 'are loyal to the Church of God,' we ask that the compact with the State should be *de facto* carried out; that no 'State-appointed court' should have any jurisdiction in questions of the doctrine of the Church, but that all decisions in such matters should be left to some tribunal appointed by the Church itself. It is with this object that we now resist a recently-delivered judgment; but if our resistance is ineffectual, if 'our rulers really mean that schism is the only alternative to submission to the secular court,' then we must remember that the proscription with which we are threatened is the proscription of that which we teach. . . . If the Established Church is to be committed to this proscription, . . . sooner than leave the English Church, or allow her to be Puritanised or Rationalised beyond recall, Churchmen will at least refuse to resist, if they do not actively assist, politicians who, for purposes of their own, may promise the freedom as well as the poverty of disestablishment."\*

I hope I have fairly represented their case; at any rate, I have quoted, as far as possible, the very language of their leaders and spokesmen, whose arguments must be approached with the most profound respect. I must however venture, in the first place, to express a doubt whether the present constitution of the final Court of Appeal is really in fault, and whether disestablishment would bring a solution of the difficulty.

If the Church wanted an authority to construct new doctrine for her, it would be essential that it should be a tribunal appointed by herself, and commissioned beyond all question to speak in her name. But the Church of England does not require any addition to her doctrine. Whatever that is now, the same it would remain after she was disestablished. Her standards have been constructed by herself, and all that she wants is, from time to time, a faithful interpretation of her own meaning in doubtful points. The practical attainment of this really depends, not on whether the interpreting tribunal speaks in the name of the Church, but on whether it is able, honest, and impartial. An interpretation, if true, would be none the less so because delivered by a heretic or an infidel; and it appears to me that if a court of final resort possesses sufficient knowledge to deal with the questions submitted to it, and displays perfect honesty and impartiality in the application of that knowledge, it fulfils all the conditions of competency; and that such a court and such conditions would be precisely as essential after disestablishment as before it. This is, of course, supposing the court to confine itself to its legitimate province of interpretation. I know, however, that it is said, that "though

\* Dr Liddon's "Letter of Acknowledgment to Sir J. T. Coleridge," pp. 43, 45.

the court is not charged with authority to construct new doctrine, . . . the practical effect of its decisions may be to do so.”\* But I cannot admit the validity of this argument. False interpretation may no doubt apparently call new doctrine into being, but apparently only. As it did not exist before, so, in truth, it does not now. On the other hand, no amount of true interpretation can alter the thing interpreted, or create out of it what it did not contain,—latent it may be, but still in existence. If this be so, to say that the present court of appeal has constructed new doctrine is in fact to say that it has enunciated false interpretations, or in other words given wrong judgments. Neither that question, nor the constitution of the court itself, is it my province to discuss; but in any inquiry on those points it would be necessary to consider whether, with any other possible tribunal, there would not be a still greater risk of erroneous decisions, and still greater disadvantages attendant thereon; and especially to remember that any court of final resort, which is to represent both orders in the Church, must necessarily include both the lay and clerical elements. This has been recognised by the disestablished Church of Ireland, where the full court of the General Synod consists of three laymen to two ecclesiastics. The demand for a purely lay tribunal now put forward is in reality but another form of the demand for a purely ecclesiastical one, which is admitted to be unattainable. With the latter the control in matter of doctrine is avowedly abandoned to the clergy. With the former they assume it indirectly by repudiating the idea that the decisions of a civil court can be in any way binding on their consciences. In both cases the result is the same, that the laity are deprived of their just voice in spiritual matters, and the Church in effect is confined to the clergy.

But, in truth, the language I have quoted seems to show that in the minds of those who hold it, below any dissatisfaction with the Court of Appeal, there lies the idea that although it is to the Church that, in the event of a collision between her and the State, their allegiance would be due, it could not be rendered to her, so long as the Establishment remains, without apparently involving them in the sin of schism; but that if the fetters of the State were removed, truth alone would be the authority to be regarded; the Anglican Church would consist of those who held the doctrine of the Church of England in its primitive purity, that is themselves, and the guilt of schism, if any occurred, would rest on those who departed from that doctrine.

The conclusion to which this leads them is doubtless prompted by the earnest desire and determination to perform at all hazards what they conceive to be their duty; but admitting for the moment, for the sake of argument, the soundness of their premises, and not attempting to enter into the question of the rights of private opinion, I would venture to ask whether it is so perfectly clear that their duty would lie in the direction of disestablishment. Dr Liddon himself describes the probable immediate result of such a process as follows:—“Disestablishment would probably involve nothing less than the entire withdrawal of the presence of the Church’s ministrations from considerable portions of the rural population, however it might, as I believe it would in some cases, strengthen our hold upon the towns. It would occasion an unsettlement of the many national,

\* Joyce, “Civil Power in its Relations to the Church,” p. 90.

local, social traditions which surround and recommend religion in England, so vast and wide-spreading in itself and its results, that the imagination recoils from the task of tracing it."\* If the mission of the universal Church be to preach the Gospel, I conceive the duty of every branch of that Church, and of every minister in each branch, must be to preach and teach as widely as possible not one particular portion, but the whole body of the truth contained in that Gospel. It is admitted by High Churchmen, at least it was stated by Mr West at the late anniversary meeting of the English Church Union without contradiction, that "the different parties in the English Church hold the great cardinal doctrines of the Catholic faith, viz.—The Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity." Therefore I think it is at least questionable whether a clergyman would be doing his duty, who, because he is prevented from teaching in the name of his Church, and as her doctrine, something which he holds to be a portion of the truth, but which she has not positively and indisputably declared to be so, would deprive, or look quietly on while others deprive, the Church of a great portion of her power and opportunities of teaching all that is undisputed, and allowed by all to be fundamental.

And it must be further asked, Would the practical consequences of the severance of Church and State be limited to the overthrow of the parochial system, and the temporary collapse of work in all departments of the Church? Her constant prayer is for unity, peace, and concord, and this is what Dr Pusey thinks of the probable effect of disestablishment:—"My anxiety would begin when the disestablishment should be completed, lest the Evangelicals and ourselves should not understand one another. If the Evangelicals should, at the time of the disestablishment, still (though not secretly sympathising) be under the dominion of the fanatic Church Association, the Church of England must break to pieces, the Evangelicals uniting themselves with the Anti-Sacramentarians, the Broad Church as a body with the Anti-Trinitarians, and the more moderate of either uniting with ourselves."†

And this is Dean Stanley's opinion:—"If the Church of England were to cease to exist as a national institution, it would almost certainly cease to exist altogether. The centrifugal forces would then become as strong as are now the centripetal, and the different fragments would have no closer connection with each other than the other English religious communities."‡

I have quoted these two as representative men of very opposite types. It would be easy to multiply authorities of equal weight to the same effect, but it is needless. The history of our own country tells us that in the days of the Commonwealth, when the restraints of a State Church were most relaxed, "instead of securing peace and unity, the whole Church was split up into sects, which were again subdivided and multiplied, until the whole nation was reduced to a crowd of angry disputants and wrangling partisans," and atheism, profaneness, and blasphemy increased to a frightful extent throughout the realm. The United States of America, the very land of so-called religious liberty, are a warning to us, for they are, in the

\* Letter to Sir J. Coleridge, p. 41.

† Letter to Dr Liddon, p. 70.

‡ Preface to "*Essays on Church and State*," p. 11.



words of one who studied them closely, "A sandhill of sects, with each sect a crumbling congeries of disconnected atoms." While unity is the normal condition of a National Church, incessant and interminable schism and subdivision are the necessary result of the exercise of the spirit of independence and self-assertion which is the very soul of the Voluntary system; and those who agitate for or connive at disestablishment must face the fact that the result is at least as likely as not to be the very opposite of that which they would desire. They dream probably of a Church, weaker it may be in worldly advantages, but drawing all men to it by the purity and power of its faith; they may awake to find the separation of the State from religion, the disintegration of the Church itself, the bickerings of endless sects, powerless each one of them to withstand the aggressions of infidelity and Rome, and the obscuration of the light of the gospel behind a cloud of error and darkness, from which it might take centuries to emerge.

If these, however, are but probabilities, this much at least is certain, that whereas under the assumed compact Church and State are closely intertwined, mutually giving and receiving support; the clergy recognised as an integral portion of the State, the laity as an integral portion of the Church, both with their rights and duties, and those rights and those duties defined and regulated by law; and, as a consequence, the teachings of a pure Church not merely freely offered, but secured to every soul in the land; if the compact were dissolved the whole of this carefully adjusted system would at once be destroyed. The Church's concern would no longer be for the nation, but for those alone who professedly belonged to her fold. The law could no longer exercise the control by which the layman is protected against the tyranny of a hierarchy, and the clergyman against that of a majority of his congregation. The ancient struggle between the two orders for supremacy would at once recommence; and with whichever side the victory in the end remained, it would be acquired by the destruction of the rights and liberties of the vanquished.

But the fact is, that the theory on which we have so far been proceeding (the theory, namely, that Church and State are two co-existent but distinct and independent powers, to the former of which in case of collision the allegiance of Churchmen is due), plausible and attractive as it may appear, is in reality unsound, dangerous in its tendencies, and at variance with the true position of the Church of England. It is unsound, because it is based upon the idea of a distinction between secular and spiritual things which is utterly without foundation. If the State has nothing to do with religion, neither can religion have anything to do with the State, and there must be a portion of human life into which the Church has no right to intrude. It is dangerous in its tendencies, because it degrades the civil government to the level of a mere police, a contrivance for securing man's physical welfare alone; religion is taken out of the daily life of the people, and made the profession of the clergy exclusively. To them, as alone conversant with the higher things to which the State may not aspire, "the Church" soon comes to be regarded as confined, and Christianity, as Dr Arnold said, "becomes like the religions of the old world, not a sovereign discipline for every part and act of life, but a system for communicating certain abstract truths, and for the per-

formance of certain visible rites and ceremonies."\* These in their turn are exalted into essentials of religion, and thus birth is given to dogmatism and "superstition on the one hand, and grovelling worldliness on the other." It is at variance with the position of our Church, for she has ever contended that she is but another name for the State and nation of England. In her view, a collision between conflicting authorities is an impossibility, because she and the State are one—one body in the exercise of separate functions, and regarded under different aspects—one great Christian society through the medium of the supreme government ruling itself.

This it is which makes the maintenance of the State Establishment a matter of such signal importance. In our case, to say that it shall be dissolved, is to say that we shall cease to have any national Christianity at all. The question is not whether some other form or forms of religion shall be substituted for, or placed on the same footing as the Church of England, nor whether she shall continue to be the National Church under altered conditions; but it is, whether the nation shall declare once for all that she and the Church are two; that politics, commerce, the thousand interests of which her every-day life is composed, are things with which religion has no concern.

So long as Church and State are recognised as one, there is scarcely an action or an institution in which the religious spirit of the people does not find expression. The complexion of the nation's laws, the employment of its wealth, its time, and its intellect, are all affected by the desire and obligation which it feels of fitly acknowledging its God; but if once it is to be laid down that a man's duty as a citizen is a thing apart from his duty to his Maker, and that, instead of every soul in the community being bound to work together for the resisting of evil, and the advancement of true religion and the glory of God, that occupation is to be reserved as the privilege of a selected few, one of three consequences must ensue:—Either the religious feelings of the nation will wax cold and disappear; or they will flow forth in a hundred irregular channels, amid the mazes of which unity and purity and catholicity of faith will be altogether submerged and lost; or, lastly, the Church will hold her own against the competition of the sects, and will become a compact and powerful body, guiding the thoughts and swaying the actions of a considerable proportion of the people. This no doubt is the state of things to which those who desire disestablishment for the reasons I have discussed would look forward with sanguine hope, and I would be the last to say that they had not good ground for their expectation. But is it not the necessary sequel of such a position, that the line of demarcation between sacred and secular things should soon be transgressed? The clergy must feel bound in conscience not merely to uplift their voice, but to exert the influence and authority which they have acquired, when they see a lax morality or an unholy ambition prevailing in the counsels of the civil power. And then to the jealousy of hostile denominations will be added the State's impatience of a rival; the cry against priestly interference and domination will command a ready assent, and a strong reaction against the tide of religious liberty will set in.

\* "On the Church," p. 10.

The end of this of course no man can tell ; but from annoyance to curtailment of privileges, from that to repression, and from repression to spoliation, the way is smooth ; and the Church, with her sanctuaries no longer exclusively her own, her ceremonial proscribed or restrained to the narrowest bounds, and her priests dependent for their daily bread upon caprice, may sigh and plead in vain for the freedom, the security, and the "power to serve" which she enjoyed in the days when she and the nation were as one.

And on whom in such case would the responsibility rest ? Surely not a little on those who now urge so strenuously the distinction between sacred and secular functions,—whose teaching implies that the State is concerned with nothing but the bodies of men, and who encourage it to forget that it is with nations as with individuals,—“In Him they live, and move, and have their being.” This, the sanctity of the nation, is the truth which it is the very aim and object of the Establishment to uphold, and it is the consequences to which the disregard of it must lead, that should be to Churchmen the surest indication of their duty with respect to that Establishment. Let them reform it, let them purify it, let them adapt it more closely to the feelings and requirements of the age, if they can ; but let them guard it as a sacred gift, convinced that under it, more than under any other system, can freedom be substantially attained, and that if not the only, it is at least the surest means by which the priceless blessings of saving Truth can be secured to the community as a whole.

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The Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A., Rural Dean, Vicar of Stradbroke,  
Suffolk, read the following paper :—

THE “Present Duty of the Church in regard to its relation to the State” is a very delicate and serious question, and one which deserves the best attention of a Church Congress. It is a serious question, I say, because of the events of the last few years, and the feeling which has lately sprung up in many quarters. It is vain to conceal from ourselves that the relations between Church and State are in a critical and precarious condition. The union is no longer regarded as a sacred thing which may not be touched. It has passed into the list of open questions, and become matter of discussion and debate. It is a fact that hundreds of thinking Englishmen, some Churchmen, and many Nonconformists, maintain that the present relations of Church and State are downright wrong, and that it would be a good thing if the Church were disestablished and disendowed. It is a fact that a powerful Liberation Society exists to promote disestablishment. It is a fact that ninety-six members of the House of Commons supported Mr Miall’s recent motion. Last, but not least, there looms up in the rear the awkward fact that a precedent has been created lately, and that our sister Church in Ireland has actually been disestablished and disendowed.

Now, in the face of such facts as these, what is the present duty of the Church in regard to its relation to the State ? That the State has power to disestablish and disendow the Church, if it thinks fit, I take

for granted. The intentions of the founders of ancient institutions go for nothing in these days. They are no more considered than dead men's bones if a new railway goes through a churchyard. The State has already seized the endowments of the Irish Church. It is fingingering and redistributing the endowments of Oxford and Cambridge. It may do the same one day, for anything I can see, with the endowments of London University in Gower Street, Owen's College at Manchester, and the Hartley Institute at Southampton. It is waste of time to argue this point, when the sword of Brennus is constantly in the scale, and might makes right. But what is the present duty of Churchmen? Should they resist the present movement for disestablishment and disendowment? Is the union of Church and State worth preserving? Do the advantages of union so thoroughly outweigh the disadvantages that it is worth a fight? Is there any special duty imposed on us by the present aspect of the times? These are questions to which I shall try to supply two very decided answers.

1. Our first duty is one which I shall state plainly and boldly. We ought to resist actively every effort to disestablish and disendow the Church of England, shoulder to shoulder, hand to hand, and foot to foot, as patriots, as philanthropists, as Christians. Whatever be the defects of the present relations of Church and State, we ought to contend earnestly for their maintenance and preservation. That fresh attacks will be made on the Establishment we need not doubt. Mr Miall's recent motion will certainly be renewed. We may lay our account to see an organised crusade against the union of Church and State for many years. Whether it is finally successful or not depends, under God, upon ourselves. But if it is not to be successful, it must be energetically opposed. We must not fold our arms in apathetic indifference, and dream that it is our strength to sit still. We must buckle on our armour and do battle for the Establishment principle. "He that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one." We may long for peace, and hate controversy; but if others will not let us alone, we must fight.

For one thing, we should resist disestablishment and disendowment, as Christian patriots, for the sake of our country. The grand secret of a country's prosperity is the blessing of God. I am one of those old-fashioned Christians who believe firmly in the providential superintendence of God over all the affairs of this earth. I have not ceased to hold that the rise and progress, the decline and fall of empires, depend on One who sits in heaven and rules the world which He created. In wars, rebellions, and famines,—in pestilences, and hurricanes, and earthquakes,—in national prosperity, and national poverty,—in the peace and wealth of countries like Scotland, in the confusion and disorder of countries like Ireland,—in all this I see the finger of God. Holding such opinions, I loathe the idea of a great nation like England ceasing to recognise religion in its government, and practically declaring that to save itself trouble it will ignore God. My whole soul revolts at the thought of such a nation treating its subjects as if they were no better than civilised gorillas without souls, in order to avoid the charge of Sectarianism,—punishing and imprisoning them at vast expense if they do wrong, and yet refusing to teach them to do right. That

modern fashionable expression, "an unsectarian system," is a fine high-sounding phrase; but so far as I can see, it is only another name for a godless and irreligious system, a system which must be offensive to the King of kings. If the day shall ever come when the English Government shall dissolve the union of Church and State, turn its back on religion, cease to provide chaplains for army, navy, workhouses, and prisons for fear of the charge of Sectarianism—open Parliament without prayer, and crown monarchs without religious services, for fear of seeming to favour one Church more than another,—if these things, I say, come to pass, I should expect God's heaviest judgment to fall on this realm. I declare, with all my love to the Church of England, I had much rather see her privileges and endowments taken away from her and transferred to Methodists, Independents, or Baptists, than see the rulers of Old England refuse altogether to recognise religion. Those ringing words which John Owen addressed to the House of Commons in Cromwell's time are just as true now as they were 200 years ago—"If you say you have nothing to do with religion as rulers of this nation, God will quickly manifest that He has nothing to do with you as rulers." I know, of course, that John Owen was a Puritan and an Independent. But I am never ashamed to declare my belief that many Puritans were wise and good men, and conferred great benefits on this country. In the matter of Church and State, I wish many Independents, and even some Churchmen, were as wise as Owen.

For another thing, we should resist disestablishment and disendowment, as Christian philanthropists, for the sake of the poor. The dwellers in wealthy parishes and rich town districts may not see this. But the poor, let us never forget, would be the first to suffer, if the Church of England were stripped of its endowments and thrown upon the voluntary system. That much-praised system may do well enough in rich districts, whether in town or country. But I assert boldly that in poor town populations, and in pauperised rural parishes, "the voluntary system" is a complete and entire failure. Let the Nonconformist advocates of the voluntary system tell us why they have not provided schools for the young during the last fifty years? Why have they lately come to Parliament open-mouthed, and asked for an educational rate?—Let them tell us why they do not pay their own ministers better in many of their "voluntary system" chapels. How is it that, even by the showing of their own friends, not a few Nonconformist ministers in rural districts are half starved?—Let them tell us why they have not filled the low districts of Lambeth, and Southwark, and Bethnal-Green, and Manchester, and Birmingham, and Sheffield, and Liverpool, and the Black Country with Nonconformist chapels. How is it that if any religious building lifts its head in a poor mining or manufacturing district, it is generally built by the Establishment, and not by the Liberationist party?—How is all this? What is the explanation? I answer, It is because the voluntary system completely fails to meet the case of the poor. We of the Establishment have done far less than we ought to have done, I freely confess; but we could never have done a tenth part of what we have done if we had not been an endowed Church. Disendowment would cripple us, and disable us from doing much for the poor. There would be life in the old

Church yet, I know ; though disestablished, she would not die. But half our time would be spent in incessant collections of £ s. d., and in teasing and worrying everybody about a sustentation fund. In the interest of the English poor, if for no other reason, I think it is our positive duty to resist disestablishment and disendowment.

As to particular means of resisting the disestablishment movement, it is a question of detail into which I have no time to enter. One thing, I am certain, demands the special attention of Churchmen in defending the union of Church and State. We must take care that we supply the reading public with plenty of plain information about the questions at issue in a cheap and popular form. The statements that are made by the advocates of disestablishment are often so monstrous and incorrect, that it is marvellous how any one can make them, or any one believe them. Yet these very statements, for lack of better information, are often greedily swallowed by the lower orders, and pass current as truths. This is a very mischievous state of things, and one which ought to be energetically met. A vulgar error, clothed in the garb of a short sarcastic phrase, and impudently proclaimed, is a weapon which often does immense harm. "A false statement," says the Chinese proverb, "has no feet, and cannot stand ; but it has long wings, and can fly far." For example, "State-made Bishops and clergy—State-paid parsons—Bishops rolling in wealth—Overpaid clergymen—Church in chains—State-made prayers—Pulpit in bondage," and the like,—who that looks into things and reads does not know that these expressions are common as autumn blackberries among the organs of Liberationist principles, and are devoured as greedily as blackberries by the rank and file of their supporters ? Yet what well-informed Churchman does not know that each of these expressions contains a rank fallacy, and will not bear calm investigation ? But, fallacies as they are, these expressions stick in the minds of many people, and do the Church a great deal of damage. They want taking up one by one, and exposing and exploding in good plain Saxon, by leaflets and by tracts. To flood the country with really popular literature about the union of Church and State is a primary duty in the present day.

2. The other duty which the present relation of Church and State imposes upon us is one of vast importance, and demands the attention of all who love the Church of England. If we would resist disestablishment and disendowment, and maintain the existing relation of Church and State, we must set our own house in order, make our beloved Church thoroughly efficient, and utilise all her resources. We must boldly reform defects, remove abuses, cut off that which is rotten, fill up that which is empty, and so stop the mouths of our enemies. We all know what is done on board a man-of-war when an enemy is in sight, and an action is about to begin. The decks are cleared ; the lumber is thrown overboard ; every man is sent to his quarters ; useless passengers and non-combatants are consigned to the hold. It is high time to do the same with the Church of England, if the struggle for disestablishment is at hand. It is nonsense to ignore the weak points in our system. We *have* weak points, and they are part of the strength of our adversaries. Let us strive to get rid of them without delay.

Who, for instance, can consider calmly the enormous, unworkable, and unapostolic size of our dioceses,—the anomalous condition of our cathedral bodies,—the preposterous constitution of our Convocation,—the want of elasticity of our liturgical worship,—the utter absence of authorised simple services for the working-classes,—the entire failure of the parochial system when a careless, Godless clergyman presides over a large parish for thirty or forty years, and the consequent consignment of the parishioners in such parishes to heathenism, infidelity, Popery, or Nonconformity, in spite of bishop, archdeacon, and rural deans,—the hard and fast rule by which no ministers are employed by the Church except bishops, priests, and deacons, while the subordinate orders named in the New Testament are never called into use,—Who, I say, can consider all this and fail to see that our position, in opposing Liberationists, is not so strong as it might be, and that there are many weak points in our lines?

The plain truth is, that the Established Church is taking heavy damage for lack of rearrangement and organisation. With 20,000 clergy and 10,000,000 of laity we ought to be able to regard the attacks of Mr Miall and his companions with unconcern. But numbers without organisation are worth very little. "Men with muskets" do not make up an army, and especially when the muskets are old flint-locks of the pattern which appeared at Culloden in 1745. It is even so with our beloved Church. It does not get the full benefit of its numbers and position for want of reforms and sensible adaptation to the advanced requirements of the times. It persists in wearing the old clothes which were made for our grandfathers 200 years ago, and is consequently cramped and hampered when it takes the field. Whether the reforms and amendments I have referred to are attainable and practical, this is not the time to consider. But I shall never withhold my opinion that, until the Church is amended and reformed, we defend the union of Church and State at a very great disadvantage. Let the Church rearrange her army; let her boldly take up new plans of evangelising the country and utilising her resources; let her infuse fresh blood and vigour into her machinery, and show the world that she is elastic and not cast-iron, and can meet the times. Let her do this, and her relations with the State will not easily be destroyed. She will "renew her youth like the eagle" and "not be ashamed when she speaks with her enemies in the gate."

I have left myself little time for advertng to that school of zealous Churchmen who, from various motives, desire to see the union of Church and State dissolved. A few remarks must suffice. I always respect men who have tender consciences and love liberty. But I venture the general opinion that they are entirely miscalculating the results of disestablishment, and expecting from it what they would never find. Some of these Churchmen appear to suppose that if the union of Church and State were dissolved, the Church would be allowed to retain almost all her endowments, and to set up for herself as a "Free Church," with a good round jointure, on very comfortable terms. This, I venture to think, is a complete mistake. The idea that any House of Commons, or any Prime Minister, would ever allow a large ecclesiastical corporation to retire from connection with the

State with sixty or seventy millions of money in her pocket is simply absurd. Let it not be forgotten that disestablishment involves disendowment.—Again, some Churchmen appear to think that a disestablished Episcopal Church would be free from appeals to courts of law. This also, I believe, would be found a mistake. So long as any English citizen—clerical or lay—can show that he has received any damage in pocket or character by the act of another, whether layman or ecclesiastic, so long the law of England will step in and find him a remedy, and the law courts will insist on trying his cause. Let not that be forgotten.—Again, some Churchmen appear to think that they would have more liberty in a disestablished Church than they enjoy now. I venture to doubt that exceedingly. I believe there is no Church on earth in which a minister has so much liberty as he has in the Church of England, so long as he conforms to the requirements of our very comprehensive formularies, and no English pulpit so truly free as the pulpit of the Establishment. Free Churches, so called, are not always so free as they appear. They are very often intolerant of minorities. They are apt to multiply rules and regulations till they make a yoke that presses heavily on tender consciences. Tight clothes are always most likely to tear. “There is no tyranny,” said Aristotle, “like the tyranny of democracy.” There is no intolerance like the intolerance of an uncontrolled ecclesiastical majority. I commend these points to the consideration of my brother Churchmen who long for disestablishment. I counsel them respectfully to remember that in a world like this it is wise to let well alone and “do nothing rashly.” It is better “to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.” The dissolution of the existing relation between Church and State might possibly mend a few holes in our position, but I am afraid it would make twice as many more. The frogs in the fable were dissatisfied with King Log, and thought him a stupid king and a dull fellow. But they soon found, when they got rid of King Log, that King Stork was ten times worse.

If the articles and formularies of our Church were repealed, or mutilated, or Romanised—if the admission into our pale of Romanists, Socinians, and sceptics was formally legalised by the State—then indeed I should begin to think the Established Church of this realm was not worth preserving, and should advise every Christian Churchman to seek a new home for his soul. I dare not stay in any ship, however richly gilded, if Christ is not in it. I would raise the cry as loud as any, “Let us depart hence.” “To your tents, O Israel.” But, thank God, we have not come to that pass yet. So long as the articles and formularies are preserved whole and undefiled, I see nothing to justify me in quarrelling with the union of Church and State. With all the inconveniences of its position, the Establishment has God’s blessing with it, and I shall stick by the ship.

After all, I must conclude with expressing my own firm conviction that the existing relations of Church and State in England will never be dissolved, if the Church is only true to herself. Disestablishment will never come without the consent of the majority of the House of Commons. The majority of the Commons will never vote the destruction of the Establishment, if the voice of the people does not demand it.



The people will never demand the overthrow of the Established Church, so long as that Church possesses their hearts and affections. The Church will never lose those affections if she will only do her duty, reform her defects, and preach and teach the pure Gospel of Christ.

Great, indeed, is the responsibility laid on the present generation of Churchmen! Vast are the interests at stake! The future of this country, under God, depends on our conduct at this crisis. If we leave our first love and forsake our Protestant principles, I have no doubt the Establishment will fall and die. Nothing that man can do will bolster it up and preserve it. If, on the contrary, we continue, as a Church, faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ, faithful to the Word of God, faithful to the articles and formularies, faithful to the souls of the people, faithful in preaching, and faithful in practice, then I believe the Establishment will stand and live, notwithstanding every foe. God Himself will be with it, and then nothing can destroy it. In short, to borrow the words of our great poet—

“Nought shall make this Church of England rue,  
If only to herself she rest but true.”

### THE PRESIDENT.

IN acknowledging in your name the debt which we owe to the reverend speaker who has just addressed us, with his permission I would beg leave to make one or two observations with regard to those most necessary reforms which he craved at the hands of the clergy. We are here assembled in a diocese which is the largest but one of the dioceses of England, and we are assembled in a diocese which contains more clergy than any diocese of England but one. The reverend gentleman most justly and truly said that one of the principal reforms to be made in our present ecclesiastical constitution was the division of our unwieldy dioceses. Now, I should like to know who has been contending for that division for at least a quarter of a century? The Church of England. And who has resisted that division? The State of England. I do earnestly hope that his words addressed to the Church will be applied, as they ought to be applied, to the secular power. And then with regard to the other part of our ecclesiastical constitution to which he referred, and on which he made a most apt remark, I mean our present antiquated Convocation, who is it that has been claiming a reform of Convocation for at least ten years? Why, Convocation itself. What has resisted that reform? Why, it is the secular power. I am speaking in the presence of a noble lord (Lord Harrowby) with whom I had the pleasure of acting about twenty years ago upon the Cathedral Commission, and in that Cathedral Commission, which was formed principally of ecclesiastics high in authority, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the then Bishop of London, and many others, there were recommendations for the reform of our cathedral bodies; but all these recommendations have been stifled by the civil power. I hope the reverend speaker will allow me to plead in the name therefore of the Church, that she has not been altogether remiss or lethargic in endeavouring to obtain that which he so earnestly and so eloquently advises—I mean internal reformation. I must claim for the Church that she has not been lax in that particular respect, and my fervent desire is—and I speak in the presence of those who, like myself, earnestly desire that there may be a perpetual union between the Church and State of England—that that expression may go forward from this room with a voice of power to our civil rulers, and that they will accept us, the bishops and clergy of England, as the great Church reformers. I have now the pleasure of calling upon a nobleman to whom the Church of England is under a deep debt of gratitude, the Earl of Harrowby.

## ADDRESS.

## THE EARL OF HARROWBY.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The addresses you have just heard have, I think, fully washed away the disastrous impression that would have been left if the first address only had been before you. If the first address alone had been before you, I think you would have very ill understood the reasons for a union between the Church and State, and you would have had a very imperfect notion of what the Church of Christ was. As far as I could understand the interpretation of the "Church of Christ," in the opinion of the author of that paper, it was equivalent to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. Whenever the proposals of the Convocation of Canterbury were not admitted, it was the resistance of the State to the will of Christ. No doubt it is a difficult question, What is the Church? but certainly a Church which excludes the laity is a very imperfect definition.

Now you, my Lord, have been just reminding us of some of the shortcomings of the State. I do think that the State is rather hardly used in this matter, for I think the State has been doing a great deal, and has sometimes, against what would have been thought by outward demonstration the will of the Church, done more for the Church than if those demonstrations had been attended to. I will boldly say at once I refer to the dealings with the episcopal and capitular revenues. I say the State has done a great work for the Church of England and the people of England, which, if it had listened to considerable remonstrance from those who claim to represent the Church, would not have been done. Where would those ten millions now scattered over the whole of the needy parishes of our country have been, if we had too narrowly looked simply at the possible evolution of advantage from the Cathedral system? Now, when I differ from the right reverend prelate, I differ with the highest reverence for his wisdom as for his honour and sincerity of heart; but I do think that it is not very clear what advantage was to be drawn from the Cathedral bodies which would have made it worth while to sacrifice the great advantages to the parochial system which have arisen from the interference of the State. The State, we have been told, has been slack sometimes in following the indications of Convocation; but, at the same time, I think it is fair to say, that listening as I have done, with the greatest desire to attend to the advice that has been offered us, I have often not seen my way very clear to an unobjectionable method of carrying those suggestions into effect. Take the example of the increase of the Episcopate, I have always felt that every county ought to have its own bishop; as much as possible to make the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions coincide. I want to tie up the union between Church and State more closely than before, and not to sever it; but, at the same time, when it has come to the question how it is to be done, I have never seen the mover of a bill himself quite satisfied with the form in which he has proposed it. The subject is full of practical difficulties, and I think it is not to be attributed to any State unwillingness to deal with the question, but to some of the practical inherent difficulties in the question itself. So it is with regard to the Cathedrals. I have never yet seen any one Cathedral reform that has united any great body of Churchmen in its favour. I have seen all kinds of suggestions brought forward, but none that has received general acceptance. There is one, indeed, suggested by these Cathedral Commissions, the one to which I have always attached great importance, but which has been passed over,—that whenever a canon or a dean is gazetted, the reasons for his appointment should be stated, and a record of the services which he has rendered to the Church. It is what the queen does when she assigns the Victoria Cross, and I do not see why it should not be done in that honourable office. I think that of itself would be a great practical reform, and that abuses in the choice of unfit or improper persons would drop at once. The practical work to be given to the Cathedrals is an extremely difficult question. I confess myself I should like to see a good deal of the bishop's work put upon

the Cathedrals—not those things which are proper and essential to the office of a bishop, but what I may call a large portion of the lay business of the bishop, the management of estates, the consents to be given upon all sorts of occasions. A Chapter would be much better for such works as these, and a bishop need not be bothered with the enormous correspondence, and the attention to minute details which is thus forced upon him. I should like to see the Chapter concur more in the ordination of the clergy. I should like to see the examination take place partly before the Chapter also. I should like to see the Chapter introduced much more as a living element at the council of the bishop. But then there no doubt comes this difficulty, that the crown appoints a great number of these, and the crown, therefore, would be appointing the council of the bishop; and that might be a difficulty and an entanglement. But I would meet this by a reorganisation of the patronage in the matter of the Cathedrals. At least half the patronage in every Cathedral should be in the hands of the bishop, so that two at least of the canons should be men who were of episcopal nomination. With regard to the adjudication of offences, I would have the Chapter a standing tribunal; and if you had the archdeacon upon the Chapter you would have the man most competent to advise the bishop—the man who had most experience in matters of adjudication—men who were the eyes of the bishop, and would convey to him the best opinion, and furnish the best guidance. I really want to point out that in these cases in which the State has been slack in following advice offered by the Church, it has not been from an unwillingness to do what the Church desires and needs, but from the practical difficulties very often felt and entertained, even by those who promote them when the matter has to take a practical shape. Even now in the last year or two how much assistance to the Church has been given by the present House of Commons: five measures of reform have been granted this very year. Surely it is not a kind way of treating our partners in the great business of governing (if you may so say spiritually and socially) this great country, to be always picking holes and finding fault with her, when, in fact, she is honestly desirous of doing her duty in this respect. I confess the only individual case which I have seen of a most dangerous movement on the part of the State, has been the interference with the Universities, and I confess that seems to me the most fundamental, the most dangerous of all the movements that have been made of late years, affecting not only the general benefit of the country in the way in which it puts religion into a corner in its very highest department, but also in interfering with those institutions which hitherto have furnished so admirably, on the whole, the ministers of our Church. Perhaps I might be allowed to defend the State on another point with regard to the Court of Appeal. Now, you know we must have a highest Court of Appeal somewhere, whether the Church be established or disestablished. As long as you have a wooden pulpit to walk into, it must be decided by somebody who is to walk up the steps into that pulpit. You cannot help it—you must have it. The only question will be who shall decide it? Shall it be an ecclesiastical body, or a body accustomed to decide all questions of disputed right in other branches? Why, what is the ecclesiastical body that you would substitute? Would you take for adjudication the whole of Convocation? Would you bring them together to decide on individual rights and cases? We all know it would be most perfect and absolute tyranny. Then what is the alternative? You would say, “We won’t appeal to a lay tribunal.” What does that mean? That means simply that you would abide by the decision of the Dean of the Court of Arches, does it not? It comes to nothing else. Then really it comes to this: Does the Church, and do all Churchmen, laymen as well as clergymen, prefer to have their rights decided by the opinions of Dr Phillimore only, or by the opinions of five of the men of the highest character in the country, men who have had experience in the most difficult questions, and who are most accustomed as lawyers to put aside their personal prepossessions in questions of justice between man and man? Why, surely if we were not clergy, if we were laymen, we should say we would much rather be judged by the body that now decides than

merely by the *ipse dixit* of the person who happens to be appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. That is what is meant: it is simply that you would prefer to have all your questions of right and wrong as between man and man in regard to Church matters decided by the man appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury rather than by the highest lawyers in the kingdom. Would you constitute another ecclesiastical tribunal with a larger body of men, men who would be appointed by clergymen and ecclesiastical authorities? Would that be a perfect security for impartiality, for the putting aside of all personal prepossessions? Do not all know how difficult it is even now, the ecclesiastical and lay elements being mixed up in the Court of Appeal, to regard the opinions given by the ecclesiastical members of that tribunal as simply the expression of their opinion on the legal question submitted to them, and not to look upon them as interpreters of the doctrines. You cannot have an ecclesiastical tribunal without an ecclesiastical bias. You cannot be perfectly secured against bias in any body, constitute it as you please; but you have a better security for that in a body of lawyers, accustomed to put their opinions in their pockets, for the purpose of a pure act of interpretation, than in submitting such questions to a court of ecclesiastics, who are accustomed to act rather upon their theological views than in mere interpretation of the law. Now, so strongly is this felt, that in this very last year what was the proposal, the favourite proposal, of those who object to the present tribunal? It was to exclude the ecclesiastical element altogether. Quite a change of front! I recollect in the year 1850 those who objected to the then Court cried out for a purely ecclesiastical body; and now, after an experience of twenty years, Churchmen come round and say, "No, the best resource is to get rid of the ecclesiastical element altogether." That is a little excuse for the State now and then being slow in adopting the first suggestions popular among ecclesiastical bodies, and applying the lay element of calmness and consideration, and the habit of dealing with other things to ecclesiastical objects in questions of great gravity. I must say it seems to me there is one duty of the Church to the State, which has of late been much neglected. It is to teach obedience to the laws and set an example of it. I confess, when I have looked at those discussions, I have been tempted to turn back to the pages of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity;" and I have found, not that, in the words of Milton, "New presbyter is old priest writ large," but, on the contrary, that new priest is the old presbyter reappearing writ large, and the arguments of that venerable and illustrious man—looked upon as a standard-bearer of our Church and almost an oracle amongst us—the arguments that he uses against the Puritans of those days are the very arguments that a man would use against these professing High Churchmen. I should like to quote his words on the duty of deference to the Lord.

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The Rev. PREBENDARY HARRIS, Vicar of St Luke's, Torquay.

MY LORD,—May I express the feelings of any one else as well as my own, when I begin by saying most solemnly I thank God that such an utterance as that of Mr Ryle has gone out from this hall to-day over the whole of England. He has struck a plain note, and, as he always does, he has spoken plainly.

It falls to my lot, in a very humble manner, as one unknown and almost untried, to try and point out one means at any rate whereby the Church may perform as well as she can her duty during her present relation to the State. Notwithstanding what has been said by many speakers, I cannot help feeling that the relation is likely to be but a short-lived one. Besides many of the influences that have been spoken of, we must bear in mind that all the disaffection, all the open opposition, all the serious disquietude to sober men, and men of her communion, with regard to the connection of Church and State, are but currents and eddies of one great stream of feeling, which, not in this land only, but throughout the whole of Europe, is, as it were, showing that the fountain-

of the great deep of popular thought have been broken up, and are setting on with the power of a flood to overthrow the barriers of ancient order. I feel, therefore, that there is a mighty force against us, and a great danger drawing near to us. God grant the danger to the union of Church and State may be averted! But meanwhile, while that union lasts, the duty of the Church, in a few plain words, is to make the most of it. Whilst we have the protection and the liberty of law, whilst we have certain defined boundaries within which we know whether we can or cannot agree; we must work steadily, earnestly, prayerfully for one especial object. I am treading in footsteps already marked out, if I say that object is reform. I will not attempt now to dwell upon the details—they have already been mentioned; but surely the time has come for surrendering posts which we know to be untenable; for giving up our traditions of exclusiveness, and our dreams of patriarchal security; for reorganising our large, but at present almost helpless forces. And if we are to work towards this reform, we must use a method, and we must not shrink from that method, though, perhaps, the word with which I introduce it to you may seem distasteful—we must have agitation. Do not mind the word; do not think it does not suit so respectable a body as the Church of England. Remember that you have already begun it: this very Congress that we have here before us is a piece of agitation. Our Church Associations, our Church Unions—guilds, brotherhoods, parochial councils—all are specimens of agitation where we are in one way and another endeavouring to make the laity of the Church recognise their real position as members of the body, and take a part in the life and the management of it. If agitation is our method, I would venture to suggest one means already in existence. I have not alluded to one existing organisation, the Church Institution—now called the Church Defence Institution. It was founded by the late Henry Hoare, a name loved by Churchmen, who during his lifetime worked vigorously. Since then, I am sorry to say that it has rather suffered from a kind of palsy of the heart; and though there has been a certain galvanised action in one, at any rate, of the extremities—namely, the south-west corner of England—yet little has been done throughout all those numerous rural branches of it which were once established. Now let us try and use that organisation, which would gather together the laity and clergy of the Church for the purpose of reform and defence. It is a means whereby a nucleus may be formed in every parish to enable the clergyman to obtain intercourse with many of those who are nominal Churchmen, but who know not why—who know little or nothing of the spirituality of the Church, but who do see and recognise the external fabric of the Church—who know something about its corporate organisation, and who, being told that these things are being placed in jeopardy, will join those who would try to save them. You would enlist in this way the upper kind of artisan, the tradesman who is frequent in his place at church, though he knows little perhaps of the doctrines of his Church, the well-to-do farmer, the active spirits who at present belong to the Church, but who moan continually that they have no particular duty assigned to them in the Church. You get them together, and give them something to do. You meet first of all on the terms of social intercourse; you have a friendly shake of the hand; you have the outward sign of some kind of inward sympathy; you draw them round, you enlist them, make them feel they are one with you, and then gradually you work on and on, and influence them more and more; and if any clergyman has gathered the manhood of his parish around him in any way, and cannot then lead them on to some higher knowledge and some higher reason for being Churchmen, the fault lies with him, and not with the laymen. Let him get them, then, in every town and parish of our country, High or Low Church—gather them for the sake of those great doctrines on which we all agree, that they may know that he is not simply a paid officer of a State Church, but a man like themselves, who cares for the same things that they care for, loves the same Lord that they love, and would point them to the salvation which they and he need alike. We begin simply by the secular organisation—it leads up to the spiritual. As it has been said, men think in masses, and agitation is

the power which must set these masses in motion. The work of agitation is like those forces which act on the great boulder, clay-imbedded on some mountain side, or the overhanging ridge of the ice cliff: alternate thaws and frosts loose it till it descends with a thunder-crash upon the little village or the secure church spire below. The power of agitation is to permeate by countless channels the minds of the millions, to set before them facts, to reach their feelings, to tell them continually the state of things, until at last by some small, perhaps unexpected occasion, the whole force of a nation's will is launched with the power of an avalanche upon some devoted institution. My Lord, we claim to be those who hold not a power of destructiveness, but a power which is able to mould, regenerate, and bless the hearts of men; and, therefore, it is for us to remember that, as in the world of nature the hand of art has rendered even the avalanche harmless, and the traveller passes safely through the protected gallery, so we, by work beforehand, by prayer, energy, and organisation, may not only render the avalanche of power, thought, and will harmless, but, if we will, we may ourselves be at the head of it, we may ourselves guide and direct it, we may ourselves turn its forces, not on any one particular institution, but on those powers of evil which too widely, too universally, warp and render powerless the wishes and intentions for good both in Church and State.

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#### DISCUSSION.

The Rev. R. HUGHES, M.A., Vicar of St Catherine's, Edge Hill,  
Liverpool.

MY LORD,—It is now twenty-five years since I heard your Lordship advocate the cause of the National Church in the University pulpit of Cambridge, in a sermon preached upon these words—"Give unto her the living child, and slay it not." More than a quarter of a century has passed since then, and what do we find? We find the Church of England, on the ground of her nationality, attacked from without; and also, I am grieved to say, from within; and I wish to speak one word in favour of the Established Church of the realm in which I live. It does seem to me amazing, I might almost say astounding, that members of the English Church should seek to sever her connection with the State. It seems to me a most suicidal policy regarded from every possible point of view, for I ask, where will you find throughout Christendom a Church which occupies the commanding position of usefulness which is occupied by the Church of England? and where will you find a nobler institution in the world in which we live than the Church of England is at the present moment? Here you have a Church which numbers amongst its ministers men of education and of intelligence, men of wide information, men drawn from every rank in the social scale, and thus linking the lowest and highest together. We all know how the status of the clergy in a neighbouring country, in France, has been lowered since the seizure of her ecclesiastical revenues some seventy years ago. The Church of England makes its influence now, as a State Church, felt in every city, in every town, in every village, in every hamlet of the land, ay, indirectly, in almost every house. No person can say that no man careth for his soul, and every man throughout this wide kingdom has the right to have his children baptized and his friends buried with sacred and religious rites; and even the poorest, in seasons of difficulty and perplexity, knows that he has at least one friend to whom he may always resort. Break this down and convert the parochial into a congregational system, make the clergy dependent for their support upon the people to whom they minister, and their independence of character, their power of usefulness, is gone in great measure, and you inflict serious injury upon the whole population of a vast empire; you make the Anglican Church what the Scotch and American Episcopal Churches are—a luxury for the rich, and not the Church of the nation at large. Therefore, I say, you degrade her

into a most ignominious position, inconsistent with the command of our blessed Lord : "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." That great man, the late Canon Melvill, confirms the opinion expressed by the Church historian, Joseph Milner, that the extension of State patronage to the Church in the fourth century did not accelerate, but rather retarded the progress of heresy and error ; and is it not to that union of Church and State under Constantine the Great that we owe that masterly compendium of Christian doctrine, the Nicene Creed ? Disestablish the Church of England, and what would be gained ? What would become of the alleys and slums of our large towns ? The Nonconformists sell their chapels when the neighbourhood becomes poor, and move into the wealthy suburbs. I have before my eyes at the present moment a church in the heart of Liverpool, which has 1500 or 1600 people in it every Sunday, and is a grand success ; and a few yards off, at the present moment, there is a Nonconformist chapel offered for sale. A great argument has been drawn from the census of 1851 ; this census is utterly unreliable—this I venture to affirm without the least hesitation, and without the least reserve. In some cases I know that the people were urged to attend specially on that day, and the chapels had a larger congregation than the average ; and one instance at least is known, in which the printed return was not the same as the return sent in. The Church of England is doing a great and a glorious work, although with many faults and imperfections. Let her be true, not to the principles of Archbishop Laud, but to the grand old principles of the Reformation—the grand old principles for which Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley died, and that Church will stand, for the voice of God will say with regard to her, "Destroy her not, for a blessing is in her."

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### The Rev. Dr LITTEDALE.

MY LORD PRESIDENT,—It seems to me that all the speakers who have preceded me have addressed themselves to two questions, which, very important in themselves, are not those which are put upon the paper. They have set forth what is the duty of the State towards the Church, which, according to most of them, is the maintenance of the Establishment, or they have stated what is the duty of the Church towards herself, which is internal reform ; but they have not said a word, any of them, of the duty of the Church to the State.

Now, it seems to me that may be summed up in one very simple sentence, and that is, The duty of the Church to the State is to teach the State what its duties towards God and to its citizens are ; and this the Church can only do by ceasing to take up the position of defence and commencing that of aggression. The moment the Church ceases to be missionary in any capacity, the moment it stands upon defence, then, as we know by all the rules of the military art, it is only a question of time when it shall fall. In every siege the chances are entirely in favour of the besiegers ; it is simply a question of so many days, weeks, or months before the citadel falls. But if, on the other hand, the aggressive method be adopted—and by the aggressive method I mean the insisting, on all occasions, upon every possible opportunity, in every way that influence can be brought to bear upon our representatives in Parliament, and in every other fashion, what the Church wants and means to have—then we have got the proper definition of what the duty of the Church to the State is in the present crisis. We want Micaiahs to face our Ahabs ; we want Johns to threaten our Herods ; we want, in short, that the whole body politic of England should know precisely what is the spirit which moves the vastest of those religious communities which exist within the pale of English citizenship. And in that case we have to deal with two very important matters. Like Mr Ryle, I have put forward myself a scheme of Church Reform, which in a great number of particulars is absolutely identical with his. But you have had your attention drawn by the Lord Bishop to the fact that the State will not let the Church

reform. Now, it is not always a question of deliberate hostility on the subject, because it is simply thus: our Parliament, consisting of men who, to a very large extent, are not members of the Established Church, feels a natural reluctance to embark upon questions with which its conscience is perfectly unacquainted, and therefore there is great difficulty in getting ecclesiastical legislation, even of the simplest and most essential kind, carried through Parliament. Parliament cannot do it, it has not got the time to do it if it even wished to do it, and Parliament won't let any one else do it except itself. Therefore, a part of the duty of the Church to the State at this time is to say, We want reform, and we will take the matter into our own hands if you won't let us. Now, when Mr Welby spoke of the practical identity of the Church and State, he put forward a theory which, first stated by Hooker, was afterwards revived by Dr Arnold, and which ceased to be true at the date of the Revolution. It has ceased to be true as a matter of historical fact, because the moment you have a large body of persons who avow themselves Nonconformists to the Established Church, who reject her offices, decline to accept her ministry, or to contribute to her support in any way, you have obtained for all practical purposes an *imperium in imperio*. The two bodies, the Church and State, may to a great extent include the same individuals, but they cannot be represented as being still one and the same body viewed in two aspects; therefore we are bound to let that part of the State which does not accept the teaching of the Church know what that teaching is, and what the claims of the Church are to have that teaching publicly recognised and universally received. I have merely to wind up with one other remark, and that is as regards the question brought forward as to the interference of the Supreme Court of Appeal. It was argued with much ingenuity, that it cannot enunciate new doctrine, but we all know there is a strong pressure put upon it from without, to make it declare old doctrine untenable. It is simply a question of historical facts. I am not going to arouse polemical disputes, nor to say anything as regards the relative bearings of the matter. I merely say, certain acts and tenets are called into question now, and an attempt made to make that penally punishable which, at all events, was believed up to a very recent time to be fairly tolerable within the pale of the Church of England; and there is sufficient evidence that, as a matter of fact, the members of that body (the Court of Appeal) are but very imperfectly acquainted with the historical bearing of the whole question.

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REV. DR ALFRED LEE (Secretary to the Church Defence Association).

MY LORD,—In the very few moments I have for addressing this great Congress, I wish to address myself entirely to practical work. I have been for several years a clergyman of a Church which was once established, but is now disestablished, and I find that when we look on the other side of establishment the prospect is neither pleasing nor attractive. I find that there is less freedom for the clergy, and there is less satisfaction in the Church's work for the laity. I find also that when we are suffering it may be under certain minor evils which gail us very much, and we are very impatient to get rid of, we should remember that if we have disestablishment we shall create twenty greater and more unbearable evils.

But there is also one thing which we must remember in this question, and it is this—that there exists in this country at the present moment a large and active persevering body, which is endeavouring to turn public opinion to its own side of the question, and to inaugurate a great movement which will result in the disestablishment of the Church of England, and the renouncing of the position of that Church as the teacher of Divine truth in this land. There exists a Society which has ample funds, which is organising in every part of the country its associations—or will soon do so, in every large town in



England—which proposes to divide those towns into wards, with a committee for each ward, and to have a sentinel in every village who will report to head-quarters whether the Church is doing her work in the country parishes or not. I think we should know these things; and recognise this great Society. The Church of England should now arise in her might, and say distinctly and placidly, and with a voice of thunder—"We will hold our own; we will transmit to our children the blessings our fathers gave to us." Now, in order to do this, we must work—we must work earnestly, we must work personally, we must work individually; but it will be no good for us to work each in our own locality, unless the different atoms of which we individually are composed are united together in one grand central organisation, which can make its weight felt not only throughout the length and breadth of England, but also in Parliament. A great central organisation does exist, and could be made most efficient for the work before us: it is the old Church Institution, which Prebendary Harris has reminded you has, during the last two or three months, developed itself into the Church Defence Institution, of which I am thankful to say His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has just become the president, and of which the great majority of the Bishops of the Church, including the Right Rev. President of this Congress, are vice-presidents. But what we want to see in every locality is an organisation which will enable us to reflect the true view of the Church in connection with the State. We seek not only to maintain the Church in connection with the State, but also wherever we go to inaugurate and set forth those great measures of Church reform which have been already mentioned in this Congress. Therefore do not look upon the Church Defence Institution as simply a Society for maintaining the union of Church and State alone, but also for binding together the energies and work of Churchmen to obtain those great reforms which have been sketched out to you already by previous speakers. I therefore trust that when this great Congress is dissolved, when you go home, when you come to think how you yourselves can carry out this in your own localities, the great work which lies before you of endeavouring to do the utmost to maintain national Christianity amongst us, I trust that each one of you will endeavour to influence his neighbours to come forward and to support the Church Defence Institution, as the great practical instrument by which the blessings of national Christianity may be maintained in England; and by which our Church, bless God, will remain united to the State, a free Church in a free State, to the end of time.

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### **The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.**

THE impulse which sprang up in my mind to arise and speak to you, sprang up during the reading of what I must call, in spite of the writer being a valued personal friend of my own, the intemperate paper of Canon Gregory. (No, no.) If I have used any word that has given needless offence, I beg to withdraw it, and I will simply say then, during the reading of the paper of Canon Gregory. That paper has, I think, been sufficiently answered by the calm and well-reasoned paper of Mr Welby, and by the somewhat warmer, but equally well-reasoned paper of Mr Ryle, and by the excellent sober remarks of Lord Harrowby. I must say it did strike me as somewhat strange, that a Canon of a Cathedral Church, who is telling us what the present duty of the Church is in regard to her relations with the State, and who tells us, in the course of that paper, that in obedience is safety, and ruin in self-will, should have been himself the man, in company with another Canon of that Church, himself also a dear friend of mine—

THE PRESIDENT—I think perhaps it would be better—as neither Canon Gregory nor Canon Liddon is here present to answer for themselves—to abstain from any personal animadversions upon them.

THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER—Let me therefore simply say I most cordially accept the maxim, that in obedience is safety, and in self-will is ruin. Upon that point I will

say nothing more. But in the course of this discussion there has emerged a succession of suggestions which I must say have filled my mind with considerable anxiety. Mr Ryle has told us that we must use every effort to resist disestablishment. Prebendary Harris has told us we must have recourse to immediate agitation. Dr Littledale has said that the Church of England must assume the attitude of aggression. Does that mean, gentlemen, that at the next election we are to turn ourselves into a great political organisation? Does it mean that we clergy are all to be seen upon electioneering hustings making speeches? I merely venture to submit to this meeting that there are agitations and agitations, and that there are efforts which are legitimate in resistance, and there are efforts which for Churchmen and for Christians are utterly illegitimate. I desire to remind this audience of certain simple utterances in the Word of God which I think will show us what is our duty in this present troublous time. Our strength is not as was the strength of Egypt, to sit still, but our strength is, as was the strength of Israel, in quietness, and in confidence; and do not let us lose sight of the blessing that is promised to the meek, "who shall inherit the earth." I am as strongly in favour of internal Church reforms as Mr Ryle or any other speaker can be. I do feel that the clothes in which we have to address ourselves to it, which have come down to us from our ancestors, are somewhat too tight for us to move freely in, in the circumstances of modern society. I do feel that perhaps the two most crying reforms that are needed are the reform of Church patronage and the reform of clergy discipline. I think it is simply monstrous that those freehold rights which have installed a clergyman into his benefice, with the consequences so strongly depicted by Mr Ryle, should be maintained as though they were indefeasible. With regard to the disposition of Parliament to meet any reasonable claims upon them that we may put forward, I would wish members of this Congress who take an interest in this matter to read the calm and sober remarks of the Archbishop of Canterbury, reported in the *Times* of 10th October, a prelate whose life I hope may yet be long preserved to guide this Church by his calm and well-considered counsels, in which he tells us that if only we clergy and laity were unanimous in coming to Parliament with any fair demand, Parliament would not resist it. When I remember that our Blessed Lord Himself submitted to a secular tribunal, and that His great Apostle Paul appealed to Cæsar from that ecclesiastical tribunal whose chief had bade smite him on the cheek contrary to the law, I ask why should we clergymen refuse to submit to the Court of Appeal?

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A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.

MR LORD,—Strongly as I feel on the main question, I rise chiefly to offer some observations on the speech of my honoured friend, Lord Harrowby. On the main question, let me simply say that whatever may be the difficulties of our position, the unknown difficulties of disestablishment are such that every member of the Church of England, I believe, ought to fight with might and main as far as he can to maintain our position. Lord Harrowby, I am sure, did not mean to do so, but he might have been taken to have set up the Cathedral system and the parochial system as if they were antagonistic. Now, on this point let me indicate that those reforms which, as our President mentioned to-day, the Cathedral Commission wished to have carried out, would have shown that the Cathedral system is not the antagonist, but the complement and fulfilment of the parochial. The Cathedral is not merely the Dean and the residentiaries—the Cathedral is the union of the clergy of the diocese. What are the old non-residentiary prebendaries, of the ancient Cathedrals, and that weak shadow of them, the honorary Canons of the new system—what are they but the enforcement of the fact that the Cathedral is the central point and union of the diocese? It is the natural home of the Synod, it is the natural home of all great diocesan gatherings, while the Cathedral clergy are the natural missionaries to go forward and help the parish clergy. I do not argue the money

question. I think the Ecclesiastical Commissioners might have given more money to the Cathedrals than they have; but putting that aside, the distinctions between the two systems show that the Cathedral system is not appreciated, not recognised, not worked as it ought to be. And that leads us on to the diocesan question, and there I thoroughly agree with my noble friend that each county at least ought to be a diocese. But I ask the question—a question I have often asked before, and I will ask it always till I have had an answer—Why not organise the diocese first? why should not our President be Bishop of Lincoln and, as I desire neither to affront Nottingham nor Southwell, Bishop of “Christ” in the county of Nottingham? and why should not a Chapter of “Christ” be organised? why should it not be set up, perhaps not with State-appointed Canons, but with Canons and Prebendaries who shall meet in Chapter, who shall work the diocese; so that when the time comes to put the cap on to the edifice and separate the See, the ground will be prepared, the machine will be made, and it can start into efficient working? You talk of the extension of the Episcopate; change your front, let it be diocesan extension, and you will find the Bishops will soon come. One more point in Lord Harrowby’s speech which calls for notice is what he said about the question of the Court of Final Appeal, and there I think he was more parliamentary than he need have been. He attempted to meet a pressing need by raising up the spectre of broad difficulties beyond. I admit those difficulties as much as he, but why should the difficulties of a great change be any reason against trying a small change? He himself pointed out that Churchmen are gravitating towards its being purely a lay court. Well, if they are gravitating to it, it is probably the right thing. Then, again, they are gravitating to the common-sense of the organisation of the court being regulated and known beforehand, and not convoked in so haphazard a way as it now appears to be. They have gravitated also to the common-sense necessity of each member of the court giving his separate opinion, as they do in all other courts, and not meeting beforehand and adopting by either unanimity or majorities and minorities a joint opinion. Give us these three reforms and study the result.

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REV. E. H. BICKERSTETH.

It has often been said that if we separate the Church from the State, we need not thereby unchristianise the nation, and America has been pointed to as an example of a Christian nation. Now, some six years ago it came to a matter of election in Congress who was to be the chaplain of Congress. There were several candidates, and eventually a Socinian was elected. This Socinian offered the prayers in the House of Congress. I mentioned that fact to my congregation at the time when the debate was coming on for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and I was told afterwards that that simple fact had gained six votes. And without any appearing on the hustings, I do think that the statement of simple facts from the pulpit is our duty, as much as it was that of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Last year I was in America. I went to Cambridge, near Boston, and was deeply interested with much I saw there. One fact, however, grieved me at my very heart: I found that the chaplain of the University—a University distinguished by so much that is noble and generous—was likewise a Unitarian; that he gathered the young men of that great seminary morning by morning, and offered up prayers, which they were obliged to attend: it was a matter of university discipline that they should attend; and yet it was a Unitarian, one who denied the Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ—the cardinal truth of Christianity—who was chosen as the chaplain of that University to conduct their daily social prayer. Now, if you denationalise our Church, what guarantee have we that we shall not have a Unitarian chaplain of the House of Commons, or that we shall not have Unitarian prayers in our Universities? I would earnestly commend this thought to any who think that we shall be able to maintain the Christianity of our land, if we separate Church and State.

Rev. E. A. HILLYARD, B.A., Rector of St Laurence, Norwich.

I WANT to know whether we have not lost sight of one simple question when we are speaking as to obedience—whether we have not lost sight of the fact that there is often a double obedience? We are exhorted constantly to obedience, and our Lord's example has been quoted to us, how He submitted to a civil court and how St Paul appealed to one; but there is also another example and another pleading as well, that of our Lord's apostles, which seems to me to bear on this question, when they distinctly refused to take orders from a Jewish Sanhedrim, and put them on the horns of this dilemma, "Whether it be right to obey God rather than man, judge ye." In all questions of obedience there must come this, to whom do we owe the obedience? and if there is a conflict between two obediences, why, then, we must obey the higher. If the law of the State says that man and woman whom God hath joined may be put asunder, I suppose the Prayer Book will justify us in saying that no man may put them asunder. And further than that it is possible to contemplate such a condition of things as this: there might be—I put a case hypothetically—there might be a case involving one of the deepest sacramental truths which might come before the Privy Council; it might be determined contrary to primitive Christianity and the decisions of the Church in her purest times. The clergy of England—a very large and active and earnest body—would be put on the horns of another dilemma, to whom should they give obedience—to the authority of a Privy Council that has been characterised as a haphazard one, or to the decisions of that Church which Christ has promised ever to guide and to be with? For myself, I might say that I should give the decision in favour of the early Councils, in preference to the Privy Council, for this reason, that I see there is not the infallibility dwelling in the Privy Council that some would arrogate to it. (Question!) This is part of the question: it is part of the question, when the State contradicts what a vast quantity of her priests believe to be true, what shall those priests do? Shall we maintain establishment at any cost? And I, for myself, as earnest in maintaining that establishment as possible, say that there may come, and in all probability will come, a time, when many earnest men would not maintain that establishment at the expense of truth.

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Rev. Canon TRISTRAM.

MY LORD,—We have just heard Primitive Councils put in opposition to the Privy Council, but I should like to know who is to be the judge of their opposition. My Lord, a prelate, whose name is in reverence in all the Churches, a prelate of a disestablished and disendowed Church, a brother of your Lordship, asked the question the other day, and I have not yet seen a reply to it,—Why is an educated and intelligent layman, who is a faithful member of the Church, less qualified to judge of a matter of fact or of doctrine than an ecclesiastic? There seemed in Canon Gregory's paper a fallacy which I do not think has yet been touched. He spoke of the Church as divine, and I hold it to be as divine as he does; but at the same time we both likewise hold Scripture to be divine; and I wish to know whether the inspiration of Scripture is affected by our from time to time improving and modifying our translation according to our increased light and recently discovered manuscripts? and so, if the Church needs not change, but adaptation, as the New Testament or the Old Testament may need translation, why may not the lay members of the Church have their share in that revision? I conceive that there has been throughout a very great confusion between the legislative and the executive powers in the question. But the practical question for us, especially as I understand it to be brought before us by this topic, is that of disestablishment and disendowment. I take it that we are all agreed

that it is impossible in the present state of society to separate our disestablishment from confiscation. I asked a Radical M.P. the other day, who certainly does not profess to be a member of the Church, why he did not vote for Mr Miall's resolution, and his reply was, "Well, I am not yet quite able to face the question as to what would become of the country parishes. You know," he said, "I am no friend of your churches and your humbugs, but I do see that this is a difficult question for me as a civilian to face." We have heard a great deal of tall talk about freedom of late, but I would like to know what our colonial friends think of it. I have been a colonial clergyman myself, and know something of the colonies. I served the early part of my clerical life there, and I must say I think a pretty unanimous voice would come from thence—"Save us from the tyranny of congregations! Save us from the tyranny of an unchecked Episcopate!" Methinks, my Lord, there are some of us who would be rather loath to indulge in the disestablishment and free liberties of the diocese and the Church of Cape Town. I believe the trial of Mr Long in the Colonial Church was a restriction of liberty. I would ask, my Lord, in conclusion, before we talk of disestablishment, let us see who are the men who are urging it on? Who are the Liberation Society sending round to every parish in the county of Durham? They are sending round the same men who were the lecturers for the Birmingham League, and who cried then against the Bible; they are sending round men who have been infidel lecturers before; they are sending round the same men who went round for the Reform League. This proves the unscrupulous character of their agitation; and when we see that these are the men who dared not face a fair census to touch on this question, it is time that we should organise. How can we? We may organise in our rural deaneries. I believe each rural dean amongst us could get round him lay representatives from every parish to meet along with their clergymen. Let us meet for social discussion, and we shall get familiarised to work together, laity and clergy; and when we can join with the laity, let us combine in the great question of Church reform. Let us give them something to do, and I am quite sure our laymen will do it.

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### The Rev. P. HAINS, Vicar of St George's, Wigan.

In speaking for a minute on this subject, I will endeavour, if I can, to avoid personalities. In tracing the history of the Church of Christ from the first period, we find she has gone through three great eras: that from the day of Pentecost to the times of Constantine; from the days of Constantine to the time of the great Reformation; and from the Reformation to the present hour. The first period she was separated from the State; in the second period, the Church overrode the State; and in the third period, the State has overridden the Church. The first period was a period of piety, of earnest faith, and of purity; the second period was a period of gross superstition, of persecution, and of vice; and the third period has been a period of apathy, of indifference, and of infidelity. I am not speaking of my own country only, I am speaking of Europe generally. Now what does that lesson teach us, but that religion will live and spread independently of every earthly power, and that only under certain circumstances, which circumstances I believe to exist at present in England, the union of Church and State can be calculated to produce the welfare and the religion of people. I believe the establishment to be one of the accidents of the Church not essential to her vitality, and not one of her inherent elements whatever. And if the union of the Church and State were dissolved to-morrow, which some of our friends in the Church are doing their utmost to bring about, yet at the same time I believe that the Church would live and thrive in England. She is not necessarily identical with the State. Christianity was never stronger, never purer than when the Apostle said, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I unto thee;" and were a disunion to take

place to-morrow, I think that there would be such a living union betwixt Christ and His Church, that the Church's power would prove what the Church's power has hitherto proved, to consist in the Church's piety. Some mention has been made of the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland as being a forewarning of what we need expect. But I hold that the two cases are by no means analogous. Those very reasons which justified the disestablishment of the Irish Church are the very reasons for the establishment of the Church of England. The Church of England was never founded by the sword; the Church of England has never been maintained by the sword; the Church of England has never collected her tithes at the point of the bayonet; the Church of England has never preached to bare walls, where there have been only perhaps half-a-dozen Protestant worshippers; the Church of England has never alienated the affections of an angry population; but she has spread her civilising and sanctifying influences throughout the length and breadth of Christian England. But did the day ever arrive when the voice of the English people should say that the English Church should follow the example of her sister in Ireland; the numbers of that Church only being one-eighth part of the population of this country, then I for one would disdain to be upon a platform, or to fight for the loaves and lobsters. I would say, No; if the Church of England ever comes into that condition that she only forms one-eighth part of the population, then take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's.

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### The Rev. Chancellor MASSINGBERD.

MY LORD,—In the very few words which the time will allow me to address to this already fatigued assembly, I would wish to confine myself as far as possible to one particular point in this special subject. I think there has been some confusion amongst us between the question of the judicial functions of the Church, speaking of the Church in its broadest aspect, and its legislative functions; and I think that a great part of the difficulty, if not the whole difficulty, which we experience in the present time in regard to the affairs of the Church, arises much more from the want of that which every Church ought to possess, and which is inherent in the principles of the Universal Church of Christ—its own self-regulating principle—than in the question of the nature of any Court of Appeal. I believe even if we could re-establish the Court of Delegates, it would be extremely doubtful whether they would be able to settle the questions that have been agitated amongst us any more to our satisfaction than the existing courts. But that which we want is a self-regulating principle within the Church, and that involves the whole question of Church legislation. I cannot now trouble you, it would be presumptuous in me to do so, with many thoughts that have passed through my mind in studying this question and thinking upon it now for almost forty years. I will pass over everything I had to say upon the subject. But I wish to say this, that in order to re-establish that self-regulating principle which is now wanting to the Church, two things are required, and those two things that despised body of Convocations, on which we now hear so many censures, has been more or less demanding for the last twenty years—first, we want a greatly enlarged number of representatives of the parochial clergy. We want that for two purposes—first, in order to enlist more largely than we have the sympathies and interest of the spirituality in that which is their own representative body; and next, to enable them to speak with more power in regard to the carrying out of those measures which are required. Next, we want a combination with them of some representation of the faithful laity of the Church, and that for the same reasons, both to interest them in the affairs of the Church, and also to give to such a body the power to demand—I must use that expression—at the hands of the Legislature, that the Legislature as now constituted shall not assume to itself the functions of a national synod; for I am sure of this, that the danger which exists at

present is the danger in that quarter lest we should sometime find that the evil which we so much dread, which does not so much consist in the power of any body to disestablish the Church, the evil should have come by the enactment of some measure to which it should seem to a great proportion of the clergy that it was their duty not to submit. That is the danger; and in order to obviate that, we want a body of laymen of the Church to co-operate with the spirituality, and then I believe that the foundation would be laid for solving the difficulties of the case. If I had time, my Lord, I had intended also to indicate the way in which I think that these laity might be invited to join us, but I feel I have exhausted my time, and so I say no more.

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### **The PRESIDENT.**

I HAVE received a communication from the commissary of an absent bishop—an absent metropolitan—who represents in the name of his chief that that absent bishop's—that absent metropolitan's—name has been unjustly dealt with. I am sure Canon Tristram will be the first to see the desirableness of withdrawing that observation which has been complained of. When we have laboured and suffered in behalf of the Church, for as many years, or half as many years, as the Bishop of Capetown has done, then we may be qualified perhaps to sit in judgment upon him, but not till then.

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### **Rev. CANON TRISTRAM.**

MY LORD,—I cannot withdraw that expression without an explanation, because my expression has been perfectly misunderstood. I was speaking hurriedly, knowing time was against me, and I did not speak as clearly as I ought to have done. My intention was simply to state this, that in a disestablished Church the clergy individually have no more liberty than they have under the shackles of the State; and I cannot withdraw that statement. I simply meant to illustrate by the case of Mr Long that a clergyman in a disestablished Colonial Church is as much entirely under the power of the law as he is here; and I do not see what there is, my Lord, to withdraw in that statement of mine.

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### **Rev. R. M. GRIER, M.A., Vicar of Rugeley.**

OUR view of the present duty of the Church to the State must of course be determined by view of the nature and the origin of the Church of England. If the Church be a department of the State, with functionaries who have received at their ordination, in a becoming way, from the State, diplomas of theology, then it is the duty, of course, of every Churchman to submit himself to the State in matters ecclesiastical as unconditionally as he does in all other matters. This is Erastianism pure and proper, and the motto of all Erastians is, "Whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar. We have no king but Cæsar." We have been reminded that our blessed Lord submitted Himself to a secular tribunal, but I never heard that He denied He was the Messiah in obedience to a secular tribunal. I never heard that He refused to suffer, though He had the power to refuse to suffer had He pleased. If on the contrary the Church be an independent power appointed by our blessed Lord Himself with a province of her own, then I can conceive that it may be the sacred duty of every Churchman to resist the encroachments of the State upon the province of the Church, and yet to continue where he is. In 1833 the State substituted for the unsatisfactory Court of Final Appeal in matters ecclesiastical, a court which—to use the very

mildest terms—is still more unsatisfactory. It is a court in which no ecclesiastical lawyer of any eminence need sit—to which only three of our bishops, and those three who, from their avocations, are less likely perhaps than any others to be learned theologians, belong—and which our present Prime Minister has denounced, in language which he never has retracted, to be “unconstitutional, unreasonable, and contrary to the spirit of the Reformation statutes.” Now may I observe too, that all schools in turn have repudiated the authority of this court. I am going to give proofs, gentlemen, for what I say. In the Gorham case, the Lord Chancellor himself, I believe, signed a protest against the decision. When Messrs Williams and Wilson were acquitted by the court, eleven thousand clergymen—I myself was at that time working with one of the most evangelical clergymen in this country—signed a protest—High Churchmen and Low Churchmen together—against the decision of the court. In the Westerton v. Liddell case, when the court actually put its imprimatur upon the plain meaning of an obsolete rubric, commanding the priest to present the elements before the prayer for the Church militant, no evangelical clergyman of my acquaintance thought of submitting to the decision.

The CHAIRMAN.—I do hope that all speakers will abstain from anything like an invidious contrast between different classes.

The Rev. R. M. GRIER.—Gentlemen, it is said that this court only interprets the law. I am perfectly well aware of that; but, after all, remember this—the court that has the power of interpreting has the power of misinterpreting. And remember too—the court which in the last resort determines what the clergy may teach and do, really does minister, on the principle that *qui facit per alium facit per se*, the Word of God and the Sacraments, and this is a power which in our Thirty-seventh Article we are pledged not to give to our princes.

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#### The Rev. C. W. FURSE, M.A., Vicar of Staines.

MY LORD,—I desire to say a word on behalf of an absent friend, without any personality whatever. The Bishop of Manchester—in terms which I think were perfectly fair and legitimate, and which could not give, either from the gracious tones which he always uses, or the terms themselves, offence to any reasonable man—made a criticism on Canon Gregory’s paper, to the effect that it was intemperate. He has perfect liberty to form and to express such an opinion, though I do not agree with it at all; but at the same time, what I wish to refer to especially is the description given by the noble Earl, Lord Harrowby, of Canon Gregory’s paper, where, I venture to say, he entirely misunderstood a most important part of that paper, with reference to the definition of the Church. I think Canon Gregory would be one of the last men to suppose that the Church was represented only by the clergy and co-extensive with Convocation. What Canon Gregory said, and would always say, and which I hope the noble Earl will perfectly agree to and always remember in the House of Lords, as well as in the Church Congress, when ecclesiastical subjects come forward, is, that the Church is the Body of Christ, and that substantially was what Canon Gregory said. The reason why Canon Gregory, and Prebendary Harris, and myself, and thousands and thousands of other clergy and laity in England, think it not impossible that the Church may be disestablished, is this—not that we wish for disestablishment, nor that we ignore the extreme peril of disestablishment, especially to the poor, for in every single word on that subject I would go heartily with Mr Ryle, and thank him, as Prebendary Harris did, for all his words. In former days I fagged for Mr Ryle, and I know what his awful drives used to be—it was as much as a boy’s life was worth to try to stop them; he was a hard hitter, a character which he has kept up through life, and whenever I go into battle, either in great or small things, I always hope to be at his side if he will take me with him. But I would say to Mr Ryle, and will venture to say, if I may respectfully do so, to the Bishop of Manchester, for whom I entertain



a most grateful and affectionate respect, that where we differ is in this: we think that our enemies may compel us to accept disestablishment as the least bad alternative. We are on the defensive, and that, I hope, will satisfy the Bishop of Manchester. I do not wish to be on the hustings. I do not wish to be an agitator in any way; but will the Bishop of Manchester, or any other person who takes a cheerful optimistic view of the state of the Church, for a moment deny this fact, that there is a very large body, not merely of popular rhetoricians, but of argumentative statesmen, who lay down deliberately this proposition—that if the Church is to be a National Church, it must be co-extensive with the nation; and do not they say, when you come to such a matter as parochial councils, this—that every man who is a citizen of England is by the law of the land a legitimate and fair member of that council? Why it was laid down at Zion College by a very near friend of mine, and afterwards published to the world, that the Church, to be national, must be, as I said, co-extensive with the nation. Well, now, are we going to be like the ostrich, and put our head into the sand and not see the facts which are plainly before our eyes, that our national Church, yea, the very building of the Church every Sunday is, if not filled, yet sprinkled with persons who disbelieve the very fundamental articles of the Christian faith, and who have no hesitation in confessing their unbelief? How on earth is it possible that we are to give up actually the management of our parishes, the administration of the Blessed Sacraments, and even the very liberty of our preaching, at the beck, and call, and dictation of persons who, because they are citizens of England, claim their right to manage us, while they say that a man may be a Christian though he does not believe in the resurrection of our blessed Saviour, and who would deny—as Mr Matthew Arnold, for instance, has utterly denied—what Mr Ryle and I should consider a cardinal doctrine of the faith of every Christian man?

The PRESIDENT then pronounced the Benediction, and the proceedings terminated.

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### *WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 11th OCTOBER.*

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The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.15.

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### FOREIGN MISSIONS (INCLUDING MISSIONS TO THE JEWS): THEIR PROGRESS, HINDRANCES, AND DEVELOPMENT.

The Rev. W. KAY, D.D., Rector of Great Leighs, near Chelmsford, Essex, read the following paper:—

1. WE have been lately told, by persons of unquestionable authority, that interest in missionary work appears on the decline. If this be a fact, it is certainly a very momentous one: such as claims the serious attention of a Church Congress. For, I suppose, hardly any at the present day will be found to deny that earnestness in promoting the evangelisation of the heathen is an essential element of genuine church life.

2. In reply to the opinion I have referred to, it has been urged that in the year 1870, although exceptionally large calls were made on our funds, both for the relief of sufferers from the war in France and for the extension of national education, yet the sum contributed for missionary purposes

was larger than the sum contributed in the year 1869. This is certainly a note-worthy fact ; though it by no means necessarily proves that there has *not* been a "considerable flagging of interest in the missionary cause."

3. I fear, we must admit that *both* these statements are correct—that, whilst there has been on the whole a steady advance of evangelistic principle in the body of the Church, there has been a decline of zeal and of practical effort in some small, but influential, circles.

What, then, have been the causes of this falling off ?

4. Chiefly, I think, two.

*First.* The growth of missionary zeal has had a reflex influence on the Church at home. We have become more keenly sensible of the religious deficiencies of our own populations. Hence have sprung up a variety of societies, moulded more or less on the type of the missionary societies, and employing similar methods for the collection of money. The wants of the home Church, especially of our over-grown town parishes, have in this way been set vividly before us ; and the effect of this on some minds has been to dull their sympathy with the more distant work in the mission-field. This was natural. It is obviously a duty to deal first with those who are nearest at hand. The advocates of missionary work have always cheerfully admitted the old maxim (so often quoted against them), that "charity begins at home." There is a law of perspective in morals, against which they have no desire to fight. But then, in some minds, instead of the laws of perspective being observed, the more distant objects were wholly lost sight of. The dark foreground occupied the *whole* of their thoughts ; and by and by, to justify their neglect of the heathen world, a theory was put forward, which maintained that, before anything effectual could be done in the way of evangelisation abroad, we must banish practical heathenism from the limits of our own land.

5. Now, undoubtedly, there is a basis of truth here which it is important for us to recognise. We do most fully recognise it. It is true, that the heathen cannot be attracted largely to the Church, until the Church reflects far more clearly the character of her Lord. It is true, that before Christendom can be fit for the task of training the masses of India and China in godliness, she must herself rise to a far higher level of spiritual and moral attainment. This is most true.

But then, we say, that this supplies no reason for abandoning the mission-field. We maintain that the work of missions is in many ways a means of elevating the character of the home Church ; and, in particular, that it keeps us perpetually in mind of our own defects. A German writer has said,\* "The foreign mission is a looking-glass, in which old Christendom must, whether she wishes it or not, see her own features constantly reflected." The remark is a just one. I will make bold to say, that none feel the shortcomings of the home Church so sensitively,—with such deep and searching pangs,—as those who have stood before the heathen and heard their reproaches.

6. Who, for instance, feels the evil of our *divisions* more than one who has seen how the want of outward unity throws discredit, in the eyes of the Hindu, on those essential truths of our holy faith in which we are all agreed ? "Would it not be well," he says (the Greek philosopher in St

\* I eichert, *Der Stern aus Jakob*. p. 23.

Chrysostom's time said the same), "would it not be well for you to agree among yourselves what the truth is, before you ask us to accept it? Until you do that, we must conclude that, where there are so many forms of opinion, none are in possession of absolute truth."

7. Or, again, who feels the need of recalling this our English Church and people to *national righteousness*, so forcibly as one who has confronted the Chinese, and has heard them ask the English at least to remember the words, "Do to others as ye would they should do to you?" Who sees so clearly as he the guilt and the peril of our opium-trade? It is a Chinese missionary who has lately said,\* "One is ashamed of one's nationality in China. Foreign nations have brought curses, not blessings, to the land." We are guilty of a crying national sin; of which the national mind seems unconscious. Our policy has carried misery and moral degradation into every part of that vast empire; and yet it is acquiesced in. Our Church has never yet (so far as I am aware) done anything to relieve herself from complicity in what is probably the greatest national crime committed in modern times—the forcing of the opium trade upon the Chinese Government. The mission is almost the only means by which the national conscience is kept from utter darkness.

8. Mission-work, then, is an agency which actually raises our estimate of the amount of work that has to be done at home. And, as a matter of fact, it will scarcely be denied that those who take a hearty interest in foreign missions are, as a rule, forward in assisting in every good work at home. It is only natural they should be so. For they look on the Church's work, wherever it be, as one,—indivisibly one. At home or abroad, the cause for which they are striving is one—the cause of light and knowledge, of righteousness and holiness; and the enemy against whom they are contending is one—he whose empire is marked by darkness and ignorance, by sin and impurity.

9. And be it further observed: the scheme of drawing-in one's forces and concentrating them upon home-work, is both wrong in principle and impossible in fact.

(a) It is *wrong in principle*; for the Church is God's instrument for maintaining and propagating His truth, and is bound to follow His providential dealings. The Church is not empowered to say: "ALL in this city, or in this country, shall be converted, before I consent to move on to another city or country." When Paul was rejected at Athens, he advanced to Corinth. He did so in pursuance of Christ's injunctions; and he found a blessing in store for him. To act otherwise would be disloyalty to our Lord, the only fountain of spiritual blessing.

(b) It is also *impossible in fact*. It is the idlest of dreams to think of Englishmen as by any possibility *toto divisos orbe*. We are in the very centre of the habitable globe—in the focus of the world's trade. Our colonies, our Indian empire, our commerce, impose on us a necessity of being the benefactors of the world, or its corrupters and worst enemies. The relations in which we stand to the heathen involve in them moral consequences, from which we *cannot* free ourselves. To ignore the duties involved in those matter-of-fact relations would be to draw down a curse

\* Rev. A. E. Moule, *On China*, p. 151.

upon our most cherished home-schemes of philanthropy or of religious reformation.

10. To sum up the matter, then :—we do not, while advocating the cause of missions—we do not forget the pressing calls of our immediate neighbourhood, or of England at large. It is a mistake to suppose this. No ; we say, *abound in them* ;—*πληροφεισθε*—give full and free scope to your own convictions. Engage heartily in the plans to which your spirit is stirred on behalf of home-improvement. Do this without scruple, cheerfully, lovingly, thankfully. Whilst building up the Church at home, you are strengthening the hands of the missionary. What he wants above all, in the way of Christian evidences, is, a just and virtuous, because truly religious, Christendom. He feels that if the Church were faithful to her calling, setting forth the virtues of the Christian character, for one single decade of years, every people and tribe in the world would be penetrated with her influence. But then, do not think you can attain to this perfection of spiritual stature by isolating yourselves, and neglecting the plain responsibilities of our national vocation. You must view your work, the Church's work, in its totality. The whole world is now rapidly entering into a community of inter-relations. If you do not use the opportunities which are supplied you for attacking the strongholds of heathendom, take heed that the prince of darkness do not actually assail you from them.

11. Indeed, none can say how far the enemy has, in fact, been weaving his subtle nets of policy around us already. The spirit of paganism is not separated from us by oceans or deserts. It is here in the midst of us. While men have been hesitating to go forth to the holy war, the great foe has not been inactive. Has he not filled the moral atmosphere around us with his own chosen forces ?—Pantheism, differing little from that of India ; secularism, not widely diverse from that of China ; necessitarian views of the universe, subjecting man's whole nature to laws of material sequence ; sceptical despair of man's ability to hold communion with the invisible ;—who does not know how largely these and the like conceptions have spread through our literature ?

Our enemy is one ; our Helper is one ; our work is one. Let all the parts of that work in due proportion be diligently attended to.

12. I have spoken so largely on this first cause of the decline of missionary zeal, that I must be more brief as regards the *second*, which is this : Many have come to think that there has not been so large an amount of success as to warrant them in continuing to take a lively interest in the work of missions.

13. Now, here again I would admit that there is a certain basis of truth in the view I am commenting upon. Undoubtedly, in every part of the vast field of missions, the contest with error and sin is a hard and trying one. And, perhaps, at the commencement of the missionary enterprise in the last generation, the supporters of missions committed some indiscretions. The comparatively rapid Christianisation of some tribes, especially in Polynesia and in some parts of India, led many to speak as if an irresistible wave of truth were rolling over the whole globe. They thought that it was only necessary to send out a few more missionaries to India and China, and those citadels of darkness would surrender at discretion. But a generation of steady work passed away, and no such brilliant results were witnessed. Nay, some of the too-much-vaunted triumphs of the

Gospel were followed by relapses, as in the case of the Maories. And so the more fervid class of minds fell away into disappointment.

14. But a calm survey of the whole mission-field, comparing the state of the heathen world as it is now with its condition sixty years ago, will prove that there is no room for the charge of want of success. The actual results in the way of gathering in native churches have been very considerable; whilst the lateral influence exercised on both heathenism and Mohammedanism has been far greater than could have been expected. For instance, in Persia there has been a most singular movement going on for the last thirty years—long known to Indian missionaries, and of which an interesting account was lately given in a letter to the *Times* by Dr Chaplin. In the heart of Islām there is a body of men, numbering, it is said, 200,000, who hold all the fundamental truths of Christianity; for holding which 20,000 of them were put to death a few years back. Do not these *Bábís* of Persia—the men who have resolutely entered the “Gate of Truth,”—reprove all faint-hearted English Christians, who will not go on in the path of duty, unless they have visible proofs of success?

15. To show the full bearing of such a fact, let the unbroken fanaticism of Mohammedanism for twelve hundred years be borne in mind. When three learned Mussulmāns were baptized in India about six years ago, the event was characterised by M. Garcin de Tassy as a “*chose presque inouïe*.” One such fact will surely weigh with all careful thinkers, and convince them of the emptiness of the complaint of “want of success.” If any here present want to see more fully the significance of the event I have been referring to, let me recommend them to purchase a little pamphlet, “The Conversion of Imād-ud-Din,” published by the Church Missionary Society.

16. Before dismissing this subject, I would ask all, who have yielded to the spirit of disappointment, to consider whether the fact of their having looked out for a visible reward of their own choosing does not imply that they have acted under very defective motives.

The Church's work must ever be one of faith—of obedient faith. It is meant to be a discipline of faith and of obedience. God will, in His own time and way, give an ample reward for all honest labour done for Him. But we are not to prescribe to Him “the times and the seasons.” The heathenism of the Roman empire was not overcome till after the blood of martyrs had been crying to heaven during three long centuries. Who are we, and what are the sacrifices we have made, that we should demand an immediate downfall of the mightiest, subtlest, best-elaborated of the systems which have been erected in our world by satanic wisdom?

They mistake the nature of the work they are engaged in who are perpetually asking for palpable proofs of success. It is a great, a wonderful, marshalling of all the moral forces of the world which is now going on. Preparation is being made (who can doubt it?) for the coming in of the *συνελευσίς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. Happy are they who, at this most important epoch, are working in lowly, earnest, self-denying patience, but yet with hopeful confidence, to build up Christ's universal Church.

“I know assuredly,” wrote Archbishop Ebbo to the great missionary Anskar,—“I know assuredly, that although what we have undertaken to do among these nations meets for a time with obstacles and hindrances on account of our sins, yet it will not be lost, but will thrive more and more till the Name of the Lord extends to the farthest boundaries of the earth.”

The Rev. CANON BERNARD read the following paper :—

By "Foreign Missions" I shall now mean only missions to the heathen ; and of the three suggested subjects (hindrances, progress, and development) I shall address myself only to the last.

The development of missions, as distinguished from their progress, would seem to mean the advance of particular missions in internal, corporate, and organic life, as distinguished from extension of evangelistic efforts, increase in number of converts, and preparatory impressions on the heathen. Development is taking place in a mission when it begins to take permanent form, to use its own resources, to provide for the transmission of its Christian life, to show a mind which can originate as well as receive ; in short, to care for itself, to act for itself, and to think for itself. It is the stage in which it is ceasing to be a mission, because it is becoming a Church.

I will first notice what we see of this development, and then offer some reflections upon it.

First, we observe a greatly increased interest in this branch of the subject, among those who conduct, those who work, and those who watch our missions. Self-support, self-government, the native pastorate and episcopate, higher education, the gradual withdrawal of European agency, the moments and methods of detaching Christian communities from dependence on societies, securities for the indigenous character of rising churches—these are now familiar topics in the charges of Bishops, the consultations of committees, and the discussions of Conferences. Nor are they prematurely introduced. According to our English habit we only take them as they come.

First observe the number of native priests and deacons. In the missions of the Church Missionary Society they are 127—as against 202 Europeans, without counting those in Churches which have ceased to be missions. The Society for Propagating the Gospel has also a large proportion in its missions to the heathen (but I do not find the number in the Report). Consider what this implies, not only of educated Christian character in the men, but of general advance in the communities which supply them.

Then observe the state in which some of these communities now appear. Negroes were not thought good material to work upon, but Sierra Leone has completed the tenth year of an independent existence. Under its own Bishop it has its native clergy in their separate parishes, and supports its own pastor, schools, and missions to the heathen beyond its confines. It contributes between four and five hundred a year to the society by which it was founded ; and in the last year has supplied two efficient government chaplains to the stations of the Gold Coast and Gambia. Pass down to the Yoruba mission, and you will find a church which has proved its vitality under persecution, and deprivation for several years of all European superintendence. Left to themselves, they have rebuilt their burnt churches, maintained their out-stations, kept up mutual communications, and received accessions from among the heathen. Further on, you may ascend the Niger and see an active mission, wholly native—a Bishop with his nine clergymen and thirteen catechists, all Africans,

evangelising Africans. From India I will cite a single instance. A missionary who died last year in Tinnevely, after some thirty years' labour, left his district in the following state, 12,600 Christians, 2158 being communicants, 66 schoolmasters, and 44 catechists, under the spiritual charge of 15 native pastors, and the management of a church council. This council consists of the superintending missionary, the 15 native pastors, and 30 laymen, who are communicants, and elected by the people of each pastorate. It disposes of the church fund, which supplies the salaries of the native clergy, and of many of the catechists and schoolmasters, and provides for the building of parsonage houses, and repairs of churches and schools. A like system, on the whole, obtains in the other neighbouring missionary districts of our two societies, and for the whole province the Bishop has appointed two native clergymen as his chaplains, and as channels of communication with their brethren.

Here is a distinct scheme of development changing the methods of a mission into the habit of a church : and the final step of creating a native episcopate, long considered, seems now to be near at hand. In some quarters, as in China, the preparation for this will be made by an English Missionary Bishop, who will be bishop only of the missions and their converts. The development, thus far advanced in some missions, is seen in various stages in others ; but even where it is in embryo we can now see the indications of the direction it will take, and of the forms it will assume.

This progress in organisation leads us to expect progress in missionary action. An African, a Tamil, an Affghan, or a Chinese Church, cannot lie as an unassimilating foreign substance in the midst of the races to which they still belong. They retain their social and sympathetic relations with the mind and life around them, and must of necessity be ever telling upon both. But we see more than this. The missionary spirit in the nascent churches is in general very distinct. They supply and support many evangelists, and by private intercourse, and often by persistent voluntary labour, show their value for the great salvation, and communicate the light they have. I observe with pleasure that this disposition and capacity appear nowhere more distinct than in that quarter in which foreign influence is most impeded—I mean among our converts in China.

Having spoken of caring for themselves, and acting for themselves, I must say a word on thinking for themselves. What do we see of this? Not much as yet. Nor ought we to expect it. Converts, as such, receive, but do not contribute. Yet I feel deeply the truth, which I will express in these words of Neander :—

“Christianity can reach men in every stage of cultivation, and by its divine energy penetrate to their hearts ; but it is also certain that it can nowhere long maintain itself in purity and in its distinguishing essence, unless it enters deep into the whole intellectual development of a people, and unless, along with the divine life proceeding from it, it gives, at the same time, an impulse to all human culture” (vol. i. p. 116).

We may take heart concerning this, for in many of our missions we see the Gospel creating an intellectual life where there was none once, and giving a visible impulse to human culture in races which had been inert for ages. But where culture already existed, we ought, no doubt, to see some more distinct appearance of the activity of Christian thought. Perhaps

we see as much as we could expect. Cultivated minds which have been formed on an entirely uncongenial system, can only be subdued one by one, and after struggles which their acquired powers of resistance prolong. In regard to the future, they are an element of more value than the less reflecting adhesion of whole villages moved by a common impulse. At least a fair proportion of this element is needed now, as it was in the apostolic age; and in North India, its presence begins to be felt in the first fruits of Christian thinkers, writers, and controversialists.

I will now make three observations on this development in our missions:—1, On the present fact; 2, on the past history; and, 3, on the future prospect.

1. On the present fact. I observe that it brings a strong accession of support to the argument for missionary work. The conscience of the Church is oppressed by unevangelised masses accumulating on her own domains. What, then, has she to do with a distant heathenism less pitiable because less responsible? The command, no doubt, is clear, "Go into all the world. Disciple all nations; evangelise all creation." But must we not finish the work in the streets and lanes of the city, before going into the highways and hedges beyond it? The duties do not really compete, but to some minds they may seem to do so. Well, see how the fact before us changes the state of the argument. While your missions are merely missions, you think only of individual converts, comparing the souls which you may rescue in one place with the souls which you may rescue in the other; and there could be no hesitating choice between men who worship idols in Benares or Ningpo, and men who worship nothing in Liverpool or London. But when you see your missions changing into churches, you have passed from a ministry to one generation, into a ministry to generations to come; and from the case of individual converts into the great history of the kingdom of God. Think what it is for the living Word of God to have really got, for the first time, into the mind of a people (though but into a corner of it), to have caught the native accent of its language, and entered into active combination with its life. Christianity once become indigenous, thenceforth encounters, on equal terms, the traditional religions around it, which must sullenly retire before it, as certainly as aboriginal tribes of the lower type of man dwindle and recede when a superior race has once made its home upon their shores.

Who shall set a limit to our hopes of expanding conquests to be made, not by us, but by churches we found? The immensity of the fields before us, the universality of our Master's charge, the predicted destinies of the Gospel, its inherent spirit of victory, the mission of the Holy Ghost to convince the world, and Jesus sitting at the right hand of God, not only suggest large expectations, but condemn the faint heart which refuses to entertain them. Our hopes are submitted to the will of God, and we may be saddened by seeing, in some of our fields, the corn withered before it be grown up. But as far as it is grown up that probability is diminished; and we have already reason to think that our missions will be hereafter regarded, not as an incidental episode in the history of the Church, but as an important constituent of its entire advance.

2. On the past history of our missionary development I would offer a word of vindication. It is alleged that it has been slow. We are impatient, and getting more so from the rapidity with which we travel, and



with which events are moving round us. But there are processes which cannot be hurried. Physical development is one, and missionary development is another; for it is the development of opinion, habit, and forms of social life absolutely at variance with those to which men have been inured through the descent of unnumbered generations. It is a more serious objection that it is slow as compared with our great precedent in the Acts of the Apostles; for there men believe and are baptized, churches are constituted, and elders ordained, with a rapidity which we have not attempted to emulate; and you have heard earnest men descant on this departure from the primitive model. But it is to be considered that there is a difference in the powers, the circumstances, and the material. The missions recorded in that book were carried on in the glow of a new-born life, and in immediate proximity to the events proclaimed, "God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and gifts of the Holy Ghost according to His own will." Again, they were carried on for the most part in an advanced state of society, and one which had a long history of thought; while ours are conducted among peoples who are in social and intellectual infancy, whose vocabulary of thought we have often not only to learn but to create; and where we *have* been in contact with cultivation, it has been one alien to our own, and antagonistic to our work—a Hindu cultivation which has no affinities with the Gospel, instead of a Greek cultivation which had many. Again, St Paul had always among his converts the ready-made materials for a presbyterate in the "devout persons" already accustomed to the system of the synagogue, exercised in religious interests, and half-educated beforehand for evangelical life. We have had to make from the beginning everything which we wanted to use, and slowly fashion for service the rough and weak material which our hands had found. I would only ask you to consider St Paul's epistles, and say what is the level of spiritual thought and knowledge which they imply in the newly Christianised communities to which they are addressed. We have not such minds to deal with. To one who weighs these things, our method of procedure in keeping men for some time under instruction for baptism, and under training for orders, will appear to be suited to the case. With some exceptions, and with allowance for a time of experiment, we have perhaps built as fast as was consistent with security.

3. On the future prospect, I observe that we need foresight, and shall have new responsibilities coming before our minds. None can say what shapes this development will take when the internal life becomes stronger than the external influence, or when the external influence shall altogether cease. The responsibilities of parentage always becomes most difficult in the passage from dependence to self-government. Two things may be said:—1. We must not be careful about that which is simply national and Anglican. Our exact forms of worship, ecclesiastical arrangements, obligations of uniformity, relations with the state, articles and customs, are derived from a national history which is not that of Hindus, Africans, New Zealanders, or American Indians. Something of this kind may be retained in the spirit of filial communion, as British Christianity kept the marks of its Eastern, and Saxon Christianity of its Roman descent. But these things must be left free. It is senseless to put new wine into old bottles. The bottles will burst and the wine be spilled. There rises up, too, in every people which begins to respect itself (and Christianity

creates self-respect) a certain jealousy for its own individuality. "An Indian," says Max Müller, "never knew the feeling of nationality." Yet even there the new influences begin to evoke it; and we now hear discussions on an "Indian Church," and even an "Indian Christianity," indicative of feelings soon to be more prominent, and not even now to be ignored. There are dangers in this tendency, but not to be averted by making one church the mere copy of another. We must believe that in giving the knowledge of Christ we have given the presence of the Holy Ghost, and that there may be differences of administration, but the same Lord; diversities of operation, but the same Spirit.

\* 2. On the other hand, I observe, that we ought to be careful about that which is really catholic, that which is of universal interest and importance. Of course I do not speak of that which makes the Christian, and the Christian Church, the revelation of eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord; the great doctrines of the mystery of godliness; the pure word of God; the sacraments and the common means, pledges, and testimonies of the presence of the Holy Ghost and of the supernatural life which is in Christ. But I observe a feeling (naturally arising in the earliest stage of things) which would limit our gifts and communications to those which are simply elementary. Evangelise, evangelise, that is all. Give them the Gospel and the sacraments, the Bible and the Sunday, and the custom of public worship, and it is enough. It may have been enough for the past; but will it be enough for the future? We are looking to the progressive development of new church histories, bringing out of course new capacities, contests, wants, and dangers. We must provide for their communion with the first periods of that general history of which they will constitute a part—periods which have a catholic importance on account of their special connection with the foundations of the faith in regard to the person of our ever-blessed Redeemer. Before we leave these Churches we must secure their line of descent, and place their hands firmly on the clues of the past. I cannot look on church history as a string of accidents. I see in its great heresies, corruptions, and controversies, the tendencies and struggles of human nature, and, I may add, the attempts of a darker Power. I therefore expect to see them renewed where a new arena is obtained, especially on oriental ground. The turn for transcendental speculation, the infinite subtlety of thought, and the uncouth extravagance of imagination, which have characterised the cultivation of heathen India, will not vanish if she become partially Christian. A Brahmo Somaj, or a naturalising of English infidelity, cannot be the last words of an old faith that is going to pieces. Depend upon it, a stream of thought which flows down from such distant ages, will only be arrested for a little time at the approach of the ark of God, and then will break in full tide upon the Christian verities. The attempted combinations of the old thought with the new, which constituted the early heresies, will have their counterparts; and therefore the creeds and definitions on the foundations of the faith which we have inherited, *alieno sanguine et sudore*, will be still more needed with them than they are with us. Neither can we hope to forego in those future Churches other arguments and other safeguards—those, I mean, which have been made necessary by the great Roman corruption of the truth, still visibly in progress, and growing to no one knows what. That is not merely English or European controversy; for the claims of Rome are universal, and she hastens with them to every mission field.

The gist of this is, that the future development of missions will create theological wants which have no existence in their rudimentary stage, and that the progress of a higher education must accompany the progress of that development. I commend to your Christian interest and prayers all institutions working to this end; and especially I will mention the theological college lately commenced at Lahore by my friend Mr French, whose intense sense of the growing need has been expressed by strenuous argument, and by the dedication of himself to the work.

Serious considerations of another kind must arise in the course of the development of our missions from their increasing contact with those of other communions (some of them constituted by separation from ourselves), who have faithfully wrought beside us in the service of the same Lord. We look with sorrow on our broken front, and feel a new regret for the separations which have caused it. But we say: May all blessings rest upon their work! all honour be paid to it! and all fairness shown to it! I suppress the utterance of wishes which we do not yet see the way to realise; but, if our Master has ordained any way of reunion, it is most likely to be found in a faithful fulfilment of His charge for the world, and in heartily seeking the things which are His. God quicken our zeal! God guide our counsels! to whom be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end.

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The Rev. W. R. FREMANTLE, M.A., Rector of Claydon, read the following paper:—

It is impossible to overstate the importance of the subject which has been assigned to me to-day. If the duty of missions to heathens and Mahomedans is recognised by the Church, how much more that of preaching the Gospel to the Jews. For it has a double aspect in relation to Christianity. In the case of the heathen, the principle of aggression is involved. It is simply carrying the light of revelation to those who have no revelation, and who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death; but in the case of the Jew, it is a question of controversy. We have not only to make aggression upon the unbelief and ignorance of the unconverted heart, but we have to defend and make good the foundations of our own faith, by appeal to the Scriptures which the Jews possess. The point at issue between us is the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. If we fail to establish this most vital of all vital truths, then will the theories of Arians, Mahomedans, triumph over the theology of 1800 years; and the Socinian may admit the Jew into his pulpit, as he has done; and the Rationalist assert that the points of difference between us are non-essential. But if we are right, and we honestly and conscientiously believe we are right, then there is a gulph wide as eternity between us; and if the conversion of St Paul be a reality, then must we feel a very special concern for the condition of the Jew, and enter into the spirit of the great apostle when he says, "My heart's desire and prayer for Israel is that they might be saved." For the sin of the Jews is not alone the sin of ignorance, but the sin of

unbelief and rejection. They sinned, who crucified Jesus, not only against the Son of man, but against the Holy Ghost. It was not the humanity, but the deity of Christ, which the Jews ignored, and continue to ignore to this day, because He said He was the Son of God. If Christ be not God, our faith is vain, and our preaching vain. It was to convince the Jews of His Divine origin and authority that our Lord went to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. It was to them He said, If ye believe not that I am (He), ye shall die in your sins. It was for this purpose the apostles were sent to the Jews first, beginning at Jerusalem; and, following in their steps, the early Church invariably commenced their mission work by preaching the Gospel to the Jews. There was a reason for this, and I cannot see why that reason should be lost sight of in the present day. For the Jews stand in a twofold relation to Christianity. They are witnesses to the truth, and they are enemies to the truth. They have been, and are, throughout the habitable world (and there are few places, if any, in which the sons of Abraham are not to be found) witnesses for God. They have preserved the Holy Scriptures containing their laws, the most perfect and purest code of morals in existence—they have testified to the unity of Jehovah, and protested against idolatry. They have stood out as a living reality of the fulfilment of prophecy, like an oak spreading out its twisted limbs and leafless boughs in the wreck of a forest. God hath not cast away His people whom He foreknew. His word of promise by Jeremiah xxx. 11 remains in force: "For I am with thee, saith the Lord, to save thee: though I make an end of all nations, whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not make a full end of thee; but I will correct thee in measure, and will not leave thee altogether unpunished."

The Jews have been the most bitter opponents of Christianity. "Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alway; for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost." They were the constant enemies of the Christians—they joined with the heathen in their hatred—they denounced and cursed the followers of Jesus as dogs and uncircumcised—they have had in every age the most learned and skilful controversialists in literature and oral discussion, and continue to this day to speak against the name of Jesus, notwithstanding the heavy judgments of God which have fallen upon them—they have been exiled from their fatherland, deprived of their temple worship, their priesthood, their sacrifices, and their civil government—they have been scattered among the nations as a hissing and a byword, and have been reduced to the lowest condition of social humiliation; but notwithstanding the privations and misery, the persecutions, tortures, massacres, and cruelty through which they have passed, the Jews exist now as much as ever a separate people, and retain their ancient prejudice against Christianity.

The history of their habitat may be traced from the Babylonish captivity until the present moment. Wherever the Jews have emigrated, they have preserved their social and religious identity. There is scarcely a country, or a city, or a market in the world in which the presence of the intelligent and enterprising Jew is not to be found. In Persia, India and China, in Egypt, Ethiopia and Arabia, in Tartary, in Turkey, and in

Greece, in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Poland, Russia, Holland, France, and England, you may take the census of the twelve or thirteen millions of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin as easily as in the cities and parishes of Great Britain. And in this wonderful mystery of their existence, the Jews have stood alone, and, although not reckoned among the nations, the nations cannot be reckoned without them. We cannot shut our eyes to these facts, or to the inference that many more millions of Jews are under another name inhabiting these countries who are descendants of the ten tribes. Why, then, have they been preserved? Other nations have been swept away, and their memorial has perished with them. It is not too much to say that Nineveh, Babylon, Egypt, and Macedonia have passed away with their people. You could not find, search where you will, any remnant of them. The same may be said of the aboriginal Romans and Greeks. Saracens and Turks, Goths and Vandals have overrun and exterminated nation after nation; but Israel could not be destroyed, for in it all mankind was to be blessed. The Jew remains the living proof of the faithfulness of God, and at the same time an enemy to the Gospel of Christ; and I would ask, has the relation of the Christian Church towards the Jew been changed by these events, or has the relation of the Jews to the world been altered? The Jew is as much the Jew of the Bible as he ever was, and to the Christian of the nineteenth century even more an object of interest than in the earlier ages.

1. The Jew appeals to our sympathy specially in an age of religious and educational progress like the present. He has so much in common with us—the same Bible in its original language, the same God, the same decalogue, the same hope of a coming Messiah, and the same glorious hereafter. But the veil is upon his heart when he reads the books of Moses and of the prophets. He makes the Word of God of none effect by his traditions and rabbinical fables, and denies the Lord that bought him. He tramples under foot the precious name of Jesus, and casts it out as an unclean thing. Can there be an individual soul, heathen or Mahomedan, a more intense object of pity, than the Jew, with the light of life in his hand, stumbling to his everlasting ruin upon the dark mountain of his unbelief?

2. But, *secondly*, he appeals to the debt of gratitude we owe him for all the knowledge of divine truth we possess. They have been the channel by which the spiritual blessings of the gospel have been conveyed to us. The founder of our holy religion was a Jew. The apostles were Jews. The inspired writers of the whole Bible were Jews. The bishops and pastors of the Primitive Church in Jerusalem were Jews; and this is one of the arguments used by St Paul to stir up in our hearts a spirit of love and zeal towards them. "If thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree, boast not against the branches; thou bearest not the root, but the root thee;" and again, "If we in times past have not believed God, but have now obtained mercy through their unbelief, even so have these also not believed, that through your mercy they also might receive mercy."

3. But we have to make up a long arrear of neglect and of injury. Not only has the Church failed in her mission to the Jews, but she has most grossly wronged them. Except in a few individual instances, there was

scarcely a voice raised within the Church of the Gentiles to express love and pity for the Jew for eighteen hundred years. Take, for example, century by century the edicts passed at the different Councils against the Jews. From the third century downwards, we find everything to repel, nothing to attract, the Jew. Heavy taxes and fines; their testimony in a court of justice rejected; inter-marriage and citizenship forbidden; a distinctive dress, a coloured garment or stripe down the back or upon the arm, was to be worn, a cornered or a coloured cap; and last, not least, a prohibition to pass through a turnpike gate without payment of toll. I need not refer to the treatment of the Jews in Western Europe—how Christian princes and Churches combined to annihilate them—how the Crusaders inaugurated their campaign to the Holy Land by a wholesale massacre of the Jews—how the Church of Rome subjected them to the tortures and penalties of the inquisition—how they were exiled from Spain, France, and England,—and how, to this day, in the principal cities of the Continent, the quarter assigned for the residence of the Jews, as in the Ghetto at Rome, is the lowest, the most unhealthy, and overcrowded in the place. Nor do we find this prejudice against the chosen nation removed at the time of the Reformation. Luther, in his burning zeal for the conversion of souls to Christ, made an effort to reach the Jews; but his sanguine hope was disappointed, and we find in his letters such expressions as these:—"Dearly beloved in Christ,—Doubt not that, after the devil, you have no more venomous, violent enemy than the real Jew—the Jew in earnest in his belief: stock-stone-devil-hard to the charms of Christianity." And so the Reformed Church frowned upon the Jew, and branded him as an outcast and a reprobate. And we must not be surprised to find that, when the evangelical revival, about the middle of the last century, turned the hearts of the children towards the fathers, that the prejudice of the Christian against the Jew was as bitter and difficult to remove as that of the Jew towards the Christian.

In England when the first attempt was made to form a society for the purpose of exhibiting the spirit of the Gospel to the Jew, the reproach and opposition which it had to meet would scarcely be believed in the present day. It was with difficulty that a few pious men could be brought together, from the Church of England and from some of the Dissenting bodies, under the patronage of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, to take part in the work. And then the terms upon which the noble president accepted his office were, that there should be no attempt at proselytism; and so the work went on, through good and evil report, until it was found necessary to form the Society entirely upon the principles of the Church of England. At that time the conversion of a Jew was regarded by the great majority even of those who were beginning to engage in missionary work, as Utopian and fruitless; and throughout Europe the existence of a converted Jew was scarcely known, and if known, was suspected. What then has been the result of the labour of the last sixty years.

I do not hesitate to ascribe, under God, to the efforts of the Church of England in her Jews Society, and Christian Knowledge Society,\* the removal of the prejudice and bigotry which prevailed between Jew and Christian at the commencement of this century. The Jew is now as

\* An admirable appeal to the Jews in Hebrew and English was published by the Christian Knowledge Society in 1816, but is now out of print.

tolerant of intercourse with a Christian minister, and of the arguments which may be adduced in favour of Christianity, as the member of any other community; and thus, by a slow process, there is scarcely any place upon the surface of the globe where we have any reason to know that Jews are resident, where the Gospel of Christ has not been preached to them by our missionaries. As an example of results, I may state that of 30,000 Jews resident in London, 2000 have been baptized into the Church. Of 18,000 Jews in Berlin, 2000 are said to be converted. And in the University there were, three years ago, twenty-eight professors who were Christian Jews. Of nearly three million and a half (3,431,700) of Jews in Europe, we reckon there are 20,000 converts. In our own Church of England, there are about 100 clergymen who are Jews by birth. But the actual baptisms which have taken place in Europe, and other parts of the world, do not represent the real number of Jews who have come under the influence of Christianity. There is a large number of enquirers and of others who, though convinced of the truth of Christianity, have not as yet seen their way to declare themselves openly. Thus, during the last fifteen years, nearly 1000 Jews have been admitted into a small institution in London, called the Wanderer's Home, as enquirers. Of these more than 360 have been baptized. Of these five have been ordained to the ministry, three have gone forth as missionaries to the Jews, four are employed as Scripture readers, two are at theological colleges on the Continent, two at colleges in the United States, and two are in London studying for holy orders. In the schools in London, about 900 children have been educated and sent out to various situations. In the schools in the Grand Duchy of Posen, an average of 500 children are in attendance; and in other schools in the different mission stations, more than 1500 children are under instruction. Churches, chapels, schools, and residences have been built or purchased at all the important centres of the mission. In London, the Episcopal Jews' chapel, the schools, and residences for the agents; the Operative Institution, with its extensive printing press and bookbinding business; the Wanderer's Home, and the Abrahamic Society. Then the chapel and mission houses at Berlin and Amsterdam; the church upon Mount Zion, with its bishop and clergy; the hospital and schools, Home of Industry, Institution for Jewesses, and depot for Bibles and tracts in Jerusalem; besides schools and residences in Tunis, Algiers, Milan, Constantinople, Bucharest, and Smyrna; and all this, with the expense of travelling, and the transit of all the appliances for the agents, and the salaries of missionaries and schoolmasters, and Scripture readers and secretaries, and the printing and advertising, and attendance of deputations in the public meetings at home, has been accomplished at an expenditure, during the last sixty-three years, of about one-half the amount raised in one year in this country by the tax upon tobacco. But great as these results are, they only represent what the Church of England has done, for other societies in England, Scotland, Switzerland, and America have been at work for many years. Yet there is one department of the work which belongs exclusively to our Church Society—and that is the translation of the New Testament into Hebrew. Up to the year 1816, there were only two versions known to the Church, one a translation made by Elias Hutter, and published by him in a polyglot New Testament in 1599, in two folio volumes; the other, a manuscript, brought by Dr Claudius

Buchanan, from Travancore, of which he gave the following interesting account :—"I was informed that, many years ago, one of the Jews translated the New Testament into Hebrew, for the purpose of confuting it, and of repelling the arguments of his neighbours, the Syrian Christians. This manuscript fell into my hands, and is now in the Library of the University of Cambridge. It is in his own handwriting, and appears to be a faithful translation, as far as it has been examined ; but about the end, when he came to the Epistles of St Paul, he seems to have lost his temper, being moved, perhaps, by the acute argument of the learned Benjamite, as he calls the Apostle ; and he has written a note of execration on his memory. But behold the providence of God ! The translator himself became a convert to Christianity. His own work subdued his unbelief. In the lion he found sweetness ; and he lived and died in the faith of Christ. And now it is a common superstition among the vulgar in that place, that if any Jew shall write the whole of the New Testament with his own hand, he will become a Christian."

In a speech which Dr Buchanan made at a public meeting, he made the following appeal to the Church of England in 1810 :—"It is with surprise I learn that as yet you have not obtained a version of the New Testament in the Hebrew language for the use of the Jews. You are beginning to work without instruments. How can you find fault with a Jew for not believing the New Testament, if he has never seen it ? It is not to be expected that he will respect a version in English ; but give him the New Testament in the language of the Old Testament, in the imposing forms of the primeval Hebrew—the character which he is accustomed to venerate and admire—and then you do justice to his weakness, and may overcome his prejudice. How strange it appears that, during a period of 1800 years, the Christians should never have given the Jews the New Testament in their own language. By a kind of infatuation they have reprobated the unbelief of the Jews, and have never told them what they ought to believe."

The translation was at once undertaken, and in 1817 the first edition issued from the press ; this was so well received, and so widely circulated, that it was found necessary to print a second edition of 10,000 copies in 1819. And from that time until 1866, when a revision of it was made, and a new edition published, a steady and increasing demand has been made for it. And now we are told that the Hebrew New Testament forms a part of the library of the intelligent Jews everywhere. Time will not permit me to speak of the translation of the Liturgy into Hebrew, of its constant daily use in a mixed congregation of Jews and Gentiles in the Episcopal Chapel in London, and in Christchurch, upon Mount Zion. I must not speak of the revised edition of the Hebrew Old Testament, or of the thousands of books and tracts which have been translated into Hebrew. It is enough to prove the world-wide influence which has been exerted by our Church in this her mission to the Jews, to refer to the proposal made by the King of Prussia to our beloved Queen, to unite in the appointment of a Bishop to Jerusalem. His Majesty said :—"Should not, in particular, at the present moment, this be the loving thought of Him who governs His Church, that in the old land of promise—on the stage of His earthly life—not only Israel might be brought to the knowledge of salvation, but that also the different Protestant communities, built upon the eternal foundation of the Gospel, and on the rock of faith in the Son of the living God, forget-



ting their separations, conscious of their unity, might tender to each other, over the tomb of their Saviour, the hand of peace and concord."

Here I must stop. The subject is vast. Stretching out into the coming future, we see, by the light of Scripture, the Jew assuming a more prominent place in the evangelisation of the world. Converted to Christ, and restored to their land, the prophecy will be fulfilled. "Arise, shine, thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

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#### ADDRESS.

Colonel MACLAGAN, R.E., read the following:—

THE observations which I have to offer on this subject will have reference mainly to missions in the country in which I have for many years been employed, the northern provinces of India.

That there has been any progress at all is sometimes questioned even at the present day. The visible and publicly known results of missionary labours are not of the magnitude and importance expected, or of the kind ordinarily looked for as evidence of successful progress of missions. Progress, however, real and important, is being made, even though little may be known of the work which the missionaries are doing, and no account at all taken of progress which is not measured by the numbers added to the Christian fold.

In addition to baptized people, who are now not few,\* there is a large number of the natives of India (yet miserably small compared with the population of the country), a large number who have, in ways more or less direct, come under the influence of Christian teaching. Much preparatory work, of which the fruits are yet not seen, has thus been done towards the realisation of visible and important results, which we may have every confidence in believing will one day appear. And there is preparatory work of other kinds going on, loosening some of the ties of old faiths and old observances; and thus, while altogether unconnected with missionary agencies, yet indirectly in some small measure co-operating with them.

There are two principal methods or processes ordinarily followed by Christian missionaries for gaining the people to whom they address themselves, when, as in India, they are people possessing a firmly-rooted religious system and a revered religious and philosophical literature—one process directed to the uprooting of error, the other to the planting of truth. In public efforts to convince a crowd of Hindoos or Mohammedans of the errors of their religion, and bring it into disfavour, with the view thereafter of showing them the more excellent way, which is often done—seeking to clear the ground, as it were, for the good seed—much time and labour are often lost, and much bad feeling and needless opposition raised. More is ordinarily gained by restricting the public preaching as much as possible to the work of setting forth the great doctrines of Christianity, in the confident assurance that accepted truth will itself drive out error and take its place. And this method is so far favoured by the other agencies now at work, intellectual and material, which, among the Hindoos especially, are silently unloosing many of the old bonds of social customs which are closely interwoven with religion. The increased extent and power of general education, even unaccompanied by Bible teaching, is doing this. The extended intercourse between the people of different parts of the great continent of India, the usages and requirements of modern

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\* Upwards of 300,000 in all India, belonging to Protestant Churches, besides Roman Catholic and Syrian Christians.

travel, introduced with the improved means of communication—these and other lessons of practical life, together with enlarged knowledge of the world beyond India, are continually bringing about relaxations of the rules of religious and social life which have been among the chief elements of strength of a system hitherto reckoned the most rigidly inflexible.

There is, as is well known, a large and increasing body of educated Hindoos who, having added to their other attainments some knowledge of the Bible and of Christian literature of a somewhat promiscuous kind, have practically severed their attachment to the faith of their fathers, but, unprepared to admit a conviction of Christian truth, have set themselves up as reformers of Hindooism, or founders of a new faith for enlightened Hindoos who have got so far and can go no further. Their progress has in it much that is hopeful, though their advance towards Christianity has been, generally speaking, much less than is commonly supposed. And it is to be feared that an unwise kind of recognition, on the part of Christian friends, of the advance they have made, has had a tendency to confirm them in their feeling of satisfaction with the position to which they have attained, and with the grounds on which they justify their resting there.

Among the Mohammedans no such movement, influenced in any way by Christian teaching, has been made. These people, holding the assumed vantage-ground of a revelation subsequent to Christianity, and recognising but superseding it, strong in the self-confidence which this position inspires, have been, on the whole, the least accessible to missionary efforts, the least open to Christian impressions of all the people we have to deal with in India.

The aboriginal tribes, on the other hand, alike untrammelled by the time-honoured traditions of Hindooism, and devoid of the pretensions and prejudices of Mohammedanism, have been the most ready to receive the message of the gospel of Christ.

Endeavour has to be made to meet the march of thought among the Hindoo reformers at the point which it has reached, with right lessons of Christian doctrine, and guiding helps toward the adoption of the Christian faith. How good if we could also present to them, all around, the living evidences of the power of Christianity on those who profess it, in faithful examples of the Christian life. This, as was well said by one of the speakers in this place yesterday evening, is the way in which we most need to meet the ignorant and undefined and cloudy unbelief among the uneducated classes in our own country. And it would be the best help that we could give to the ill-formed half-beliefs and unsatisfied desires of the educated Hindoos.

Here we find one of the chief hindrances to the progress of missions in India, and feel how defective is the provision for the spiritual needs of the Christian people in India themselves, and the guidance which, as a body, they present to the people around them; particularly within late years, when, from the great increase in the number of Europeans in India, and the degraded condition of some of them (a class unhappily increasing), the natives of India have had presented to them (and not by that class only), strange pictures, and sad as strange, of the people of a Christian country.

It was the primary object of the oldest of our missionary societies to supply clergy for the Christian people in our colonies and dependencies, and through them to carry the Gospel to the people of the country. The application of this principle to the present wants of India, whether under the direction of a missionary society, or by increase of the extent and power of the agencies provided in other ways, would be of great value to the work of missions in that country—greater, possibly, than a similar increase of strength of direct missionary agency.

The provision of a well-trained ministry for native congregations, where these have been formed, is one of the measures of chief importance for the strengthening of missionary operations, for cultivating a high tone of piety and earnestness among the native Christians, and for giving permanence and stability to the local churches with which they are connected. The work of training native Christians for the ministry is

the special function of a new institution which has been started under most happy auspices in the Punjab—the Divinity School at Lahore, under the direction of the Rev. T. Valpy French, a man of hearty enthusiasm in his work, equalled by his eminent qualifications for it. In this school the theological instruction is conveyed, and the whole work conducted, exclusively in the current native language; native candidates for the Christian ministry being trained elsewhere through the medium of English. The native pastors, in order to command the respect, as well as to elevate the character, of their Christian fellow-countrymen, and to be their spiritual guides, must be men of some attainments in theological and general knowledge, as well as of sound faith and personal piety. And while these last are the qualifications of primary importance, yet for the maintenance and onward march of the Christian Church in India, and for the defence of young Christians against the errors of the day, all the resources of the Christian armoury will be required; and we must desire to see the native pastors “enriched,” as far as possible, “in all utterance and in all knowledge,” and “coming behind in no gift.”

It has been often observed, regretfully or reproachfully, that the Christian converts in India at the present day are for the most part people of the lower grades, lower in respect of intellectual capacity as well as of social position. And, however true the reply often made, that men of all classes, the high and the low, the wise and the foolish, are of like worth in God's sight, and that the Saviour died alike for all, it is not true that all are of equal worth as members of a rising church. The influence—the right and legitimate influence—of the accession to the Christian ranks of men of position, means, or attainments, is a thing to be desired and tried for. The missionaries have, on the whole, made comparatively little way with men of the higher ranks, native gentlemen, and the members of their households. Still the better classes of educated natives, Hindoo and Mussulman, are not without their representatives in the Christian ranks. They are few, but they are worthy. There are also men of high authority in their own place, head men of villages, and priests of the Hindoo places of worship, and Mohammedan *Moulvies*, who enter into free and friendly intercourse with the missionaries, or free and firm disputation with them. And much of the general progress in the dissemination of Christian truth, and the acquisition of Christian ideas, which, though little seen, and in great measure unproductive, has yet been going on, is the result of meetings of the missionaries with these village authorities.

That greater visible results have not been obtained is possibly due in great measure to the method in which our missionary resources are at present ordinarily distributed. The number of missionaries within the wide range of our British Indian possessions is very small for the work to be done: “The harvest is plenteous, the labourers are few.” Endeavour is made, however, with these resources to occupy as great an extent of country as possible, in order, as far as the means will permit, to carry out the command to preach the gospel to every creature. At long intervals we have stations with two missionaries, or three, or perhaps one, who make tours during the parts of the year when the climate permits. Of necessity, even the longest visits to each place are brief and unsatisfactory, but the most is made of them. The Scriptures, or portions of them, and other Christian books, are left; the native assistants also are making tours at the same time; and, when circumstances seem to demand it, when a door appears to be opened more widely than usual, the visits are prolonged, often with much happy result. But ordinarily little mark can be made; and how easily, before the next return of the missionary, if he return at all, is the mark effaced, and all trace of it gone. It means no want of faith in our Lord's promise to be with His servants going into all the world with His message, if we feel disposed to believe that, in the early days of missions in any new field, more might possibly be accomplished were the distribution of the means available less diffused; if, instead of an endeavour to cover as much ground as possible, the forces thus thinly scattered were more concentrated, occupying a smaller number of positions better furnished. Were the aggregate of present scattered results—each good

and hopeful in itself, but feeble from its isolation and want of support—were these results all nearer each other, affording mutual strength and encouragement, their permanence and growth would be better secured, and their leavening power greatly increased. If by means of strong bands of missionary labourers, within a few limited spaces, a real, deep, and lasting impression were made in each of these, it would be unmistakably visible to those around—the fire kindled in each focus would be as a light set on a hill that could not be hid. May we not believe that the immediate gain and the prospective increase would be, even for the whole country, greater than under a system of smaller and more widely scattered operations? Instead of each worker having a wide field and many and various labours to attend to, single-handed, the system of combination would give “to every man his work,” a work suited to each, a work which he could satisfactorily compass and uninterruptedly pursue; whilst the inevitable changes brought about by sickness, death, and other events, besides the periods of necessary relaxation, which should be systematically provided for, would never leave the ripening fruits of past labours to wither and die for want of a hand to tend them and an eye to watch.

An opposite view is taken by many of those conversant with the work of Indian missions, who are of opinion that endeavour should be made to carry the gospel message to as many places as the missionary and his native assistants can manage to visit. The practice of the apostles is appealed to. Short residence in each place and frequent movement are advocated. But even if this correctly represent their method of working, I apprehend that apostolic practice can scarcely be taken as a guide to those without apostolic powers. We must regulate our plans by our means and the circumstances under which we live. When native churches have been planted, with their own native pastors, a strong force of European missionaries at the same place will not be needed, though a superintendent may need to be left for some time. I speak of mission work before it has reached this stage.

Supposing the principle of concentration adopted, it would be a question what kind of centres to select for these systematically associated operations. Great cities have this claim, that they have permanently resident inhabitants of many classes, always including men of some education and influence, and that cities have connections with other parts of the country more constant, important, and extensive than minor towns or rural districts, and what occurs in them, or comes from them, is of greater weight, and more widely known and felt. On the other hand, the agricultural populations might be indicated as presenting, from the greater similarity of the classes of inhabitants, and their greater community of interests, a better promise of the growth and diffusion and permanence of a teaching obtaining acceptance in the midst of them. Rural districts also are more exempt from the grievous hindrances already referred to. They would, however, want the advantages possessed by cities. And the best plan of concentrated missionary operations would, perhaps, be to adopt certain centres of each kind, or to take selected cities or large towns as the head-quarters of the work, which should include a small range of rural district immediately adjacent.

These considerations on the progress, hindrances, and development of missions in India, I offer in the earnest hope that they may contribute, in however small a measure, to the materials for a practical and successful prosecution of the great work.

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The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND read the following:—

PRESIDING, as I do, over an extensive missionary field of a peculiar character, I do not suppose that the Congress will expect me to discuss the missionary question generally, or to enter on the whole field of foreign missions, but rather to speak from my own

experience, limited and local as that may be,—to confine myself to the progress, hindrances, and present position of missions in my own diocese,—to report as it were to the Church what God, through His servants, has wrought in that portion of the vineyard.

The strange peculiarities of my field of work are probably more or less known to most of you. The story has been often told. The hugeness of the diocese, as a whole, and of the separate missionary districts—the one almost a continent, and the others like so many several kingdoms—the population of poor Indians, mostly with no property but their canoe, gun, and the few belongings of the tent, few and scattered to a degree almost inconceivable to those who have not visited the wilds of Rupert's Land, and travelled day after day without meeting a human being—the isolated position—the long and severe winters, and the arduous journeys and numerous privations of the missionaries.

But, if the lot of the distant Rupert's Land missionary in the far North, amid his ice and snow, has seemed to those that have heard of it hard, God has eminently blessed the devotion. Often when reviewing some district of my diocese, and, alive to its pressing wants, longing for another helper in the field, do I think of the lands of the East with their teeming millions of inhabitants, still worshipping they know not what, and then turning over in my mind the few hundreds, or the thousand, poor helpless Indians ministered to in their wilderness by some devoted servant of Christ, I feel constrained to wonder at the goodness of God to my land.

Indeed, I know not a greater tribute to the sense of the infinite value of any one human soul—the true secret of missionary love and effort, that has guided the successive directors of the Church Missionary Society—than the venture of faith that has sent missionary after missionary to North-West America, and led to the great development of the missions there that we now rejoice in. And God, in whose hands are the silver and the gold, has richly rewarded them. Nothing, I believe, has more contributed to call out Christian sympathy and to fill the coffers by which the crowded East has been ministered to, than the touching tale of the work for the red man.

It seems but yesterday when the work in Rupert's Land began. The Indian is still living, bearing the honoured name of Henry Budd, now the loved and efficient native pastor over a settlement of six hundred Christian Indians, who was probably the first baptized Indian convert.

Fifty years have just passed since the first pioneer of our Church, the Rev. John West, went up in a canoe from York Factory to the Red River Valley, taking with him as he went Henry Budd, and another Indian lad. He taught them the simple prayer, "Great Father, bless me, through Jesus Christ;" while he prayed himself, "May a gracious God hear their cry, and raise them up as heralds of His salvation in this benighted part of the world."

Mr West remained but too short a time in the country; but he succeeded in thoroughly interesting the Church Missionary Society in the cause of the Indian, thus leading, in the train of God's providences, to the sending out of a succession of missionaries, that, for devotion to their Lord's cause and general efficiency, I do not believe have ever been surpassed, and who have in most cases been rewarded with much visible success. The interest that had gathered about the missions at the Red River led to the memorable visitation of them by the Bishop of Montreal, at the request of the Church Missionary Society, which in turn, through the gift of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company and a bequest of one of their officers, led, in 1849, to the establishment of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land. I need scarcely tell, for it is so well known in all the Churches, what a loving interest the first Bishop took in the Indian, both spiritually and temporally, and how greatly he was instrumental in increasing the number of missionaries and encouraging their work. Time will not allow me to enter on a general description of the formation and steady progress of the numerous missions. Let me then simply tell the story of the commencement of one of them, perhaps, however, as striking an example

of rapid progress and decisive success as the history of the North-west missions presents, and doubly interesting as the work of an Indian labourer, and that labourer Henry Budd. He was sent alone in the end of June 1840 to the Cumberland district, a distance of over 400 miles, to establish the first mission beyond the Red River Valley. He at once commenced his labours among the Pas Indians at what is now Devon mission. Fortunately for the delivery of his message, there was at the time a very good gathering of Indians from all quarters in the neighbourhood. They had just finished their yearly rites and heathen practices before being scattered abroad. Mr Budd lost no time in making known the message he carried, even the glorious gospel of our God and Saviour; and although the medicine-men and many of the principal Indians at first opposed, the good tidings were listened to, and, in a measure, received. In September of the same year, Mr Budd visited Cumberland House, about fifty miles from Devon, and staying some time with the Indians, made known to them the gospel, so that all in that quarter heard the Word of God. For a time the heathen, or Metawin party, troubled the converts; but in vain. A schoolhouse was built, and soon filled with enquirers. When the spring of 1841 brought the Indians together again to their annual feasts, not a few were asking, "What they should do to be saved?" These could not join in the Metawin. Violent measures were resorted to; but only with the effect of strengthening the believers in the faith. The Word of God grew all the summer of 1841; and when the heathen met in the autumn for their usual superstitions, they were so thinned in number, that they were almost ashamed to go on. In the spring of 1842, the Rev. John Smithurst came from Red River and baptized eighty-seven converts, and married thirteen couples. Such was the beginning of the large mission over which, afterwards, Archdeacon Hunter presided for so many years with such energy and success, and which is now in the most promising and satisfactory condition, under the Rev. Henry Budd as native pastor. In 1869, I confirmed above 100 Indians in this mission; and there must be 200 communicants.

I would now pass from this account illustrating the progress of the missions to consider some of the hindrances or difficulties in missionary work in Rupert's Land. These hindrances are mainly of a character peculiar to the country. The Indian is very reticent and reserved. Till he feels himself master of a subject he will constantly say he does not know, when questioned about it. This leads at first to disappointment as regards results and slow progress; but once an impression is made, progress becomes rapid and general. I remember a sick heathen man, whom I visited frequently with an efficient catechist as interpreter, and whom I endeavoured to lead to the Saviour, deny, when questioned by the warden of St John's College, who was once with me when I saw him, that he knew anything on the subject. This reservation of the feelings leads to a weakness of character. As long as the Indian can, he prefers saying yes to no. He never willingly contradicts or opposes. I often attribute to this the fall of even good Christian men before the seductive influences of spirituous liquors, when pressed on them by unscrupulous traders. Very few can be entirely depended upon, if the temptation comes strongly before them. When the trader comes with the cask of rum, he brings the worst hindrance the missionary can have with the Indians; and he turns the disposition, naturally gentle and acquiescent, into one defiant and fiendish.

There are of course obstacles in connection with the superstitions of their fathers, but I do not think them so formidable as one might expect from a system having a one great Father that is looked to, and that is free from the gross absurdities of idolatry. The crafty medicine-men of course oppose, as far as they can; for, with Christianity, their impostures are at an end—their position, power, and gains must cease. But they rule through fear, and the human soul is never unwilling to look at what promises a way of escape from what inspires dread. Death is for the Indian heathen a terrible object. He flees from the idea. In their moral habits or views the license of a man having more wives than one has been at times found a great hindrance. The missionaries have always required, before baptism, an obedient submission to the precepts of Christ; and

though the sacrifice has been felt as most trying, it has been often made—Pigwys, the powerful chief of the Red River Salteaux, being himself an illustrious example.

The chief hindrance in these missions is, however, undoubtedly the difficulty of getting at the Indians for any continuous instruction. In the Moose missions the missionaries have succeeded very well by taking advantage of large gatherings of Indians from their hunting-grounds, for a few weeks in summer at the chief trading posts, and by spending hours day after day in teaching them to read their language in the syllabic character. I confirmed over eighty Indians at Rupert's House on James' Bay, who had never enjoyed a visit from a missionary for more than a few weeks; and when, as is my custom, I examined them before confirmation, nothing could have been more satisfactory than the scriptural knowledge they showed. They could mostly read the syllabic, and they have the Bible, Prayer-Book, and some other books and tracts in their hands. Mr M'Donald, a native clergyman, who labours on the confines of the Arctic circle, and who has been privileged to baptize over five hundred converts, finds that the Indians in his quarter congregate together during the winter in bodies of from forty to eighty, so that he travels a great deal over the snow, and stays for weeks with the different little camps. In the missions nearer Red River little can at present be done, except when the Indian settles down near the missionary.

And now, what is the present position of these missions? Truly we may say, What has God wrought? I believe there are now over thirty stations occupied in one way or other by ministers, catechists, or teachers, at all of which there are many baptized converts, and at most a considerable number of communicants. Some of the older missions have indeed passed to the condition of established Christian congregations. One Easter there were 196 communicants at the first-formed mission—the Grand Rapids in Red River—now St Andrew's Parish, and over 180 at the Indian settlement on St Peter's. I went lately through this parish to hold in its church an ordination of a Cree Indian as deacon. The parish is an Indian reserve, with 800 Christian Indians of a population. When that great missionary, the late Archdeacon Cochran—who was sent forth, I believe, through the late vicar of St Mary's in this town, and who died at Red River after closing his fortieth year of most devoted service—began this mission on the banks of the Red River, he saw only a poor wigwam, and its wretched owner breaking the ice to fish for some food for his family. How pleasing the neat cottages, the waving fields of corn, the grazing cattle of the Christian Indians of the present day! There is to be seen the true and certain order—first, Christianity—then civilisation. There was an eloquent sermon from my native chaplain—the pastor of the parish—in Indian, and afterwards, notwithstanding disturbing causes that led to the absence at the time of a large portion of the men, upwards of a hundred joined us at the Lord's table.

What a change from the superstitious condition of heathenism, with all its gloomy cruelties, to the quiet and liberty these Christians now possess, as freemen of the Lord Jesus Christ! No longer is the Christian Indian the victim and the prey in health, and especially in sickness, of the medicine-man. No longer is the aged parent, on ceasing to be helpful in the hunting-grounds, doomed to a violent death. No longer does a thick darkness cover over the future, making death a feared and frightful object. I have met among Indian converts with as full and ripe a spiritual experience, and as deep and fervent peace in believing, as in the quiet parishes of favoured England. Our first sorrow in the young College of St John's I am endeavouring to build up at Red River, was the taking from us a most promising young boy, a son of Henry Budd. He was dying of gastric fever. I went with the warden to see him. We asked him if he wanted anything. He said he wished the Bishop to pray with him. Afterwards he said to the warden—"Oh I am glad I am going to Jesus. Dear Jesus, I know that He loves me—He died for my soul."

Other results I would briefly sum up. Twelve of my twenty-three clergy were born in the country, and eleven have Indian blood, and speak Indian. Often in my journeys have I confirmed at one station over fifty candidates; their knowledge I have found

satisfactory. In many of the missions a large proportion can read in the syllabic character. Family worship is common. Offertories are now made at all the established missions, and many a self-denying gift has been made by the Indians at York, at Devon, at Stanley, and elsewhere. Ten Indians licensed by me are attending to their fellow-countrymen as unpaid readers. Several missions are fully organised with vestries.

It is intended that out of boys prepared by missionaries, lads of sixteen, of spiritual promise, should go up to St John's College—to go forth after a course of preparation as teachers and catechists—and to return, if they do well in the subordinate offices, to read for holy orders.

The Church Missionary Society has at present six scholarships in the college and Collegiate School. Of these, four are now held. From our Theological School five have been ordained.

The chief want perhaps of our Indian missions, beyond that of a missionary in the Saskatchewan district, and a missionary in a central position for the Indians along the route from Canada, is the placing of the two great districts of the Mackenzie River and Moose under separate episcopal supervision.

In the former of these there are three missionaries labouring, whom I can never hope to encourage with my presence—so long would I have to be absent, part of two years. In the latter there are most promising missions and openings for missions, and the district is not very accessible from without. Each of these districts is larger than the province of Canada, with all its bishoprics. I may add, on this point, that the Roman Catholic Church has four bishops in the part of my diocese alone that is west of the Red River.

When a Bishop of Rupert's Land again attends a Church Congress, he will have a further tale to tell, on which I cannot now enter, but of which a statement I have published, and would gladly give to any member, gives a sufficiently full though brief account. The Red River Settlement is now a province of Canada, called Manitoba. The rest of Rupert's Land forms the North-west territories, under the same governor as Manitoba.

A country along the south of Rupert's Land, with a healthy climate, large natural resources, and land fertile like the well-known prairies of the Western States, is now opening to emigration. There is no land to be cleared of heavy timber as in Canada. It lies in silence waiting for the plough. The electric telegraph reaches us this summer. The railway is coming to us from the United States at nearly a mile a-day, and is now at no great distance. Canada has opened a route to us this summer, and has guaranteed a railway across the continent within ten years. I doubt not many a labourer in the parishes represented in this Congress will, in a year or two, have a happy home in that land. At present, from the devoted work in the past for the Indian, our Church has a strong position. And if I succeed in an effort I am now engaged in, of erecting suitable buildings for the College and Collegiate School of St John's, and firmly establishing it by a small endowment as a mission centre, our beloved Church will still have the glorious privilege of being the pioneer for Christ in many a young settlement, and of being an honoured instrument under God, in Manitoba and the great North-west of British America, in bringing many sons and daughters to rejoice in the salvation of Christ.

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## DISCUSSION.

Mr J. F. THOMAS, late Member of Council, Madras.

I WISH to make a few remarks on what you have heard from the Bishop of Rupert's Land. I can tell you that, had you seen what I have witnessed in India, you would never for a moment doubt the efficacy of the work, nor for a moment withdraw your interest and your efforts from missionary enterprise.



Here you see the results of what has been accomplished—as the Bishop himself said—by the agency of the Church Missionary Society, and it is important that we should bear that in mind.

I speak here on this subject from personal knowledge of what has been done in Southern India, where my lot was cast for forty years, and where I had the opportunity of watching the Society's work, and assisting in it, as well as, being a member of the Government, opportunities of obtaining information, and I could not be easily misled. Whilst in Rupert's Land you have small congregations, and small bodies of men only, in Southern India you have thousands who have been brought to the knowledge of the truth, and are gradually, and I believe safely, being brought up to a higher standard of the Christian faith. I may mention this fact, because it has been referred to by one of the speakers before me. A missionary came to my house in Madras, who is now no more. After labouring in Tinnevely for nearly forty years—although when he went there he had not a single individual minister nor a single Christian schoolmaster—there was in the last year of his ministrations over 100 such. This is one specimen of many facts, and I assure you it warms my heart to hear what the Bishop of Rupert's Land says. It is facts such as these that enable me to speak with perfect confidence, in the belief that you cannot give yourselves too heartily to the work of missions. Further, I would just point out to you that I did, at one time of my life, live at a mission-station amongst an uncivilised race, and I there met one case that I think is an ample recompense to those whose hearts are interested in the work of missions. It was that of an aged Hottentot, who had lived for nearly a hundred years, but who had never raised his thoughts beyond the present. The old man was brought low, and in the later period of his life he came under the instruction of the missionary, and learned to know that there was a God who made him, and also that there was a Saviour who was ready to welcome him home; and that old man was ultimately able to say, through living faith, "I know that if my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

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Rev. E. R. ORGER, M.A., Sub-Warden of St Augustine's College,  
Canterbury.

If greater time were at my disposal, I should dwell more at length than I am able to do on a subject that is cognate with the present—that is, the work of qualifying and training men for the duties of missionary and colonial clergy. I should then have spoken about the duty of the clergy to call the attention of parents, Christian parents especially, to the privilege of having their children dedicated—or at least some of them, if God should put it into their hearts—to that work from their earliest years, and of training them to do that work, and impressing upon them that it was to be their work in life, if God should please to approve of it when they grew up,—teaching them, too, that the missionary life was not one to be sneered at, but to be honoured. Many of us know the effect of such training in our early homes. I have not time to dwell longer upon this, but simply to speak of the other way in which men may be induced to undertake the great work of being missionaries. There are certain men who, when they have entered on the work of life, and shown their fitness for it, and have a prospect of success, find that God has called them to dedicate themselves, with all their powers, to His service in the Church abroad. This again is a work in which the clergy have the greatest possible power, for the young men in the parish are apt to look up to them for counsel and advice; and whenever they come to you, let me entreat you, in the name of Christ's work, not to discourage them or put any difficulty in the way, but to cheer and encourage them, and promise to do all in your power to help forward the object of their resolution. I speak of the power of the clergy in these two ways—in guiding the

thoughts of the young to missionary work, and inducing parents to do so in the case of their own children; and also their influence in the same direction over the various forms of life among the young laity.

I should not have spoken on this occasion at all if I were not able to illustrate the last of these points by an instance of two Nottingham men, men of this place.

Before I had anything to do with the College to which I belong, a native of this town, where he was engaged in commerce, had passed through it, and left behind him a reputation which implied great respect on the part of those who had known him; he is now sub-dean of Fredericton. Another gentleman from this town I can speak of more from my own personal knowledge. When I joined the College sixteen years ago, there was a young man there (who had had an occupation in this town) who won all our love and our respect. He had abandoned his employment here, which promised him success, and after passing through the College, he went out to Africa, and was engaged in Capetown under a Master who is not one to be too easily pleased. His work there has given such satisfaction to the Bishop of Capetown that he has made him Canon of the Cathedral Church; while he still styles himself "Mission Priest" of the coloured men in Capetown. His success with his black congregation was such, that when Bishop Mackenzie passed through Capetown, and wished to take with him some native Africans when he went upon that mission in which he lost his life, or rather offered up his life in the cause of Christ, men from that congregation volunteered to attend him. In his own town, I may be allowed to mention to you his name—that of Canon Lightfoot.

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The Rev. R. C. BILLING, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Louth.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I am not competent to speak of the hindrances to missionary work as they exist abroad, but having some experience in the work at home, in connection with one of our great missionary societies, I feel that I am competent to speak of the hindrances to missionary operations so far as they are affected by circumstances at home; and though it may be a very bold thing for a young man to say, still I do believe that the hindrances to missionary work at home may to a great extent be attributed to the discredit cast upon missionary work by the parochial clergy; and I would substantiate my statement in this way. I believe that missionary obligation must stand in the forefront of Christian obligation, if it take any place at all. And yet how seldom are people exhorted from the pulpit to remember the last command of our Lord, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." I would ask this question, too: If some institution which has hitherto been contributed to by the parish, or the congregation, has to be given up and taken off the list, which is it that is generally the first to be erased? Is it not the missionary society? And then, when we go to a missionary meeting—I have attended some hundreds in my time—where the rector or the vicar of the parish takes the chair, what discredit does he often cast upon missionary work by making the humble confession that he knows nothing at all about it! and the worst part of that confession is, that the people have heard it year after year; and though he makes the confession, he never has repented, and he never intends to amend his ways. I say, too, discredit is cast upon missionary work, because, whatever people may hear from the pulpit, they seldom have missionary success referred to as evidence of the reality of the work of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. If we really believe in the reality of the missionary work, should we not oftener glean from the mission field illustrations of the mighty power of the Gospel? And then, I believe that another way in which the clergy cast discredit upon it is, that they do not look upon it as an indispensable sign of real conversion that there should be a self-denying interest taken in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. I believe what Dr Kay said just now: "It is a most momentous fact that this is not looked upon as an

indispensable sign of true conversion." I quite agree with what I heard fall from the lips of Dr Vaughan (when Vicar of Doncaster), when he said it was a most lamentable thing when missionary zeal, as gauged by missionary contributions—was found to fall off in any parish. And now, my Lord, I would ask what is the reason of all this? I believe it is to be found, in the first place, in the loss of that primitive love—that glow of new-born life—of which we have heard this afternoon. There is a great increase of Church life in the country. I went into a beautiful church the other day, and found that £300 a year was spent in that church on the maintenance of the choir and the singing, while the contribution to the Propagation Society was just £12 per annum. And then, again, I think we are living too much in the present, and not sufficiently in the future. We are not looking forward to that glorious consummation for which our Lord has taught us to look, and for which He has taught us to pray, when His kingdom shall come, and God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven. And then we are living in abnegation of the great truth that all spiritual truth must be taught by the Spirit of God Himself, and that is why we do not like to send money—as people say—out of the country, because we do not realise the fact that we want the Holy Spirit here—at home—for our own work. Can we expect the Lord Jesus Christ to be present with His Church here at home, if she does not go forth in the enthusiasm of zeal and faith, in obedience to His own command, and preach the Gospel to every creature? My Lord, I believe these are some of the hindrances to missionary work, as it is affected by circumstances here at home.

REV. THOMAS BARKER, M.A., Vicar of Revesby, near Boston,  
Lincolnshire.

I THINK I can fully confirm what has just been said as to the apathy of the clergy in this matter, not only in the ways mentioned, but in another, and that is in private conversation,—at least I have found it so. Not always, but sometimes, and even amongst those clergy who are officers of the societies, and also in the public papers of a church character—(of course I do not mean the *Guardian*)—one finds very unpleasant remarks made about men who have been missionaries and have returned home. Remarks are made something after this kind: "I have no objection to a returned missionary getting a 'living,' only the Bishop must not give it to him." Another says, "I have no objection to the Bishop encouraging missions by his patronage, but not by helping returned missionaries." One says, "The Bishop is always helping returned missionaries." Another says, "There is another colonial Bishop getting a 'living.'" Another says, "Where hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?" Another talks about putting your hand to the plough and then turning back.

All this is very sad and very ignorant, though it proceeds from men who are too much occupied with (it is quite natural that they should be) their own temporal disappointments.

Well, now, let us take this sentence, "With whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?" Why is it not said to a man who gives up a small living with a small agricultural population, for the richer living of a more populous place? Then, secondly, why don't people remember in each case that another shepherd is sent out immediately to look after the sheep? And then, thirdly, Why don't they remember who it was that put the question in the first instance, and to whom it was put? It was put by Eliab, of whose courage we know absolutely nothing; and the presumption is that he was a very worldly man; and it was put to David, the bravest man of his day, perhaps the bravest of any day; the man also of whom there was this very honourable testimony—that he "was a man after God's own heart." When people put that question, I say they should remember that they are of the family of Eliab, and that the persons to whom it is put are possibly of the family of David.

Then, about putting the hand to the plough. To whom did our Lord quote that proverb? It was to a man who offered (not to go whithersoever our Lord should send him as a *missionary*, but) to *accompany* Him whithersoever He should go: and our Lord, on earth, confined His personal labours to the land of Israel. That passage has nothing whatever to do with mission work as distinct from any other branch of clerical duty; nor does it bind any man to confine himself to that particular separate branch (whatever it may happen to be) of clerical life in which he is at present engaged. If it did, see what the consequences would be. The curate must not become a minor canon, a grammar-school master must not take "a living," the rector must not become a professor of divinity. But more than that; if that passage has anything to do with forbidding a missionary to return home to be a curate, it forbids a curate to go out to be a missionary. And you will agree with me, that when a man has given proof of his earnestness and sincerity so far as to go abroad and face the dangers of a tropical climate, which you very much under-estimate, and which the grumblers are unwilling to face at their own estimate, it is too bad when he returns home to cast such things as these in his teeth and to accuse him of selfishness.

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### THE PRESIDENT.

My friends Mr Barker and Mr Billing come from the diocese of Lincoln. My friend Mr Billing speaks in rather desponding terms with regard to the clergy, especially referring, I suppose, to the county of Lincoln. My friend Mr Barker also speaks of domestic hindrances in the diocese of Lincoln. I hope that we in the diocese of Lincoln are going to amend our ways; and I must say this—then will sit down—that the Synod which we held on the 20th day of last month, in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, consisting of the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln, agreed—there were more than 500 of them there assembled—to preach a sermon every year at least, or to hold a missionary meeting, if not to do both, for foreign missions and for home missions; and they bound themselves to do that by the resolution of that Synod.

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### THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO THE SLAVE TRADE AS AT PRESENT EXISTING.

The Right Rev. Bishop RYAN read the following paper:—

THE Slave Trade is often spoken of as a thing of the past. My object in the present paper is to show that it still exists in full force in several parts of the world, and especially in the regions of Eastern Africa. There are principally three *hunting grounds*, as they may justly be called, in which man is made the prey of his brother man:—1. In the regions of Soudan surrounding Lake Tschad. Here the negro acts the pirate's part. 2. In the upper valley of the Nile, where men of several nations join in the work of destruction. Of these there is not time to speak now, but a full description is given in a book, published at Lyons by the Professor of History at the Lyceum there, M. Felix Berlioux, under the title of "*La Traité Orientale*." The trade in the regions of Eastern Africa has been more specially brought to my own notice, and therefore I confine my paper chiefly to that. I say in the *regions*, and not merely on the coasts, for the devastation and depopulation caused by the agents of that vile

traffic, have issued in the gradual removal of their operations farther and farther towards the interior of the continent, so that the greater proportion of the victims are now drawn from the country to the west of Lake Nyassa, which is nearly 500 miles inland.

To show the tenacity with which the oppression of the natives of Africa has been carried on, I would first place before this meeting a parallel between events in 1444 and in 1861. An old Portuguese chronicler thus describes what happened in a town of Portugal on the 8th August 1444, when a large body of natives of the then newly discovered regions of Africa were distributed to different owners. "What heart so hard as not to be touched with compassion at the sight of them: some with down-cast heads, and faces bathed in tears when they looked at each other; others, moaning sorrowfully, and fixing their eyes on heaven, uttered plaintive cries, as if appealing for help to the Father of Nature. Others struck their faces with their hands, and threw themselves flat upon the ground. Others uttered a wailing chant, and although their words were unintelligible, they spoke plainly enough the excess of their sorrow. But their anguish was at its height when the moment of distribution came, when of necessity children were separated from their parents, wives from their husbands, and brothers from brothers. Each was compelled to go wherever fate might send him. It was impossible to effect this separation without extreme pain. Fathers and sons who had been ranged in opposite sides would rush forward again towards each other with all their might. Mothers would clasp their infants in their arms, and throw themselves upon the ground to cover them with their bodies, disregarding any injury to their own persons, so that they could prevent their own children being separated from them. There was abundant tear-shedding when the final separation came, and when each proprietor took possession of his lot. A father remained at Lagos, while the mother was taken to Lisbon, and the child elsewhere."

Now for 1861—a scene described to me, and afterwards printed and translated. Monsieur Ménou, of the island of Réunion, who was formerly engaged in promoting what he calls African Emigration to the French Colonies, describes the following scene on the river Lindie, on the eastern coast:—"An Arab chief told us he had in the forest, at some leagues' distance, a dépôt of 800 men, whom he would bring to us the next day. I asked the chief to conduct us to his dépôt, and at first he stubbornly refused. But when I promised him a rifle musket, which he eagerly desired to get, he consented, and led us thither. After three hours' march we arrived, but could see nothing. 'Where are they lodged?' we asked, and he pointed to a palisade of bamboo open to the sky, where they were exposed, at the worst season of the year, to a fiery sun, alternating with torrents of rain, and sometimes of hail, without any roof to cover them. A man of tall stature, with a spear in his hand, and a poignard in his belt, pulled up three posts which served for a gate to this enclosure, and we entered. There they were, naked as on the day of their birth; some of them with a long fork attached to their neck—that is, a heavy branch of a tree (*une grossière branche d'arbre*) of fork-like shape, so arranged that it was impossible for them to step forward, the heavy handle of the fork, which they could not lift, effectually preventing them from advancing, because of the pressure on the throat; others were chained together in

*parcels* (paquets) of twenty. The word which I underline is a trivial one, but it exactly expresses the idea. The keeper of this den utters a hoarse cry (*pousse une rougissement*): it is the order for the merchandise to stand up, but many of them do not obey. What is the matter? Our interpreter, who has gone among the groups, will tell us; listen to him. 'The chains are too short—the dead and the dying prevent the living from rising.' The dead can say nothing, but what do the dying say? They say that they are dying—of hunger. But let us leave the consideration of the trader's picture as a whole, and examine some of its details. Who is this creature who holds lightly in her arms a shapeless object covered with filthy leaves? On looking close, you see that it is a woman lying in the mud, and holding to her dried-up breast the child of which she has just been delivered. And those little girls who totter as they strive to rise, on what are they leaning? On a dead body. And the man who is working with his hands a piece of mud, which he is continually placing on his eye, what is the matter with him? Our guide tells us, 'He is a troublesome fellow, who set a bad example by throwing himself at my feet this morning, and saying, with a loud voice, "I am dying of hunger," and I gave him a blow which burst his eye; he is henceforth good for nothing;' and he added, with a sinister look, 'he won't be hungry long.' To the question addressed to the Arab chief, 'Why he dealt thus with the men?' his reply was, 'I do as my father did before me.'

When we follow the track of the slave traders, we find all the horrors of the pursuit of that traffic in former days renewed. In fact, it would be easy to institute a parallel between most of the atrocities described in Sir Fowell Buxton's book on the Slave Trade, published in 1839, and those now reported by travellers, missionaries, naval officers, and diplomatic agents connected with the east of Africa.

There is first of all the testimony as to the capture of the victims. The villages set on fire, or attacked by armed bodies of men; the inhabitants seized as they rush hither and thither in the confusion and alarm; the aged, who are too infirm to be of use, put to death; the young, who are too weak to be saleable, or who give too much trouble by their crying and wailing, treated in the same manner; and then, when the gang is secured, the march downwards to the coast begins. And here is the testimony of Livingstone to what happens then. When he was going up the country with Bishop Mackenzie they came upon a slave party. "A long line of manacled men, women, and children. But the instant the black drivers caught sight of the English they darted off like mad into the forest; so fast, indeed, that we caught but the glimpse of their red caps, and the soles of their feet . . . . The captives knelt down, and, in their way of expressing thanks, clapped their hands with great energy. They were thus left entirely on our hands, and knives were soon busy at work cutting the women and children loose. It was more difficult to cut the men adrift, as each had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, and kept in by an iron rod, which was rivetted at both ends across the throat. With a saw, luckily in the Bishop's baggage, one by one the men were sawn out into freedom. The women, on being told to take the meal they were carrying, and cook breakfast for themselves and the children, seemed to consider the news too good to be true, but after a

little coaxing went at it with alacrity, and made a capital fire by which to boil their pots, with the slave sticks and bonds, their old acquaintances through many a sad night and weary day. Many were mere children of about five years of age and under. One little boy, with the simplicity of childhood, said to our men, 'The others tied and starved us : you cut our ropes and tell us to eat : what sort of people are you ? Where do you come from ?' Two of the women had been shot the day before for attempting to untie the thongs. This, the rest were told, was to prevent them attempting to escape. One woman had her infant's brains knocked out, because she could not carry her load and it ; and a man was despatched with an axe because he had broken down with fatigue."

Any one who wants corroborative evidence may get it from the Blue Book of 1867 :—"Men were either killed by the club or the dagger, or were strangled. I saw not less than fifteen slaves clubbed to death, by heavy blows between the eyes which bespattered their faces with blood, or upon the head. Children were felled in this way, and put out of life by repeated blows on the head ; others, who had been so mercilessly beaten that but little life remained in them, were unyoked with a kick and an oath, and thrown aside to take their chance in the wilderness. An infant not long born was torn from its mother's breast, and pitched screaming into the bush, while she was dragged relentlessly along."

Of their sufferings on the coast before embarkation we have had an example already. What they undergo on board the native vessels, or *dhows*, may be judged by the following extract :—"The custom-house agent stated that a dhow had reached the custom-house after only three days' voyage from Quiloa, where 277 slaves were shipped under the usual customs warrant. No supply of food or water was provided, and cholera broke out on board ; 90 slaves *died* before the dhow reached Zanzibar." It is believed that it was from this vessel also that a slave woman, who was found by the French Consul on the beach, had been thrown for the purpose of escaping the custom-house duty, it being thought that the chances of her recovery were small. In so crowding the vessel there was no excuse, as the Arabs are at this season free to carry as many as they please, without being liable to capture."

This will prepare us for the testimony given by many of the horrible privations to which they are exposed, on the longer voyage from Zanzibar to the southern shores of Arabia.

A question here naturally suggests itself to all who seriously follow such a description, viz. :—"Why are the slave dealers so reckless of the lives of those whom they regard as saleable property ?" And the answer reveals one of the greatest obstacles to the suppression of this infamous traffic. "The margin profit as between the price of a slave bought in East Africa at from six to twelve dollars, and the price of a slave sold in the market of Asia at from sixty to one hundred, or *two hundred* dollars, is so great, that it is worth the while of a dealer to run almost any risk, and sustain almost any losses, provided he even shall succeed in selling a moderate percentage of his drove."

One more phase of their existence remains to be considered,—viz., that subsequent to their landing, under the kindest treatment, in private families, and in public asylums, a very large proportion of some cargoes die ! One such instance, a few years ago, in the Island of Mauritius.

Eighty-three or eighty-four of these rescued children were placed under the care of a missionary and his wife, in a Government establishment, amply provided with everything that could conduce to their health and comfort. The effects of the misery and privation through which they had passed was such, that they were nearly all attacked by disease; and as they lay on their beds of pain, the one word which was uttered on every side was the word, "Amai, Amai!"—"Mother, mother;" the mothers either being many thousand miles away, or having been put to death when their children were taken into bondage. Instead of the poet's description of the dying gladiator's thoughts going to the rude cabin, where his young barbarians were at play beside their Dacian mother—while he, their sire, was butchered to make a Roman holiday—it was the children tossing on beds of pain, their thoughts, with their hearts, far away, amongst the huts on the banks of the rivers—

"Where Afric's sunny fountains  
Roll down their golden sand."

Of the eighty-four, *forty-seven* were dead in three weeks.

As to the number of human beings affected by these deeds of oppression, I will quote one of the most recent documents on the subject. From the port of Kilwa, in the year 1866-67, there were exported *through the custom-house*—

To Zanzibar, . . . . .	17,538
To other places, . . . . .	4,500
	<hr/>
Making a total of, . . . . .	22,038

But besides those passed through the custom-house at Kilwa, numbers are exported from other places on the coast. Take the number altogether at 25,000, and now hear the testimony of Dr Livingstone:—

"Those taken out of the country are but a very small section of the sufferers. We never realised the atrocious nature of this traffic, until we saw it at the fountain-head. There, truly, Satan has his seat. Besides those actually captured, thousands are killed, and die of their wounds and famine, driven from their villages by the slave-raid; thousands, in internecine war waged for slaves with their own clansmen and neighbours, slain by the lust of gain, which is stimulated, be it remembered, always by the slave *purchasers* of Cuba and elsewhere. The many skeletons we have seen amongst rocks and woods, by the little pools, and along the paths of the wilderness, attest the awful sacrifice of human life which must be attributed, directly or indirectly, to this trade of hell. We would ask our countrymen to believe us when we say, as we conscientiously can, that it is our deliberate opinion, from what we know and have seen, that not *one-fifth* of the victims of the Slave Trade ever become slaves. Taking the Shire Valley as an average, we should say, not even *one-tenth* arrive at their destination."

Such are some of the leading facts connected with this fearful evil; and as it has always been a part of the mission of the Church of Christ to endeavour to pull down cruelty and oppression, it cannot be out of place to bring before a Church Congress the existence and operation of cruelties so horrible, and oppression so dire and wide-spread. Other



forms of cruelty and oppression have disappeared under the benign influence of Christianity ; and, in our own day, some of the developments of this monstrous system of cruelty and murder have been effectually checked. Why should not this one be entirely stopped ? England has the power to do it. What is needed is, that a willing Government be helped by the strong expression of public opinion ; and to this end, that the attention of the public be awakened, that the public mind be informed, that the spirit of Christian charity be stirred up, and the obligations of Christian responsibility be acknowledged—obligations which grow naturally out of the position of prestige, and of power and influence, which this nation possesses, regarded in the solemn light of solemn words like these : “ If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn out to death, and those that are ready to be slain ; if thou sayest, Behold, we know it not ; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it, and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it, and shall not He render to every man according to his works ? ”

Preventive measures are in the power of Government, and the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade contains several recommendations, which, if carried out, would go far to suppress its further continuance ; and there are remedial measures proposed by the Church Missionary Society, similar to those which have met with such success at Sierra Leone. These, however, I do not consider now, but desire to leave the subject for the consideration of those who may be able in any way to help forward measures of relief.

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### THE PRESIDENT.

I THINK this meeting will be of opinion that one question should be asked of the Right Rev. speaker, and that is this. He has told us (and it has been a heartrending tale) of very great atrocities, but he has not told us who has perpetrated these atrocities, and who are responsible for permitting them.

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### BISHOP RYAN.

THEY are committed by Arab traders. These poor slaves are taken from Zanzibar across the Gulf of Aden to Kilwa, and to other places in Arabia. A number of the poor creatures were, on one occasion, found at Odessa, stowed in what were supposed to be water tanks ; and the way in which the Government of England has the power to prevent it is by exercising the power which we possess over the Governor of Zanzibar. I have confined my remarks to what is done at Zanzibar, on the coast, and in the interior.

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### REV. E. STEERE, LL.D., Rector of Little Steeping, near Spillaby.

AFTER hearing what the Right Rev. Bishop Ryan has told us as to the evils of the slave trade in general, it will not be necessary for me to say anything more upon that subject ; but having lived in the very centre of this trade, in the town of Zanzibar, I can fully endorse all that has been said with reference to the atrocities committed in bringing slaves down to the coast. !

I have been told myself by Arabs in Zanzibar that whole caravans, as many as 200 slaves, when, after reaching the coast, they have found no purchaser, have perished of hunger; and I know that during the voyage from Kilwa to Zanzibar, which may take three days, no food is given except a few handfuls of uncooked rice.

Let me now go on to say what England has done in regard to this matter. For the last thirty years England has undertaken the suppression of the slave traffic by sea, but what is the result? In that report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which has just been referred to, it is calculated that about five per cent. of the slaves shipped from Zanzibar have been stopped by English cruisers. Now, are we to think that a power like England is able to stop only five per cent. of all that are passing? What effect upon the slave trade can such interference as this have? What difference can it make except this, that some ten per cent. more slaves will be brought down to compensate for this trifling duty which we are levying upon the export trade. And why is it that so little has been done? It is because our home Government is lukewarm about the matter, the Indian Government is lukewarm about the matter, and the naval authorities are lukewarm about the matter; and when this Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the slave trade, what was it that occupied the greater part of their time? Why, it was a squabble between the home and the Indian authorities as to who should pay the bills.

We must remember that this attempt to stop the slave trade is carried on in the eyes of our Indian population, in the sight of the Arabs, and in the sight of the Persians. We stand before them to be judged as to the sincerity of our actions. When these cruisers have taken slaves, what is done with them? Generally they are taken ashore at some place or other, and lodged in the gaol, until some one comes who will pay a premium down, and take them off as apprentices, to be in a manner domestic slaves for a certain period. We know for a certainty that a very large proportion of those who are landed die. They die, very much because the climate to which they are taken is not congenial to their African constitutions. Nearly half of those landed at Aden have died within a year or two from diseases which have been brought on by the climate. And when they are brought to Aden, or to Bombay, what is there that the English Government does for them? It feeds them until such time as some one will take them off its hands as apprentices; and even this has been found to be too great a burden, and a commission was appointed to inquire into the whole matter; when one chief thing they applied themselves to was to ascertain how the little money spent in this way could be saved to the English nation. That commission (which was appointed in 1870) recommended that the slaves should be landed in the town of Zanzibar, because they could there find some sort of work, and so the English Government need be put to no expense at all.

Now, we pay £5 a-head to the sailors for every slave taken out of a slave dhow, and yet, when he is landed, the English Government grudges to spend fivepence for his welfare. What are the Arabs to think of this? and what are the people of Zanzibar to think of it? When an Arab purchases a slave, he gives him a house to live in, and a piece of ground to cultivate—five days in the week he works for his master, if he is wanted, and the other two are his own. This is the lot of a purchased slave; but what would befall those who were handed over to a sugar plantation owned by an Englishman? Would they not have to live harder and to work harder than they would if they had continued slaves? And what kind of philanthropy is it that takes men out of slavery, and then casts them loose to starve or perish of disease? Why cast them loose in Bombay to pick up a living in what way they can? and they do so in the most miserable way possible. What sort of philanthropy is this? If the English Government—and the “English Government” is nothing but the English people—is in earnest about this matter, they must make some sort of provision for those whose care they have undertaken.

If we have taken away from the slave dealer those whom he was about to sell for slaves, we must put before them some better future. We cannot take them thus and cast them into the world to die, but we must take care of them. We must take the chil-

dren, and what are we to do with them? Turn them loose, as the Commission recommended, in the streets of Zanzibar, to be picked up by the slave dealers and sent once more to Arabia? What are we to do with the parents? Are we to bid them put themselves in the hands of the slave dealers because no one else will feed them? What do people say that we do with them? They say that we interfere with their dhows because we want labourers in our sugar plantations, and so we steal their slaves and send them there. That is one report current amongst them; and having that impression fixed upon their minds, they think that something very dreadful must be done with the slaves, because none of them go back again, and nothing is known about them in the town of Zanzibar. When Bishop Tozer, as the head of the Universities Mission, went out, and began to get together a few slave children to form the nucleus of a future Church, the impression in the town was that we were fattening them up to eat them. We have now dissipated this notion, because we have shown that we really had the welfare of those children at heart; and England can never do its duty to the slaves brought down to the eastern coast of Africa, until it shows, more plainly than it has hitherto done, that it has the welfare of those slaves at heart, by not grudging food for the hungry, and medicine for the sick, at least until they have been provided with the means of obtaining an honest livelihood. Not only so, but it must provide for them some kind of government. If we are to take under our charge thousands of persons, they must be kept in some kind of order. How can the slave—born far away in the interior of Africa—when brought down to the coast, be governed and protected, unless we are willing to undertake the charge of him?

But now let me go on to something which lies yet beyond this. The question before us is, What is the duty of the Church in regard to the slave trade? It is, of course, to put an end to it altogether. But how is it to be done? It is to be done only by the evangelisation of the African nation. I, for one, will not lean upon an arm of flesh. It is not to be done by firing cannons indiscriminately into the dhows, killing the slaves at the same time as we kill those who hold them in slavery. It is not by such means that we shall put an end to slavery. We must go to that which is the fountain-head in the interior of Africa, and do the work which was done when slavery in Europe was put down. So we must go into Africa and put down slavery there. There is merely one fact with which I will illustrate this. Those slaves set free by Dr Livingstone—of whom you have heard just now—were not going down to the coast, to be exported to Arabia, or to America, but going up into the interior, to be trafficked with there; so that, when we deal with the slave trade, we must not only draw a cordon round the coast, but we must go and grapple with it in the interior, or we shall never get rid of it. For this work we look to the Church to supply men who will come forward and devote their lives to the eradication of that which has acquired so vast an influence as this horrid trade. It is because Englishmen are lukewarm about the whole matter that the slave trade continues as it is. When one sees the power that is thrown away in our country parishes in England—men of distinguished ability sent to minister to sixty or seventy people, to rust and be wasted for want of something to employ their powers—can one help feeling that the system must be utterly mistaken that can put such men in such places? When one discovers that it is the rich endowments which draw so much of our ability and energy and power into such positions, one feels that the army of the Church of England cannot go on to conquer, because it has found its Capua in our country parsonages. It is not from the large towns that we call for men to do this work, but we call those who are wasting their energies in small places amongst two or three farmers and their labourers. We call upon them to join in the work of making a Christian nation out of what is now degraded Africa.

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Rev. J. BANDINEL, M.A., Rector of Elmley, Yorkshire.

MY LORD,—The duty of the Christian Church with reference to the slave trade, now and ever, can be summed up in one short phrase. It is "War to the knife." Like that noble-hearted, true-hearted, tender-hearted man, that devoted missionary, that gallant crusader, Bishop Mackenzie, she should go forth, with the sword in one hand and the Gospel in the other, to break the jaws of the wicked and pluck the spoil from his teeth. Men are too apt in these days to look at the noble conduct of the great Bishop Mackenzie in a way that it would not have been looked upon in any other age of the Church's work. It is easy, as we stand on the platform or sit by the fireside, to find fault with what he did, but if we had seen what he saw, we should have done as he did, or we should not have been Christians or men. We are too apt to forget that there is a text—a glorious text—which ought to be preached upon and acted upon too: "The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is His name." Let us in every way we possibly can assail this accursed traffic. The speakers who have preceded me have told tales which remind me of those that I heard in my youth, when my days and nights were taken up in reading and dreaming over the horrors of the slave trade. Those dreams have never departed from me, and I trust, whenever I have the opportunity, I shall always speak what I feel upon the subject. But on what grounds is it that we oppose the slave trade? Not merely on account of its horrors, great as they are; we should oppose it because it is inconsistent with Christianity as it is in the Bible, and because it is repugnant to the spoken voice of the Church. It is inconsistent with the Bible because it is unlawful undoubtedly to hold in slavery any one who bears the image of God. It is lowering that image to the position of brutes. It is unlawful because, under the Levitical law, the Israelite was forbidden to hold an Israelite in bondage; and as the middle wall of partition has now been broken down, the Christian law extends to all the human race, and it is unlawful to hold any child of Adam in slavery. It is unlawful, too, because our Lord has commanded us to love our neighbours as ourselves; and if we look on those words and ponder them, we shall see that we must love our neighbours as brethren and equals. I do not say that we are to come to a dead level of democratic equality. But I do say that the great evils in this country that arise from the division of classes can never be swept away except by the recognition of the fact that the command to love our neighbour as ourselves is a command to love him as our equal, because ourself is equal to ourself; and when we consider that every man is intended to be a temple of God, we shall see that such an honoured object should not be made a slave. This principle was admitted by the early Church. On went that Church, freeing the slave and putting down the slave trade, and the first Council of Macen, in 582, took the decisive step of issuing a decree that no Christian should be compelled to remain a slave; and in the latter end of the sixth century Gregory the Great adopted the further step of ordaining that no heathen desirous of becoming a Christian should be retained in slavery; and similar testimony to this was borne by the Dutch planters of Surinam, who forbade any of their slaves to be baptized, because if they were baptized they felt they could not retain them in slavery. Many prescripts of this character were issued by men who occupied the papal chair. In the twelfth century a bull was published by Alexander III. for the emancipation of all slaves, and on the 3d December 1839, Pope Gregory XVI. issued an eloquent bull to the Christian world in favour of the great principles of humanity and justice involved in the suppression of the slave trade. This bull is couched in language as eloquent as any that ever issued from the mouth of Cicero himself. Now, what are we to do? What is the Church of England to do? She has done a great deal, but she has not acted hitherto in her synodical aspect. This is one of the things that she should do, but that is not all. We should all of us unite, in every way we can, in putting down the slave trade. Those who have political power should use it; those who have popular influence should use it. Our speakers and our writers should use their influence. We should work for it, and pray for it by night and by day, and leave no stone unturned to sweep away slavery and the slave trade from the face of the earth.

The CHAIRMAN closed the meeting by pronouncing the Benediction.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 11th OCTOBER.

The Right Rev. BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM took the chair at 2.15 P.M.

### PAROCHIAL COUNCILS.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON GRANT read the following paper :—

ON September 25 we were informed that at a Congress of the party designated as the "Old Catholics," held at Munich a few days before, at which the distinguished Dr Döllinger was present, the following resolution was agreed to as a part of the programme adopted by that new organisation which has sprung up within the bosom of the Roman Communion :—

"The regular participation of the Catholic population in the management of ecclesiastical affairs is claimed as a constitutional right." \*

Such a declaration, proceeding from such a quarter, is full of the deepest significance.

The principle involved in it is that which for some time has been working its way amongst ourselves, and is claiming a larger and more direct application than heretofore. Without discussing the circumstances that have given rise to this demand at home, I shall assume the principle as admitted; and in treating of Parochial Councils, I shall confine myself to an examination of those principles and safeguards which, I think, should be observed in any attempt to give effect to this new but healthy development in our ecclesiastical system.

The most serious and influential action that has been taken to establish such councils, is the introduction into the Legislature of a measure known as Lord Sandon's Bill, which, on its second reading being moved, was withdrawn.

Well intended as this proposal is, and deserving all the respectful consideration which the character of the proposer claims, it seems to me to betray singular inacquaintance with the actual state of Church feeling and custom in our parishes generally—to violate principles of great importance, as well as to exhibit much crudeness in its provisions.

Some of these defects I will shortly point out, and then state some of those general principles which, as it appears to me, should be observed in any such measure.

1. It is proposed, then, in this bill, that the council should consist, in addition to the incumbent and churchwarden, of not less than four, and not more than twelve, elected members; but in all cases the nominees of the parishioners will command a majority of voices.

2. The elective constituency is to include *all* the parishioners, whether Churchmen or not, notwithstanding that the trust committed to the

\* It appears that the form in which the resolution appeared in the final draft of the programme, was as follows :—

"We aim at a reform of the Church . . . which will satisfy the legitimate wishes of the Catholic people for a regular and constitutional share in the direction of ecclesiastical affairs."

council has reference to religious matters alone, and is to control and order the worship of Church-people only.

3. These new officers are to bear the name of *Sidesmen*, a title well-known in our canons; but instead of being simply *assistants* to the churchwardens (which is the scope of their ecclesiastical office), and so *subordinate* to them, they are now, in matters affecting the internal fittings and ornaments of the church, as well as in other matters, to be *co-ordinate* with the churchwardens; while the clergyman is stripped wholly of the discretion he has hitherto had by law in regulating the order of divine worship.

4. The power of the council is excessive. It is to *resist* changes, and to *effect* changes. The power to *resist* any change whatever in the ministrations which chance to exist in the particular church is absolute and without appeal. The clergyman is helpless. The power to *make* any change in the manner of conducting the service is vested in the majority, subject to an appeal to the Bishop, who may enforce it. But it is to be observed that this power over the mode of conducting the service is without limit. It may reach to the minutest details of a clergyman's ministrations, his mode of reading, the length of his sermons, the charities he shall advocate, his bearing, and a hundred other details; and it is obvious that control over these, or the effort to control them, might become a vexatious and intolerable tyranny.

5. The power of appeal to the Bishop is very unequal. For, while in *ordering* any change, an appeal to the Bishop against the decision of the majority is given to the incumbent, so that the Bishop and the majority of the council may overrule the judgment of the clergyman, on the other hand, in *resisting* any change, the will of the majority of the council is absolute; there is no appeal; and neither the Bishop, nor incumbent, nor both together, can introduce any change, not even the more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion, nor any the most valuable alteration, against the determination of the lay majority to have no change at all. What effect this power would have had in obstructing the extraordinary advance in the decencies of divine service during the last thirty years, each one may readily conceive for himself.

No one can complain that a measure so devised is not stringent enough. It is, indeed, revolutionary in its conception. It almost supersedes the legal authority of the clergyman; it encroaches seriously on the authority of the churchwardens. It simply *reverses* the existing relation of the incumbent and parishioners; for whereas *now* the authority to introduce changes rests with the incumbent, subject to an appeal to the Ordinary from the parishioners, *under the proposed law* the authority to make changes is transferred to a majority of the council, *i.e.*, the parishioners, subject to an appeal from the incumbent. Finally, it is at variance with the idea of our Church polity.

I have fully criticised the proposal which has been thus formally, and with so great weight, brought before the Church; but it is done in no hostile captious spirit, since I have long been an advocate for the laity and our congregations exercising increased influence in the administration of the Church and of its services; and am anxious only for a measure as acceptable, and as much in conformity with the spirit of our Church, as possible.

I therefore proceed to indicate some of those principles and conditions—and others, no doubt, will suggest themselves to other minds—which should be observed in any attempt to give effect to the object we have in view.

1. And, first, I would remark, that having, as we have, a sufficiently well-defined system of ecclesiastical law, the practical working of which, though needing to be remedied or further extended in some points, has yet enabled the Church to accomplish great ends, the main principles of our ecclesiastical polity, and the rights which have been sanctioned by competent judicial authority, ought not to be needlessly set aside or superseded. There are too many indications of this disregard of existing rights in the measure I have been reviewing. The recognised authority of the incumbent, and the churchwardens, and even of the Bishop, are, in different degrees indeed, but all in some degree, overruled.

The special grievance to be remedied should first be clearly apprehended and stated, and then so much expansion of the existing system, and no more, be given as may be requisite to remove it.

2. If the members elected to co-operate for certain purposes with the clergyman and churchwardens take the place of the ancient Sidesmen, as seems unobjectionable, they should, in accordance with ancient usage, be regarded as assistants, merely to *aid* the incumbent and churchwardens in matters affecting the order of divine worship. The authority of all should not, I suggest, be co-ordinate, so as for all questions to be divided simply by a majority of voices, which implies equality amongst all the members. And considering the special purpose for which they are elected, they should represent, and so be chosen by, *bond fide* Church-people.

I am aware, of course, that a definition of this term will be required, and of the difficulty of devising one that shall satisfy all those who claim to have an interest in the Church as an established national institution. But we are dealing now with only one part of the Church's action, that part in which only a portion of the community have a direct interest; and in reference to this, and for the purpose we have in view, I venture to think that an adequate definition would not be difficult to find.

3. I have already remarked on the unlimited control given in certain matters to the council by the measure under review. It seems rudely and indiscriminately to confound and treat as one, rights and liberties which differ widely from each other. In so delicate a matter as the public ministrations of religion there are, surely, liberties and duties of the congregation and of the clergyman too; and these should be kept distinct. To subordinate the one wholly to the other cannot conduce to harmony, while it must produce serious evils. There are certain matters affecting the personal devotions of the congregation in which their wishes should be consulted. There are certain matters affecting the personal ministrations of the clergyman in which he ought, and, I would add, must have a discretion, unless he is to be simply an unintelligent machine; and which it would be only vexatious to subject to the control of others. Such a distinction, which seems to have been overlooked, ought, I submit, to be carefully borne in mind in any measure designed to adjust the relations of a pastor and his flock in matters of some intricacy and great delicacy.

4. Then, further, as to the power of appeal. The appeal is, of course, to the Ordinary; it should be unrestricted; certainly not be partial in dealing with the rights of parties. For in the matters under consideration, we have to deal with three classes of rights—those of the Bishop, of the incumbent, and of the congregation or parish. Where the clergyman and congregation are agreed in regard to any change within the law, it is admitted that there is no reason for any intervention of the Bishop. Where the congregation, represented by a majority of the council, together with the Bishop on appeal, desire and authorise a change, it is proposed, and, I think, may be allowed, that such a decision should be binding as against the clergyman. But in all equity it should follow, that when an incumbent and the Bishop desire and sanction any change, such a decision should also be binding as against the majority of the council. This, however, is withheld in the bill before us; and in this respect the balance needs to be adjusted in order to prevent, in many cases, a state of stagnation most prejudicial to the spiritual interests of any parish.

5. Lastly, although it is well, in conferring upon laymen a more direct share in the administration of the Church and its services, to commence with our parishes, it will not be sufficient to confine it within those limits. To produce a healthful influence in the Church, this new feature in its organisation should form part of a larger and concurrent system of diocesan councils and synods, in which the wishes of the laity would find their legitimate expression, and their voice and counsel have their due weight. Were this larger constitutional expansion established, it may well be doubted whether any application for legislative interference would be at all necessary. I believe myself that the weight of Church opinion would, if not at once, yet gradually and surely, be sufficient to repress such excesses (not in my judgment to be too harshly condemned under our present administration of ecclesiastical law) as have given rise to this demand for parliamentary coercion. To such synods or councils might fairly be left, in the first instance, at least, the task, not ineffectual, as I trust, of regulating the formation and action of those parochial councils which we are recommending, and which need to be adapted to the wants and demands of separate dioceses and parishes.

The view thus taken of these councils and of the Act proposing to constitute them, is, I am aware, and may be objected to as being, from a clerical stand-point. Others, no doubt, will regard the subject from the point of view of a layman. I have been induced to take the position I have, because the scheme, devised to meet a reasonable want, seems to have been framed on far too narrow an idea—the idea simply of controlling, and indeed of coercing, the clergyman. Surely, whatever provocations may have suggested such a course, the policy is unwise and ungenerous. In all the great religious movements and revivals, the clergy have always borne a leading part. It never can be for the benefit even of the laity themselves, that the clergy should cease or be fettered in their endeavour to lead their flocks onward to higher forms of devotion; it cannot be wise that their responsibility in such matters should be taken away, and their zeal chilled, if not extinguished; that they should lag behind, and feel themselves under suspicion and undue restraint, when they should be



keenly alive to all the demands and new developments of every age; and, while reverencing the law, should be earnest guides and promoters in all that may render their ministrations more winning and effective.

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The Rev. W. R. CLARK, M.A., Rector of Taunton, Prebendary of Wells, read the following paper:—

It cannot be denied that the advocates of parochial councils have a good deal which they may fairly urge in support of their proposed scheme. We may, therefore, be permitted to regret that, to use the favourite phraseology of the day, this has so frequently been spoken of as a "layman's question." One should suppose that the great question for clergyman and for layman was to know his duty, and to ascertain the best way of doing it. To discover how the layman may have secured to him all possible scope and influence in Church matters, so far as that may conduce to the well-being of the whole body, is emphatically a clergyman's question. To find out how the clergyman may have all possible freedom, strength, energy, and power in the discharge of his duties, must be a layman's question quite as much as it is a clergyman's. It is, therefore, with no mean professional jealousy that the clergy should approach the consideration of this subject, but with the earnest desire to adopt any plan suggested which may seem likely to promote a better understanding between clergy and laity, and a more cordial and steady mutual co-operation. The simple questions for us to determine, therefore, are, *first*, the nature of the evil which it is proposed to remedy, and *secondly*, the nature of the remedy proposed.

There are evils, and very great evils, among us which have great need to be remedied, whatever the cure may be. I am not disposed to deny that evils and offences arise from what has been called the autocracy of the beneficed clergy, although I also believe that these have been immensely exaggerated. It is only reasonable to suppose, even if we were unacquainted with the facts, that out of the many thousand incumbents who are set over our English parishes, with almost unlimited power, some should be found wanting in wisdom, or in temper, or in humility. The wonder is, all things considered, that there should not be more. But I think it is open to very serious doubt whether any change which can be made in ecclesiastical or parochial organisation will produce any great alteration for the better in this respect. Those who know the inner workings of parishes, and have most carefully observed the relations subsisting between clergy and laity, must be aware that it is not so much better machinery that we want as better men to work what we have. We need clergy who know their work, who are taught their work, and are willing to do it. We need laity who believe that they also have duties to perform, and not merely rights to contend for, and who will feel that the performance of their ecclesiastical duties is of at least as great importance as the contention for their ecclesiastical rights and privileges. And we need clergy and laity who will remember that they are not mere units in a congregation or in a parish, but members of a body, for the well-being of which, in all its parts, they are bound to care, no less than for the good

of the smaller section of which they form a part. I am far, however, from denying that the parochial clergy are too independent, too little amenable to control, or that a remedy may properly be sought for the acknowledged evils resulting from the actual state of things. Some of these remedies we shall presently notice.

But it seems to me that the advocates of parochial councils have firmer ground when they point to the apathy of the laity of the Church of England, and profess to seek for some means of removing this blot from our communion. Such apathy, although it is far less than it was, still exists, and has been abundantly confessed and bewailed. When we seek for an explanation of it, we are told that, in a great measure, it results from the possession of absolute power by the clergy. The clergyman may do as he likes, so it is commonly said; and when he takes anything in hand, unless he wants money or the Bishop's faculty, he may consult his parishioners or not just as he pleases, and when he has consulted them, he may take their advice, or act in opposition to it. And hence it comes to pass that the laity, feeling that they have no real power, speedily show that they have no real interest in what is done. I think there is truth in these remarks; and if any change could be introduced which would tend to the removal of such an evil, without bringing in greater evils in its place, it would be our bounden duty to welcome it, and to do our best to bring it about.

Will a remedy be found in parochial councils, either such as may be invested with legal powers, or those which are simply voluntary and consultative?

One scheme for parochial councils, invested with legal powers, is now before us, and can be examined. Lord Sandon's Bill has evidently been prepared with great and conscientious care, after very considerable study of the subject in all its bearings, and with a sincere desire to strengthen the beneficent activity of the Church. It demands and deserves serious and respectful consideration. Nay more, it has points which arouse the sympathy of every earnest Churchman. And yet I am bound to say that the longer I have considered it, the less I have liked it. I have looked at its provisions in the light of my own experience, I have considered it with reference to parishes similar to my own, and widely different from it, and I have always come to the same conclusion—that such a measure is likely to do more harm than good. I have come to this conclusion with more regret than I can express, for I was at first in hopes that it would give us some remedy for great and acknowledged evils. It will be observed that I am here speaking chiefly of my own judgment, as founded upon personal experience and observation. I make no apology for this. I understand this to be the thing which we are here to do, and that it is in this way that we shall help each other to understand all the bearings of these questions.

Let us, however, glance at some of the details of the bill. It is a great improvement in the present form of the bill, that it requires the members of the council to be communicants. I am sorry that I cannot speak so favourably of the proposed qualification for the electors. They are simply to be parishioners. Such a provision, to say the least and the best of it, is unnecessary. The parishioners have an opportunity of making their wishes known in the vestry, and there is already ample provision made

for the assertion of their legal rights. Beyond this, it seems to me that parishioners, as such, have no claim to consideration. It is, of course, otherwise with the members of the Church residing in the parish, with the church-goers of the parish, and with the communicants. If time allowed I should endeavour to show that it would in many cases be most mischievous and injurious to have the whole of the adult parishioners as the electors, and that there are grave objections to merely having the seat-holders or attendants at the church, as fostering in parishes and in congregations that spirit of isolation, that independence of the general body of the Church, which is growing quite rapidly enough as it is. If we must have parochial councils, I should prefer that the communicants in the parish—that is, those who received the Holy Communion at least three times in the year—should be the electors; or if it be thought that this requirement, although the only one justifiable in theory, may yet in charity, and in consideration of our actual circumstances, be somewhat relaxed, then that the electors should be the whole body of adult Church-people in the parish.

This is the first considerable alteration which I would suggest; but there is, as it seems to myself, another blot not less serious. Passing by some minor matters of detail, to which exception might have been taken but for the fact that they are left optional, and therefore can do no certain mischief even if they do no good, we come to that part of the bill in which provision is made for introducing or preventing changes in the manner of conducting divine service. I need not repeat the remark often and truly made, that such councils would probably have retarded greatly, if they had not entirely prevented, the great revival of church architecture and of decent ritual which has recently been witnessed. But I must ask you to observe that the provisions of Lord Sandon's Bill would in many cases exaggerate the evils which it is intended to remedy. For instance, it is provided that, if the majority of the council and the incumbent disagree, the clergyman may appeal to the Bishop, whose decision shall be final. But there is no provision made for the case in which the majority of the council and the incumbent disagree with a large minority of the parish; and this is, in fact, the case which most needs to be provided for. The minority have their rights as well as the majority; but in this bill they are entirely uncared for. It may be said, and it is obviously true, that an individual clergyman may now disregard the feelings of the minority, or even of the majority, without any parochial council to back him. Yes, but he does it on his own responsibility—he does it with the full sense that he alone is accountable for it; and I need not refer you to the many popular proverbs which teach us the vast difference between a personal and a corporate responsibility. When a matter has been thoroughly discussed in a parochial council, and the reasonable arguments and the majority have pronounced in one way, the incumbent, especially if he is new to his work, may well feel that he has every right to inaugurate the proposed changes. But a clergyman who formed his opinion not from the arguments of his council but from personal knowledge of his people and frequent communication with them, would soon discover that in matters of this kind it is not reason or common sense which has rule in men's minds, but habits and customs and ingrained prejudices. The earnest clergyman will find even these not always unworthy of respect. He will

not be anxious that men should hold lightly any religious convictions, lest perchance they should another day dismiss as easily that more perfect system which he has laboured to establish, as they have given up that defective one which he desires to see removed.

We must now return briefly to a consideration of the general effects of such councils. Are they likely to bring about a better state of feeling between clergy and laity? Are they likely to strengthen the hands of the ministers of the Church in the discharge of their sacred duties? Are they likely to give the laity a deeper interest in the work of the Church. I have heard these questions earnestly and ably debated not only by the clergy, but by thoughtful and loyal laymen; and the almost universal feeling expressed was adverse to the general establishment of such councils with legal powers. It was felt that they would do no good where good was most needed to be done, and that they would often do positive harm. While they would leave the apathetic and indolent clergyman alone, they would worry the earnest and active into a state of apathy. If there be any truth in such apprehensions, it is the most serious objection that can be urged against such a scheme. The clergy must always be the life and soul of every religious movement, and of every religious work, and no lay action which should tend to harass, to dispirit, and to obstruct them in their efforts could be otherwise than an injury to the Church at large. A zealous clergy will in time stir up even a cold and apathetic laity to an interest in church work; but a dispirited and a paralysed clergy can never have its work done by a meddling and turbulent, or even by a zealous and devoted, laity.

It is too often forgotten, in these discussions, that the laity do already possess very considerable power and influence in all departments of church work; and I am bound to say that, as far as my own experience has extended, I have very seldom observed any disinclination on the part of the clergy to receive the counsel and co-operation of religious laymen, or even to submit to a reasonable amount of lay restraint. I am aware that a very different impression prevails among many of the laity. It was expressed very strongly, at the Liverpool Congress I think, by a gentleman who is put down to speak on this subject to-day. I thought then, and I think now, that he stated the case against the clergy too strongly, and that he must have been singularly unfortunate in his own experience. Still, although I cannot admit that the evil is of the extent which is pretended, and although it is certain that the laity have in a hundred ways a power and influence which, although it cannot easily be defined, is in fact and practically almost irresistible, the objections to voluntary councils do not seem very weighty, although I am far from thinking that they will work any great change for the better in the state of our parishes and congregations. I have read carefully a report of the results of a parochial council, which was certainly much better worked and more carefully handled than such bodies are likely, in a general way, to be. Some of those results seemed to me to be most undesirable; others were due to the wisdom and zeal of the clergyman, and not to the council; whilst I could see nothing which I should desire to accomplish which had not already been done in my own parish, without any council, and with as general concurrence and approval as could have been had with the sanction of such a council. It is, of course, the bounden duty of the

clergyman, freely and voluntarily, without any compulsion from without, to consider not only the interests, but the feelings, and even the prejudices of his people. He possesses a council already in his churchwardens; and if he is disposed to extend its area by the addition of Sidesmen chosen by the communicants of the parish, such a plan might be found to answer well enough. The manner in which a clergyman ascertains the mind of his parish is, however, of secondary importance. That which is of necessity is, that he should deal openly and frankly with his people, and so gain their confidence, even when he may not be able to lead them to adopt his own opinions. Let a clergyman satisfy his parishioners of his loyalty to the Church of England, of his readiness to give heed to the admonitions of his Bishop, of his regard for the feelings and the wishes of his people, and he will find comparatively little difficulty in administering his parish. Let him consult them frankly when he wishes to improve the fabric of his church, or the manner of its service, and he will seldom find the result to be different from that which he ought to desire. But whatever plan may be adopted, it seems to me that nothing considerable will be gained unless a very large amount of discretionary power is given to the Bishop of the diocese. It is really high time that some restraint should be placed upon the growing Congregationalism of the Church. By that I do not mean that every congregation should have precisely the same type of service, whatever the condition or tastes of its members might be; but that nothing should be done in the way of alteration which has not the consent, expressed or implied, spoken or tacit, of the Bishop of the diocese. I am aware that in giving expression to this opinion, which I have long held, I am, in all probability, one of a very small minority; and I am sorry for it, as I have but little confidence in my own judgment when it is at variance with the common sense of the Church; but it seems to me an axiom that the ultimate power and the ultimate responsibility must rest with the Bishop, and that the parish priest is doing a perilous thing when he attempts to wield a power or to burden himself with a responsibility which is not his own. I think the clergy ought voluntarily to yield to this Episcopal control; and if they will not, that the law ought to give to the Bishop more power than he already possesses. The objections to such a course, I know, are serious. Bishops, we are told, are not always such as fathers in God ought to be. Moreover, they are sometimes guided by the momentary noise of superficial public opinion. They are also—so I saw it stated a few days ago in one of the papers—liberal in their construction of the law of the Church when it would restrain their own action, and not so liberal when it bears upon their clergy. A bishop's veto, it is said, would be as deadening as that of the parochial council. I pass by much of this as irrelevant, but a word must be said on the last point. To a loyal, humble priest of the Church of God, the veto of his Bishop, even if it seem not altogether just, can never be the same deadening power as the check given by a parish council, because in this case he is checked by those whom he is set to guide, whilst in the other he is restrained by one who is set over him in the Lord. To make the people supreme, and to ignore the Bishop, is a subversion of the true idea of the Church of Christ. To obey the Bishop, to submit to him even when his commands are at variance with our own feelings and predilections, is to place the responsibility where it

ought to be, and where it has been appointed to reside by the Great Ruler of the Church. Such a course would be attended by various advantages. It would exercise a wholesome influence on the Bishop himself. Feeling the extent of his power, and therefore of his responsibility, he would regard his communications to the clergy from a different point of view. Whether they were in the form of counsels or of commands, they would be the expression of paternal authority. Nor would this be the only result of such subordination on the part of the clergy. It would undoubtedly have a tendency to restore to the laity the idea of authority, which, it is to be feared, is rapidly dying out of the minds of our people. The clergy will, by a cheerful submission to the authority of their bishops, do more to restore their own lawful and rightful authority—and more than this they ought not to expect or desire—than by any number of homilies on the subject, however moderate, rational, or scriptural.

The conclusion, then, to which the consideration of this subject has brought me is this—that parochial councils, such as are provided for in Lord Sandon's Bill, would do more harm than good; while the rights of the laity may be far more securely and beneficially guarded and preserved by referring all matters in dispute to the Bishop of the diocese, clergy and laity being alike willing to be guided by his fatherly counsel, and to submit to his authority as their chief pastor and ruler under Christ our Lord.

The Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.A., Vicar of St Mary's, Marylebone, London, read the following paper:—

IN the observations which I have the honour of addressing to this Congress, I propose to advance three propositions:—

1st. That it is necessary that the powers of the Church councils should be bestowed by law.

2dly. That it is desirable that those powers should be made as large as is compatible with the maintenance of the Church's unity by general laws.

3dly. That the restrictions placed upon the parishioners should be as few as possible, as regards either the electing body or those to be elected.

1. I assume it to be generally acknowledged that the sole and autocratic power now given to the incumbent of a parish ought to be diminished, for the sake of himself, of his parish, and of the Church and nation: and I assume also that this diminution should be effected not merely by the control of general laws, but by a body of the parishioners being chosen to share the incumbent's powers. The progress of opinion in the country on this subject, the reception of Lord Sandon's Bill in the House of Commons, the strong opinion in favour of some such scheme expressed almost universally in diocesan and other conferences, the declarations of many of the bishops, and most notably the recent action of the Bishop of Ely, who has recommended the formation of a council in every parish of his diocese, appear to me to justify these assumptions.

The advocates of parochial councils are entitled to claim the highest

and most spiritual ground for their proposal. They base themselves on the Apostolic conception of the Church as a body, each member of which is to contribute to the edification of the whole; they contend that the system under which almost all action and power is concentrated on one person is detrimental alike to the efficiency of that person and of the body generally; and that the gifts of the Spirit which are in the Apostolic idea diffused throughout the body are, in our present system, repressed, if not quenched. They believe, further, that to evoke these gifts it is necessary that not merely some facilities of action, but a share of real power, should be given to the members of the Church in each parish.

But it is urged by a great many persons who sincerely wish for lay power in the parishes, that this power should not be conferred by law, but should be left gradually to assert itself within the bounds of the present law. The motive for this seems to be partly a belief that spiritual objects are best worked out by spontaneous effort, and partly a general aversion to parliamentary action in church matters.

It may be admitted that Parliament is wise in not entertaining any matter of this kind until opinion is pretty far advanced, and also that it is undesirable in the present state of things to raise discussions in the House of Commons on immature propositions. But, as against the general dislike of parliamentary action in these matters, it should be borne in mind that there is great danger in Parliament appearing to forget or disown its duties in reference to the Church and to religion generally, for those duties can never altogether cease, and to treat the legislature as unfit for their exercise directly tends to make it unfit, thus aggravating an evil which we ought to seek to remove. The record, however, of the Church legislation of the last forty years—that is, since Dissenters and Roman Catholics have been admitted—by no means bears out the assertion of the unfitness of Parliament. It is very doubtful whether such measures as the Pluralities' Act, the liberation and distribution of Church property by the Ecclesiastical Commission, the formation of the Peel parishes, or the alteration of clerical subscriptions, could have been carried at the times at which they respectively passed, in an assembly which professed to represent the Church in its exclusive sense.

It may be added that the disposition of Parliament to entertain Church questions in an earnest spirit would seem to be on the increase. It has been remarked by old members who knew the House of Commons before the abolition of tests and the enactment of reform—that is, before the introduction of the two elements so much dreaded by churchmen, dissent and popular power—that the willingness of the House to discuss Church matters has been far greater during the later period. Nor need we look further than this year's session for practical evidence of this. The report of the Church Reform Union shows that as many as eighteen ecclesiastical bills have been before Parliament this year, of which seven have passed into law, including the Acts for the New Table of Lessons, the Resignation of Incumbents, Dilapidations, and the Sequestration of Benefices and Private Chapels. The tone also in which measures of importance to the Church were discussed, and especially the Parochial Councils Bill, by all classes of members, seems to show that, where the internal affairs of the Church and its efficiency for its proper mission is

concerned, there is no reason to doubt the candid and benevolent exercise of the wisdom of Parliament on its behalf.

It may, then, be confidently asserted that the Church of England is able to express itself, and to act through Parliament with at least fair efficiency: and still more confidently, that by no scheme which has as yet been proposed could the real mind of the Church, taken in its best and widest sense, be so clearly expressed. If this be so, it will then appear that we ought not to look upon parliamentary action as the intermeddling of an extraneous power with the affairs of the Church, but as the mode through which the great body of baptized men in England find it best to regulate the affairs of the Christian body. Certainly in no other way than by an Act of Parliament can any general law be framed, which shall either require or enable the parishioners to exercise power such as is now felt desirable. All else is precarious, desultory, lacking the first elements of stable organisation.

Putting aside, then, all prejudice against parliamentary action on general grounds, the following considerations may be advanced in favour of legislation on the Church Councils scheme.

First, legal power alone will beget an adequate sense of responsibility. English Churchmen have been accustomed to a system established by law. At present the law ignores lay action except in the limited sense reached by the powers of churchwardens. Any parishioner stepping beyond this limit feels that he is but giving gratuitous advice. The advice is consequently seldom given, thought and energy are not called out; and where action is taken by laymen it is taken at random, its responsibility lying not with the layman but with the incumbent.

But observe further, that while the layman is thus unrecognised, the incumbent's position is fenced in by law on every side. If a council exists merely by his sufferance, it has just that unreality which takes the heart out of lay-action. Even if a council be set up by contract, and the contract be held to be binding on the principle that *Conventio vincit legem*, yet it ceases on the passage from one incumbency to another, and all assurance of continuity and permanence is denied to the parish; and in the parishes in which the clergyman opposes the scheme, it can never be brought into action at all.

It is said by the opponents of legislation that voluntary councils must first be instituted to give us the necessary experience. Some experience, no doubt, is gained in this way, but we have probably obtained nearly all that is to be had. It is clear that the one thing needed, even for a real experiment, is the power, which gives the sense of responsibility, and which the law alone can bestow. In the matter of education, or the institution of reformatories, which are somewhat analogous, had there been no action of the central power of the State, voluntary effort would have been wholly inadequate. And in the Church, though the central power may rightly wait till some demand is expressed for the exercise of power, and the rudiments of organisation begin to appear, yet efficient action can only be taken when the power is given by law.

The opponents of legislation also urge that it is wrong to give power to the parishes before dealing with the dioceses and provinces—in short, that the simple proposal now before us should await the reconstitution of the whole Church system of the country. But the whole course of legis-



lation in England has been contrary to this. Where a distinct evil has existed, and an adequate remedy has been proposed, legislation has taken place. It may be conceded that, logically, a similar process to that which is now proposed for the parishes is applicable to the diocese, and to the Church generally. But the vast and indefinite questions which are opened up when we attack those further problems, for the solution of which no tangible proposal has as yet been made, make it clear that for practical purposes they must be kept apart. What is proposed for the parishes is simple, definite, and easily carried into effect; and whatever light can be gained on the possibilities of fuller Church organisation, would be best gained by the establishment of Parochial Councils throughout the country.

It may be admitted that the country is not yet prepared for the universal establishment of such bodies, though opinion seems to be ripening fast in that direction. The opinions of those who feel the urgent necessity for these bodies, and of those who hesitate, are happily met by the permissive legislation proposed by Lord Sandon. According to his Bill, the councils can be called into existence by a public meeting of the parishioners, convened by the churchwardens on the requisition either of the incumbent or of any three parishioners.

2. The second proposition is, That it is desirable that the powers of the Church councils should be as large as is compatible with the maintenance of the Church's unity by general laws.

What is needed is to establish a body to which a discretion can be committed in a sphere rigidly defined, but which can be enlarged as the demands of the Church increase, and as the capacity of the body for the exercise of this discretion is proved.

There are two limitations of the power of such councils which must always exist.

One of these is that traced by the general law of the Church. So long as any Act of Uniformity exists, the use of particular parishes must be limited by it. I think we ought to be jealous of centralisation in Church affairs as in others; and I think we ought to begin our action with the parish as the unit. But the more Church life is evoked in the parishes, the more need there will be for some clearly-defined line traced by authority for its action, and a parish council must work within this line.

The other limit is in the nature of the subjects with which such councils can deal. They must not attempt to control Christian teaching. The council must limit itself to what is practical. But practical results will often involve doctrinal considerations, and in this way there must always be a strong influence exerted over the tendency of the teaching in a parish where a council exists.

These two limits being traced, I think the powers of a council should reach in some way to all that remains. Every practical arrangement in the Church and parish which is not controlled by a higher authority, should come within its cognisance.

Let us bring before our eyes the chief of these. They will not be found to be so trivial as they are in some quarters assumed.

In the Church services the law merely demands that certain offices should be performed. The mode of performing them is not prescribed. Many evils have occurred from the absence of any discretion of the parishioners in this simple matter. The hours of service, again, are

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entirely discretionary, and in many parishes are varied from time to time. The law says nothing about hymn-books, though it recognises the fact that anthems and other forms of singing are used. Who is to determine what hymn-book is to be used?

Then comes the administration of the sacraments. The frequency of this, and to some extent the occasions and the manner, are not decided by law. The same may be said as to the special offices of the Church, churchings, marriages, burials.

Look again at the collections made in Church. It is surely desirable that the rector and churchwardens should have some means of ascertaining the wishes of the congregation.

There are few things more unsatisfactory in our Church system than our position as regards services on the week-days. A Church council might in this give valuable advice, and frame plans which might draw out greater readiness for prayer during the week. Such advice would also be useful as to the holding of special services at the Church's seasons, or services like those held in London two years back, under the name of the Twelve Days' Mission.

The fabric and furniture of the Church is another point as to which discretion comes in. Even if the strict legal view of the matter be adhered to, and nothing be done without a faculty, still a faculty is only granted on the supposition that dissentients have been heard, and the Church council would give the occasion for discussing whether the change proposed is desirable. But practically many changes, and important ones, ranging from the introduction of a harmonium or the change of a reading-desk, up to the complete transformation of a church, are made without a faculty: and such changes come most properly under the cognisance of the representatives of the parishioners.

These are matters relating to the Church services and fabric. There are others relating to parochial work, in which the discretion of the clergyman should certainly be shared by the parish.

In large parishes there is a demand from time to time for a subdivision, for the building of a new church, the organising of a new district. At present this is virtually done at the will of the incumbent, if he can obtain the money. But it is doubtful policy in such matters to ignore the people, and it may be partly through not taking them at all into consultation that the fruit borne by many of the church-building schemes in our large towns has been comparatively small.

In school matters and in charitable institutions again, so far as they are undertaken by the Church, a council would give valuable advice and assistance.

These matters, in which a discretion has to be exercised under the existing law, are sufficiently important to justify the demand for the establishment of Church councils. But they are only the beginning of the power which, if they are successful, they will be called to exercise.

In all proposals of practical reform the difficulty which meets us is this. If we enact a general law for all cases alike, we fail to satisfy the proper requirements of parishes, which are exceedingly diverse. But if we allow for diversity, with whom shall we leave the discretion of adapting what is done to each special case? If the Parochial Councils scheme presents, as I believe, a constitution under which bishop, clergyman, and parishioners

can all exercise their powers in harmony, we have in this a safe depositary for the discretion which is required. And when such a safe depositary of discretion has been found, my belief is that it will be wiser to relax considerably the present general laws which bind us all.

I will not enter here into any wide questions of reform, but content myself with calling attention to palpable facts.

The need for services of a special kind is being felt everywhere. Such services as were held in London under the name of the Twelve Days' Mission are a necessity of the time. Those which have been held at St Lawrence Jewry and other churches for the city of London, are another instance of the craving to adapt our ministrations to special wants. But in all such cases things are done which can hardly be said to come within the law of uniformity. Then arises a difficult question for law-abiding men, who feel that the maintenance of order and obedience to law is of vast importance to the welfare of the Church. Shall I maintain the law and deprive people of what may be most edifying to them? or shall I say, The necessities of the spiritual life are beyond the range of the Act of Uniformity, and I must disregard the law? On all sides we see the latter course being taken. One clergyman has a sermon with a choral litany, a form of service which is quite unauthorised; another holds a Bible-class in church; a third has services with extempore prayer; while, from similar motives, a conscientious clergyman announces that he will refuse to read the Athanasian Creed; and an archbishop declares in the House of Lords that he would refuse to read the Burial Service in certain circumstances, though the law requires it of him. We are really in danger of anarchy; and of an anarchy to which we are impelled not by the spirit of disorder, but by the pressure of real spiritual necessities.

It is to meet these cases that the Ritual Commission was appointed, and its recommendations will, it may be presumed, be carried into effect. But observe that almost every one of these recommendations involves the exercise of a discretion by somebody.

Selections may be made from the Prayer-Book for daily prayers. The clergyman is to decide, with consent of the ordinary. Do not the people know their own wants sufficiently to share in this discretion?

The Morning Service, Litany, and Communion Service may be read together or separately, due notice of change being given to the parishioners and the ordinary; the parishioners, in case of doubt, may appeal to the ordinary. Thus the discretion of parishioners is recognised, but no orderly means furnished for its expression.

Hymns may be used, if not disallowed by the ordinary; but who is to take the initiative in introducing them? and is the ordinary alone to have a discretion?

The minister may, at his discretion, begin morning prayer with the Confession. Hymns may be sung and sermon preached, either after the third Collect or at the close of the prayers. Alms may or may not be collected; the offertory sentences may or may not be read. The exhortation at the administration of the Holy Communion may or may not be used; the elements may be delivered to one or to more than one person at a time. There is a discretion as to the time at which Baptism should be administered, and as to the time and frequency of the celebrations of the Holy Communion.

In all these proposed changes a discretion is to be exercised by some one. In all of them the vote of a council representing the parishioners ought to be of the greatest influence: for they are mostly matters in which the concurrence or edification of the people are the points chiefly important.

But we may look for greater results than the exercise of such a discretionary power, if once the Parochial Council assumed its proper position among us. In a healthy state of the Church, in which every member felt an interest in the real spiritual work of the parish, we might hope that the Church council would consist of the *élite* of the Christian energy of the district, and their object would be to stimulate zeal and enterprise, to further every good work, to take counsel how the whole need of the parish might be supplied, and the Church might fulfil its mission to the souls of men.

3. The third proposition I have ventured to advance is, That it is desirable that the restrictions placed upon the parishioners should be as few as possible, as regards either the electing body or those to be elected.

By law, every Englishman is a member of the Church of England; and many will think that the Parochial Councils Bill is right in making no restriction on the constituency which at present elects the churchwardens, while yet they may cling to some restrictive proposal such as that of the Bill which applies the communicant-test to those to be elected. I venture to believe that the best test is to be found in the free convictions of the parishioners; and I shall advance a few arguments in favour of leaving their choice entirely unfettered.

Any standard which could really sift out the decidedly Christian element would, no doubt, be recognised and accepted by the conscience of the nation. But no outward standard will do this; and any which may be adopted is sure to err largely in the way both of inclusion and of exclusion. The best hope lies in the natural selection which results from an appeal to the Christian feeling of the people of this country.

It is surely not a lax notion, but the recognition of a great fact, to confess that the working of the Spirit of Christ is to be seen far and wide amongst us, unconfined by the bounds of any of our religious communities. If this be so, our most Christian course is to trust to the presence of that Spirit, and to believe that He will lead the great brotherhood of our countrymen to a sound judgment. The system of exclusion has gone on too long. Men have been so careful to exclude those they think wrong, that they have forgotten the greater danger of doing violence to their Christian brethren, and to the Holy Spirit himself by ignoring His presence. It is time to try the better plan of inclusion.

It is often assumed that the mass of the people not being earnest members of the Christian Church, they would elect improper persons to control the Church's arrangements. But this inference is contrary to the experience of other elections. The mass of the very wide constituencies which have elected our School Boards must be admitted to be ignorant persons; and ignorance, for the most part, does not care for education. Yet the members of the School Boards (whatever may be said of them in other respects) are undoubtedly men earnestly bent on educating the people. And, in the same way, it may be fairly expected that, when a body of

Englishmen are invited to choose those who will best control the arrangements of the National Church among them, they will act conscientiously, and that the elected will be those who are most generally esteemed for Christian wisdom among their fellow-parishioners.

The borders of the Church are really indefinite. Many people are Dissenters through mere accident, and it is most impolitic to turn this accident into the essence of their condition. We all feel, moreover, that we ought to strive to undo the great wrong done to the Church and nation by the Act of Uniformity. Yet the test of Church-membership implies an express attachment to the system founded on that shameful and vindictive measure. To many so-called dissenters the meaning of saying, "I am a member of the Church of England," is simply this: "I assent to the banishing of all modes of worship but those contained in the Prayer-Book, and to all teaching but that of ministers episcopally ordained." Such a declaration is a mere trap to consciences, and a perpetuation of disunion.

Whatever excludes true Christians tends to narrow the Church to a sect. All Englishmen who are baptized into the faith of Christ form the English Church. Of that we may be thankful that we are members. It is akin to the free Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all. But to be a member of an Episcopalian sect which thrusts away half our fellow-countrymen on a question of church government, is to belong to the Jerusalem which now is, and which is in bondage with her children. If you declare that the claims of sectarianism are so strong that there can be no Christianity without party, it *may* be necessary to adopt practical measures to suit this wretched state. But there are some who will never willingly put away the blessed hope, in which the law of England coincides with the declarations of the gospel itself, that all who love their Lord are one, and that they are bound to seek to give practical expression to their unity.

Lastly, you may be sure you will not avoid the anomalies and the possibility of abuse in any representative system. A vast deal must be left to the right feeling of the electors. We may pursue the method of distrust, and tie up our system with conditions like those of a marriage-settlement, but there is such a thing as being not only safe, but *dead-safe*, and losing, together with all danger, all life and elasticity. This movement presents to us a grand opportunity of showing, as a Church, that virtue which "believeth all things, hopeth all things." I venture to contribute my own experience in a large London parish, where, the elections being open, no one came forward except with the object of doing good, and where a council of thirty-five, elected in two consecutive years, are, all but three or four, communicants, and form just such a body as the well-wishers of the Church would most desire. If, in the State, as a great politician has said, the best policy is trust tempered by prudence, so it is in the Church. The English people might return a House of Commons of socialists, or public enemies. They are free; and they return an able and patriotic assembly. We need not doubt that, if we leave the parishioners free, the enemies of religion will stand aloof, and, as a rule, councils will be chosen sincerely desirous of helping the Church to fulfil its great spiritual mission.

## ADDRESS.

JOHN M. CLABON, Esq., read the following :—

A CRY has arisen for parochial councils. It is said that the parson is generally autocratic. He changes the service in any way he pleases. He acts or forbears to act as seems him best. He seldom consults any one. If he does, it is a friend of his own way of thinking. The only thing which can control him is law, which is uncertain and not easily invoked. The only person likely to hale him thither is the Bishop, or, if he be a High Churchman, a litigant body called "The Church Association." The Bishop can but seldom act, on account of the expense. The Church Association only intervenes now and then, and will soon, according to the course of all such bodies, sink into oblivion. Practically, every parson is his own master.

The remedy proposed is a council, to be composed of the incumbent and churchwardens and of sidesmen, of whom one-fourth are to be named by the parson and three-fourths by the parishioners. Without the consent of this body, no change is to be made "in the manner of conducting the services and ministrations of the Church, or in the ornaments, decorations, furniture, or fittings of the Church." The council, on the contrary, may make any change they please, subject to appeal by the incumbent to the Bishop within twenty-one days; the decision of the Bishop being final.

So that the scheme is, in effect, to substitute an autocratic council for an autocratic parson. A new incumbent, succeeding to a living where the services had been conducted according to the dull, lifeless routine of former years, could not stir to infuse life and vigour without the consent of the council. Or, if the predecessor had been an ultra-ritualist, no change could be made in a moderate direction without such consent. The new parson would be bound hand and foot. He could originate no improvement, he could make no change, without the assent of the council.

Now, I freely admit, that there are evils in the present autocracy of the parson; but I fearlessly assert, that a far worse class of evils would arise if the parish were to be delivered over to a parochial council, without the slightest authority being reserved to the parson.

A parish, with a council constituted and empowered according to the Bill of Lord Sandon, would be the scene of perpetual conflict. If the parishioners were satisfied with the parson, they would not have a council. A council would be the result of dissatisfaction. The leading opponents of the parson would find seats there. Violent debates, strong measures, litigation, would ensue. The peace of the parish would be sacrificed, until one party or the other succumbed.

I venture to say, emphatically, that the health of the Church of England requires that, in each parish, the parson should remain supreme, under the Bishop. He is, probably, the best educated man in his parish. He is responsible, in his parish, for his every act before God and his people. He has ample time at command. No one else in the parish has such opportunity for good. To fetter his hands must decrease his efficiency. To tie him to a council, composed principally of men of inferior culture to himself, and many of whom have been appointed because they have strong feelings, not in unison with his own, would take from him much of his power for good, nay, in many cases, would rob him of it entirely.

Still, I admit that *some* control is desirable. But this control must be exercised in a delicate manner, and without direct action. The controlling body must not have power to decide. Their function should be to advise, and if their advice be not followed, to appeal to the Bishop. The representation to this high tribunal of the evils of change made by the parson, or of the necessity of change which he will not make, should be the limit of their authority.

I come, then, to the conclusion that it is desirable to have a Church council of advice

and appeal. The difficult question now arises—Who shall appoint and compose it? I suggest that it should consist of those who most constantly attend at holy communion, and should be appointed as to a certain proportion, say one-third, by the parson, and as to the remainder, by the communicants of the parish, that is, by those who have performed the duty enjoined by the Rubric, of communicating at least three times in the year.

On this point of frequent communion I abjure all party feeling. I forget High Church and Low Church when I say, most solemnly and earnestly, that the constant communicant is the man most fitted to be on the Church council; that the mind most attuned to devotion by constant attendance at the ordinance appointed and enjoined by our Lord Jesus himself is that most fitted to sit in deliberation, and to advise, on the services of religion. Let us dare to speak out on this point. If one may not do so in the atmosphere of the House of Commons, we may at least do so in this Church Congress. And let us ask ourselves solemnly whether this holiest of all rites does not best qualify us for action in the world, and whether an assembly of frequent communicants would not be best fitted for dealing with all questions relating to the Church.

The appointment of a Church council can only be *enforced* by Act of Parliament. Are we Churchmen to invoke the action of the Legislature? I say, No; and that if others invite it, we must resist to the uttermost. There may possibly be some good reason why Parliament should interfere as between Churchman and Dissenter, so as to give rights to those who do not belong to our communion. But that Parliament should intrude itself into matters of internal regulation in the Church is quite indefensible. That a mixed body of Churchmen, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and Dissenters should legislate as to Church matters at all is bad enough. That it should do so as to matters within the borders of the Church, as to which no Dissenter can have any interest, would be intolerable.

Mark how this unhallowed desire of Act of Parliament interference with Church matters is creeping on. It began with Church Rates. The consciences of Dissenters were paraded before us, but the real question was simply of the pocket. Their consciences are again talked of as to burial grounds,—their only right being to ask the State to give them burial grounds for themselves: again a question of the pocket. Now, liberal Churchmen leave questions of Dissenters' pockets, and come inside the Church, and, with low or broad Church views, go into the mixed assembly of the House of Commons to launch shafts at their High Church brethren. If their designs should succeed, the recoil will be terrible to themselves. Picture to yourselves a Low Church parson fettered by a High Church council, and then peep in at a meeting of those who had promoted the Sandon Bill, and imagine their consternation.

In speaking of Parliament, one cannot help expressing a hope that at the next general election Churchmen will put *Church above party*, and vote for the candidate, whether Whig or Tory, who will protect the Church of England. Churchmen have only to arise, in their giant strength, and all fear of danger to our Establishment, of such immense benefit, not to us as a Church, but to all, as a nation, will be at an end.

To whom, then, shall we look, as the high power, to guide us? *Convocation*, as we all know, has no power of legislation. But it can devise wise counsels; and we may hope that there will be an early reform of that great body, and that with a *fair* representation of clerical Churchmen, and some representation of lay Churchmen, it will become still more full of common sense and wisdom.

What should Convocation advise?

1. That each Bishop, in his diocese, should be invited to recommend the adoption of a system of Church councils, with main principles laid down. Now, one Bishop says one thing and one another, and the larger number of the bench have no utterance at all.
2. The main point of the system should be to advise the appointment of a Church council in each parish, consisting of the incumbent and a fixed number of communicants, to be appointed by the parson and communicating parishioners, or

by the Bishop, on the application of the parson, or a small fixed number of communicants. The council should meet once a year at least, and there should be power to the incumbent, or any three members of the council, to call a meeting at any time.

3. Every meeting should commence with administration of holy communion, if the parson will celebrate it.
4. The Bishops and Archdeacons should be requested, at each visitation, to ask for a return of the proceedings of the Church council of each parish during the previous year.
5. If the Bishop be asked to sanction change, he should hold an inquiry in the parish, at which all views should be represented before giving his decision.

It will of course be said, that under such a state of things there will be no more or less power than at present. The council will be a body without power. The incumbent will have the same power as he has now. The Bishop will have no more power of interference than at present belongs to him.

But—and this But is most important—the appointment and meeting of the Church council will bring the best residents of the parish together, and make their opinion known. The incumbent will be checked in proposed action, if the opinion of such a body is hostile. The Diocesan will be encouraged to act on the opinion of such a body. And the joint opinion of the pastor and his *communicant brotherhood* will be irresistible.

And now, let me ask, whether we are to set to work to see to these changes ourselves, or, as we generally do, leave our enemies to commence action. I counsel immediate activity throughout the Church—in every parish. If we do not soon have our communicant Church councils, we shall have the enemy's parochial councils thrust on us. And the fault will be our own, resulting from our own supineness.

It only remains to be said, that the Church council may be made of the greatest possible service to the parson, and to the moral and spiritual welfare of the parish. We want more lay Church workers, to help the parson in each parish, acting of course under him; for there must be but one master under the Great Head and Master of all. We laymen are not sufficiently trusted. Let the heads of the Church examine fit persons among us, and when we have been tested, not in high branches of theology, but in practical Church matters, and the Bishop has appointed us, let us be deemed worthy of higher duties than Sunday-school teaching and district visiting. Permit us to give cottage lectures, to pray by the sick, and to hold ordinary services in the school or mission-room, always under the direction of the incumbent. The Church council would be the nucleus of the body of workers. The Church council would furnish and regulate, under the rule of the parson, the system of lay Church working.

With a good Church council in every parish, and a good body of Church workers—and on the whole of this wide subject we should derive much instruction from many dissenting systems—we need not fear any future attacks on the Church. The best armour to resist onslaught will be increased Church efficiency. This is the panoply by which the political Dissenters, who now hound on weak Churchmen, who follow because they think that Miallism forms part of the Liberal creed, may be resisted and beaten. Let us hope that the time is not far distant when Church councils, forming FELLOWSHIPS OF COMMUNICANTS, will prevail everywhere—when every parish shall be full of holy and zealous workers for God, acting on due appointment and under due rule. Then it will be seen what a grand and glorious thing our Church system is. Dissent will cease to be political, and will be attracted by degrees, in all but its most violent centres, into our focus. And it will be universally recognised, that our old cries of Church and Queen and Church and State are true and wise.

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The Rev. F. F. Goe, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Kingston-on-Hull, delivered an address of which the following is the substance:—

I SHALL first mention some considerations which appear to me to be favourable to parochial councils, and then state my reasons for doubting the expediency of an appeal to Parliament to give them a legal status.

I. The general tenor of the ecclesiastical polity of the New Testament is rather favourable than otherwise to the proposed scheme. The increasing intelligence and education of the laity are qualifying them more and more to give the clergy sound and enlightened counsel. The overwhelming population of town parishes calls for more systematic help from the laity. Dissenters make use of lay agency to a large extent. The Church layman is under the impression that the Church can get on without him, and thus feels a languid interest in it; whereas the Dissenting layman feels a personal responsibility for the success of his chapel. More of the *esprit de corps* is needed in the Church, and perhaps these councils might have a good effect in producing it. More frequent contact with laymen would be a wholesome discipline to the clergyman; it would tend to remove that clerical stiffness, and air of sacerdotal exclusiveness which are so injurious to his usefulness; and the prospect of meeting his council at stated times would render him more systematic and energetic in his work. The possibility of disestablishment may seem to suggest some such means as this plan proposes for drawing clergy and laity into a closer union. And last, but not least, this scheme does, to some extent, recommend itself to my mind on account of its thoroughly Protestant character—it could never be entertained in any but a Protestant Church. It has been said to-day that if parochial councils had been established forty years ago, church restoration and architectural improvements would never have been carried out as they have been. Perhaps not, but it may also be said, on the other hand, that had there been parochial councils forty years ago, they might have materially checked other movements not quite so innocent.

II. But there are, I think, reasons for doubting the expediency of an appeal to Parliament.

(1.) In the present temper of the House of Commons, the fewer discussions take place in it about Church affairs the better. These discussions may have the immediate effect intended, but they also give Radicals and Dissenters the opportunity of showing their strength, and remotely tend towards disestablishment.

(2.) It has often been stated, and without material contradiction, that the main design of the Parochial Councils Bill was to give to parishioners the power of controlling a clergyman who is disposed to break the law as to rubrics or ritual; the aim was to give the laity the power of control, rather than of co-operation. But is it quite fair to impose further limitations on the independence of the great mass of peaceable and loyal clergymen, because a fractious minority need strong measures of restraint? Ought the quiet horse to be deprived of his loose box, and to be tied by the head to his crib, because the horse in the adjoining stable uses his liberty to kick down the door? Besides which, thanks to the Association to which the last speaker alluded, so many points of ritual have been quietly settled since the bill was introduced, that Lord Sandon will perhaps think it desirable to let well alone.

(3.) The circumstances of parishes differ widely, making councils desirable in some cases, not in others. In a small village there may not be a single person, except the squire, qualified to sit on the council. In large towns you may find one parish abounding in wealthy and educated residents, while in the adjacent parish there may not be one individual able to keep a servant. It should also be borne in mind how important it is that spiritual work should be carried on in a way as little calculated as possible to stir up the evil passions of men; and it is to be feared that in many cases the de-

vices adopted to secure election by men like Diotrepes, "loving to have the pre-eminence," would render the council a hot-bed of strife. Clergymen, again, differ. Some are distinguished by tact, knowledge of the world, and by that combination of qualities which go to make up a good chairman; in such hands councils might succeed. But others are shy, retiring men, acquainted with books perhaps, but ignorant of mankind. A man of this sort can ascertain the feelings and wishes of his parishioners far better by private consultation with those of them whom he knows to be best qualified by age and experience to advise him, than by presiding at a stormy council board.

On the whole, I think, the better course will be to allow this movement to develop itself within the Church, and to meet the case of clergymen of law-breaking tendencies by an amendment of the Clergy Discipline Act and a reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts, rather than by conferring legal powers on Parochial Councils.

## DISCUSSION.

### The Right Hon. the EARL OF HARROWBY.

I AM, perhaps, the very last speaker that ought to be called upon to address you on this occasion. From my very near connection with the author of the bill which you are discussing and denouncing, it is rather difficult for me to speak so freely as I should speak before you all. I know your natural feeling of personal courtesy would perhaps prevent you from denouncing with the same intensity what I should say, as you would when coming from other parties; at the same time it is not a very agreeable position to occupy. I am glad to observe one or two things here which I believe are due to the bill, whether it passes or not,—that you have looked the question seriously in the face. It has got out of the region of a mere proposal to be talked of at public meetings, and put by with no result. The bill has had this advantage, it has compelled you to look the question in the face very closely, and to do something at least in the direction which it points out. Very large concessions have been made, very large admissions of the right of the laity to be consulted in regard to the administration of their Church; and I think those admissions would not have been made so largely if there had not been the terror of legislative interposition hanging over the parties. It is, no doubt, a very debateable proposition. It is like the conversion of an absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy. Any person who proposed such a change would, of course, be met with a great number of very plausible and some true objections. He would be told—

"Nunquam libertas gratior extat  
Quam sub rege pio;"

that means in this case the clergyman. He might be told of the obstructions to good measures which arise from Parliaments; he might be told what a deal of time would be lost, what a deal of nonsense would be talked, what factions would be created in the State; he would tell you all these things, and they are all true; but we in England have been led to think that it is worth while to meet all this inconvenience for the sake of the inherent vigour of Christianity and power of self-government, which are the result of a free form of institution, instead of an absolute one. We have been willing to face those inconveniences. They are very much like what would arise in Parish Councils, though, no doubt, in some degree the evil would be intensified by the smallness of the area upon which they would arise, and from the peculiarly exciting nature of the subjects discussed, being matters of opinion so much, not of distinct law, and upon which people feel more than they reason. But, at the same time, you must look at the great indirect results from this system, whether imposed by law or voluntarily adopted, as the Bishop of Ely recommends to his diocese. You must not take the laymen as you find them, any

more than if you are seeking to emancipate slaves, and say they are unfit for constitutional government : they have not had the habit of any share in the administration of Church affairs in their parish ; they have had no training for it. Now, just take Scotland : I do not want to frighten you with a picture of a Presbyterian form of parish—the Parochial Council, no doubt, in some degree approximates to it ; but, at the same time, you do find the Scotch farmer not-indifferent to the interests of his Church—you find him reading up for it, knowing a great deal more about religion than the English farmer. You find him preparing for those great questions brought before him, thinking them over ; and I do believe that to this habit, in a very great degree, are owing some of those peculiar qualities in the Scotch character which give them a power of success in every case where force of character and reasoning powers are required. These things are not to be overlooked. I do not mean to say there are no dangers in the proposal : in anything, in what we may call a democratic direction, there are dangers. The question is, if we shall not meet them, rather than leave things alone ? One of those very questions which was alluded to by the gentleman who spoke before me was the possibility of disestablishment. I do not myself look for it ; I do not anticipate it. I think it will be our own fault very much, whether at the hustings, or whether as Churchmen, if such an event comes to us. But, at the same time, they are possibilities ; and we should look a little ahead and see whether we cannot make our Churchmen a little more self-helpful, a little more interested themselves personally in every action of their Church than they are hitherto. It is a very great drawback, no doubt, in all the political controversy connected with the Church. No Dissenter fights against his Church. How are English Churchmen ? are they not divided ? Is not this partly arising from the share they have in the management of their own affairs and of their own Churches ? And are you willing to throw aside this great element of political security for our Church ? because, after all, our Established Church, as an Establishment, does depend upon politics. It would be in vain that the majority of the people were in favour of the Established Church if you have little cliques of people who hold in their hands the votes in our counties and towns, and say to the candidate, “ We vote for or against you according as you vote for or against the Established Church,” and we do not put ultimately the same question ourselves. Have you not a risk of a small minority in the country getting a majority in the House of Commons—a majority to which State matters must yield ? I would have you all consider these things. I am not saying that they are to overcome all other objections ; but they are very serious questions, and are not to be lightly treated ; and the undoubted evils that may arise from factions in vestries, from the ignorance or ill-will of little parties within parishes, are not to be set against all these things as making them of no value. It is important that our clergy should not be so much of a caste as they are. The tendency of the age is to make them more and more a caste. The improvements of communication—bodily communication—the facilities of literary intercourse—everything leads them to herd together bodily. They are men of the same education, with common thoughts, and having increased facilities for intercourse, the consequence is that they are much more apart from the laity than they used to be. You will find them at meetings all meeting together, ten or a dozen of them. Before, they could not do it, they had not the means of moving ; they were merged in the parish of the immediate neighbourhood. Now they do form a peculiar caste, and they comfort and encourage each other in all the peculiarities of the caste, and lose sympathy with the laity. (Loud cries of “ No, no.”) I believe it is the fact. I know in early days I used to wish the clergy were more ecclesiastical ; I confess, in my later days, I wish that they were less ecclesiastical. I thank you for the kind manner in which you have listened to the few words I have said. I think it is very desirable that you should seriously consider that there are great questions ahead, and that there are very serious reasons for considering whether you could not in one way or another enlist the laity of the Church more habitually, not merely for co-operation, which means to say simply, “ Do with me whatever I wish to do,” but for consultation, and not merely consultation which may be rejected, but consultation which shall have some force.

## The CHAIRMAN.

It is a singular fact, that although the arguments have gone almost all in one way against the establishment of legal Councils, Lord Sandon may have—as I hope Lord Harrowby will tell him—great reason to congratulate himself, in that almost every speaker has been in favour of Councils of some kind, which is the essence of his movement.

## The Venerable ARCHDEACON ADY, Colchester.

I HAVE no wish on the present occasion to say anything against Parochial Councils. I believe they are the creation of the activity of the Church which is existing at this present moment; and whether Lord Sandon had brought the subject forward in the House of Commons or not, I believe we should have been at this present moment debating a subject of the same kind or of a kindred nature. My only object is to point out, that taking for granted that Parochial Councils will exist in some form or other, that they are attended with considerable dangers, and that they ought to be fenced in by very careful safeguards. Now I only speak from the experience of a country parish, although I am, from my office, thrown into communication with a certain number of town clergymen. Nevertheless, the greater portion of my archdeaconry is composed entirely of country clergymen, and therefore I look upon the dangers, not with the eyes with which Mr Fremantle looked upon them, as a clergyman in a large town, but with the eyes of a country clergyman, who sees that his Parochial Council would mainly consist of three, or four, or five tenant-farmers. Now the main danger which I see in this movement is, that the lay element in that Council would have a tendency, as time went on, to increase in power, and as that lay element increased in power, so would the jurisdiction and the power of the clergyman proportionably decrease; and the result would be, unless some wise safeguards were laid down and arranged, that after a time he would become a mere cypher in the hands of his lay parishioners. Now nothing can be more dangerous than such a result. He would lose his self-confidence; he would lose his spirit of independence; and he would lose that liberty of speech which, I believe, is now productive of such vast benefits to the congregations in a parish where the clergyman has got his whole heart in his work. Now, let me go back for, we will say, thirty years, and I would ask this meeting carefully to consider whether those last thirty years have not been, in the opinion of all parties, a system of real, steady, systematic progressive improvement. Let me mention some of the simple outlines of that improvement. I only mention the external of that improvement. It took its rise from the clergy having imbibed deeper, fuller, theological views, and those deeper, fuller, more catholic theological views showed themselves in certain external ministrations—the increased number of services, the increased number of celebrations of the Holy Sacrament, the celebration of the Sacrament of Baptism in the face of the congregation; and, again, the entire change in the arrangements of our churches—the three-decker taken down from the front of the altar; the laying aside of the great pews, and the substitution of chairs or open benches; the removal of the organ from the gallery, where, behind the red curtain, all kinds of uneclesiastical proceedings went on, and the placing that organ in the chancel, where it was not to be listened to, but to lead the worship of the whole congregation. So again with regard to the whole subject of providing suitable schools and highly-educated teachers in our parishes. How were all these things received? I am sure I appeal to the common-sense of this meeting when I say they were received in many cases with great opposition, in other cases with considerable reluctance, generally speaking, with coldness. And it is only lately that on some of these subjects the minds

of the congregation have come round to the opinion that the clergyman was right in taking the lead in these reforms and improvements. What does the farmer say now, who for many, many years has probably given the cold shoulder to the education of the parish? What does he say now when he sees that his clergyman has saved him a school rate and a school board? He now acknowledges that he was wrong, and the clergyman right. Now, all that is one side of the question. But I am bound to admit that there is an entirely contrary side. And the question is this, whether we have not now come to the time when the existence of a Parochial Council will strengthen our hands, and will, if I may use such language, fence the advancement that we have made, and secure the improvements that we have introduced. I think it will. At this present moment there is very great restlessness, not so much on the part of the clergy as of the laity. That restlessness does not always show itself in one way. It seems almost now as if a certain body of clergy are like the Athenians, or rather going a step beyond them. They not only want to hear something that is new, but they also want to be doing something that is new. And here it is, I think, that a Parochial Council, conducted under careful rules, those rules to be drawn up either by the Bishop of the diocese, or by a Committee of that much-abused institution, the House of Convocation, which is most anxious to reform itself—rules, carefully, wisely drawn up by some body constituted for that purpose, will be of the greatest possible advantage to the Church at the present moment. But those rules must keep one thing carefully in view, namely, not to degrade the clergyman into a servant of the congregation, but to leave him to exercise his office as a minister of God, a steward of the mysteries of Christ, as the pastor who shall lead his congregation into higher views of worship, of truth, and righteousness.

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### THE CHAIRMAN.

WE have heard a defence of the Parochial Councils Bill, and some earnest words in favour of it, from one nearly connected with its origination. I call now upon that gentleman who moved an amendment upon the bill in the House of Commons, namely, Mr Beresford Hope.

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### A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.

IF I wanted a justification for the amendment which I moved upon the second reading of Lord Sandon's Bill, I find it in this debate. I was substantially successful in the amendment, although it proposed a substitute for the second reading of the bill; the second reading indeed was given, but only in conformity with the new parliamentary understanding that a second reading was to mean nothing. The debate to-day has raised the question on both its sides. It has raised the question whether increased co-operation between the clergyman and his parishioners is desirable? and to that it has said unanimously, "Yes." It has taken up the second question, whether the bill of my noble friend Lord Sandon was the best means of carrying out that co-operation? and I think you will agree with me that the great preponderance of argument said "No." Here I must take issue with my noble friend Lord Harrowby, when he claimed as a concession from us that, in consequence of that bill, we had begun to recognise the necessity of lay co-operation. There can be no concession where the thing presumably conceded has really been held and pressed by those who now hear to their surprise that they have made a concession of it. Before Lord Sandon thought of bringing in his bill, those who, in this room and elsewhere, have been criticising that bill, have been forward, in season, and, it may be, out of season, in arguing the same thing—that the co-

operation of the laity is a necessity in the present phase of the Church. I deny that the bill of Lord Sandon has created a new era of Church progress; I deny that it has raised a new question. It has only put forward an old and familiar question in a new light. The difference between Lord Sandon and Mr Fremantle and other Churchmen is simply this, that we are convinced that calling in the action of Parliament would only paralyse a movement that you had much better leave to the free action of the Church. And the reason why is not far to seek. A Parochial Council, to be efficacious, must be the offspring of confidence and good-will on both sides. The bill, as it came before us—I do not charge my noble friend with the intention, but so it was—had an ugly aspect about it, unmerited it may be, but there it was, of being not the child of confidence but of mistrust. That aspect was fatal to it. Parochial Councils were advocated, not as if they were to be the co-operators with the friends and advisers of the clergyman, but the detectives put upon him by the parish. I say that aspect is fatal to the scheme. It is a bone that has been badly set, and must be set again. But the point so well worked by Mr Goe and other speakers, of the difference between town and country parishes, is also fatal to it. It is impossible that every diocese and every parish should have the same organisation. Prebendary Clark pressed the possible danger of too much congregationalism in our parishes. I will not discuss the main question. But I do assert here, as I have asserted in the House of Commons and elsewhere, that congregationalism under the condition of our great towns has become a necessity of the Church of England, and must be worked side by side with the strict parochial system. And congregations admit of wide varieties in the conduct and in the distribution of the service—wide varieties in the degree of pomp and ornament which the service carries with it—wide varieties in everything, which you can only regulate with general satisfaction by congregationalism. A dry, hard and fast line of Parochial Council would kill the congregational development. You might in each parish have the wrong man. The man who wished to go to the church of Mr Smith finds himself locally pledged to go to Mr Brown; the people who prefer Mr Brown find themselves in the parish of Mr Smith; and both Mr Brown and Mr Smith have the wrong men advising them, and the wrong men stifling two good things, each of which was worked the right way when left to the right men to work it. This, my Lord, is another objection to the Parochial Council. I could have mentioned more objections, but after the way in which the question has been analysed by the two Venerable Archdeacons, by my friend the late Chairman of the Church Institution, Mr Clabon, and by Mr Goe, I feel that I should waste words in going into further details. But, as I said before, the fact of its being subjected to such minute and searching criticism from so many minds approaching it in various ways, shows that it is not that workmanlike production which would render it justifiable for Parliament to adopt. As to the jealousy which some people feel about the clergyman himself being the initiative of the Council—arising from what is vulgarly called “sacerdotalism,” clerical want of tact, in other words—such deficiency of tact is no doubt a thing strongly to be deprecated. But because any clergyman may not have tact, is not the clerical order to exercise their right constitutional principles? Is monarchy to be abolished because sovereigns may not always be judicious? Are municipal corporations to be abolished because the corporators may not always be right men? That is revolution, not reform. Have your Councils, and show your confidence in your clergy by letting them initiate those Councils. My noble friend, Lord Harrowby, talked of the sympathy between clergy and laity being less than it was in his younger days. Now, I really trust and believe that that is not the case. There may have been fewer quarrels between clergy and laity in his time than there are now. Why was it? Because in those days there was nothing to quarrel about. Then in the words of the old song—

“ If we may say so without shocking ’em,  
The nation’s asleep, and the minister rocking ’em.”

Now, the nation is awakening. All of us, when we are first called of a morning, are

often very sulky, and we often meet the good servant who comes to call us to our duties of the day with rough or peevish answers. In truth, the amount of disunion, small as it is in proportion to the 14,000 clergy of the Establishment, is proof of the existence of a sympathy between ministers and flocks. A quarrel between a clergyman and his people is comparatively so rare that newspapers take it up as a lucky chance. Well, you wish this bill not to pass. So do I. Make it impossible for it to pass by each of you coming forward and taking counsel with your Bishop, and organising your own Council, and, as its complement, your Diocesan Synod or Conference. The Parochial Council without the higher organisations is a pyramid put on its point. Meet together; organise the country, as you are doing, by voluntary action; and you will never hear any more of this bill.

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The Rev. JOHN SCOTT, M.A., Vicar of St Mary's, Kingston-on-Hull.

THE contribution which I shall make to this subject is very small. It is contained in a letter to the *Times*—a letter of such weight and such truth, as I can testify by experience, that I am sorry it has not found its way into any of the Church papers that I have yet seen. Therefore, perhaps, it will be new to many of you here present. It is headed "Domestic Representation."

[It was ruled by the Chairman that the reading of a letter was inadmissible, whereupon the rev. gentleman spoke from memory as follows:]

The purport of the letter is that a clergyman who wanted to be beforehand with his age, and felt he was likely to be pressed into a Church Council before long, thought he would try a smaller Council first, and he organised his household as a Council. He therefore propounded it to his wife and his two daughters and his seven servants, who were to be represented by the butler, the cook, and the housekeeper. He suggested that they should form a Council, and by that means point out the way in which the general features of the household regime were to be conducted. As may be supposed, everything went wrong in the house. The butler proposed one thing, the cook another; and they seconded each other in opposition to the master of the house. When things had got to such a pass that one of the servants proposed an alteration of family prayers, then the master of the house thought things had gone too far, and he put a stop to it. I feel that this is not beyond the question that we have to discuss, because I happen to know of a clergyman who has had some experience extremely similar to this. He has organised his Council in the most perfect way that can be conceived. One-third of it was chosen by the parish in vestry assembled at Easter; they might be Dissenters or anybody else who might call themselves parishioners. Another one-third was obtained by the scrutiny of voting-papers from all members of the congregation, and therefore represented the congregation. And the last one-third was nominated by himself from among the communicants of the congregation. With this Council he set to work, and he brought before them everything which he thought would interest them. But I am sorry to say that the spirit of legislation, when once it is started, is so strong in man that even the best and most earnest and most religious men find themselves, if a little put out, in the position of aggrieved parishioners at once; and whatever good is to be done is to be done with such a small majority in such a Council as this, that it is likely to bring the matter to an untimely end. I therefore say, though I believe Lord Sandon's bill has done an immensity of good in bringing before the minds of the clergy the necessity of joining their people with them more closely in matters of counsel, that it would be a mistake if we were ever forced to have around us a body of men, however small or however good, who had the power of legislating for the parish or for its services. Have any amount of men you can get to help you and give counsel; but do not ask them to legislate upon things which are now in the clergyman's province.

## The Right Hon. EARL NELSON.

I AM a layman who has been most earnest for co-operation with the clergy in every possible manner; and at the present time I am assisting as much as I possibly can our Bishop in organising what he calls a Diocesan Synod, the representation in which will be such as completely to do away with the necessity of Parochial Councils, such as those mentioned in the bill. The constitution of it is something of this character:—In each parish all those who call themselves Churchmen—which is the only test—are to elect two communicants to the Rural Deanery meeting; the representatives at the Rural Deanery meeting are to elect nine or six, as it may be, in the different deaneries, laymen, who are to be communicants, to the Diocesan Synod. And not only that, but the Synod is to consult these rural diaconal meetings, and the rural diaconal meetings are to consult the parishes. In that way I believe a system will be inaugurated which will enable the laity clearly and wholesomely to express an opinion, and to bring that opinion wholesomely to bear in parochial matters. Therefore in many points it is true that there is very little difference between us here. But there is one great difference; and let me conclude the very short address I am making to you by warning you to do all you possibly can against introducing parliamentary Councils into your parishes. We have done away with church-rates simply because of the disunion which that matter made in every place; and if you have a Parochial Council based upon Act of Parliament, you will restore the same animosities that the abolition of church-rates was supposed to do away with. There are two reasons why I say this. The first is, that the decision of a consultative body, or a decision of a body that is to go up higher, to the Synod or to the rural diaconal meeting, is one thing; the decision of a majority of a body created by Act of Parliament is another. It is a stiff thing that cannot be overcome. It is perfectly true you may appeal to the Bishop afterwards for him to revise the decision, but there will be a feeling in each parish that they have been overruled in a parliamentary question as it were. Then let me remind you—I do not say so much of the authority of the clergy alone—but as a layman, let me remind you of this, which we have seen already clearly in our little beginning in our Diocesan Synod at Salisbury. What will happen? The mass of your real communicants, the poor labourers in a poor country parish, have no chance of being represented except through the clergyman. The oppression of their employer, the oppression of the petty shopkeeper, is such, that they dare not express their own opinions; therefore, when you have got your parliamentary Council, you would not have the true voice of the Churchmen of the parish.

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Rev. T. A. STOWELL, M.A., Rector of Christ Church, Salford,  
Manchester.

It is quite impossible to enter at all upon the general question in the short time allotted to me, which I almost feel loth to take up, when there are so many speakers to follow. I will confine myself to one point. I take it for granted that in some form or other—at least, so I judge—we shall have some legislative action with regard to Parochial Councils. Remembering the tone of the debate in the House of Commons last year, and the different signs you have heard enumerated to-day, including the action taken on the part of several of the Bishops, I think I am safe in assuming, in all probability, in some form or another, we shall have Parochial Councils before long by legislative enactment. (No, no.) I have no desire it should be so; but I believe that there might be a scheme of Parochial Councils devised that should be a very great benefit and blessing to our Church, and meet a great want of our times, and be a great help to the clergy them-



selves. But I sadly fear lest any hasty legislation should force them upon us in a form which either would not work at all, or else would only work mischief; and, therefore, what I want to plead for is this, that a general voice should go forth from this Church Congress, and that we should individually determine that we will back up that voice; that further delay, at all events, should be granted to us before there is any legislative action taken upon this subject. This question is still entirely in its experimental state. You have the great difficulty to solve of how the clergyman's rights and the layman's rights can both together be maintained. You must not, in seeking to guard against the clergyman's autocracy, make him the dependent minister of an Independent congregation. Again, while not ignoring the parochial system of our Church, I believe, and I am glad to hear there has been such a unanimity of sentiment on the point, that these Councils, if they are to be, as I hold they ought to be, the centres of spiritual activity of the parish, ought to consist only of Christian Churchmen, willing to co-operate heartily with the clergyman in every good work; and, I think, they should be communicants. I believe that such a Council—I speak from some small experience—would be a very great benefit to the clergyman, as well as a legitimate manner of not only allowing the laity to express their opinions, and take their share in parochial and church management, but also to fulfil their responsibility for doing church work. I believe the clergyman would find it in general to be a great help; it would act as a salutary check in some cases, as a salutary spur in others; on all occasions, I believe, it would be to a clergyman who had the confidence of his parishioners of great utility and a source of strength. I plead strongly for further delay for another session. I fear lest we may have thrust upon us an ill-advised system, the result of theory, and not the outcome, as such a system should be, of experience; and thus a fatal hindrance, it may be, thrown in the way of the gradual development of an institution which, I believe, would be both of service to the clergyman and a source of strength to our Church.

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### REV. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A.

If it were possible to magnify a short speech to a millioneth quantity, I would mine could be so magnified to express my approval of the *principle* of Parochial Councils. We have heard of Diocesan Synods, and if it is good to have a Synod for the diocese, I for one cannot see it will do any harm to have a Council for the parish. All admit the desirability of *voluntary* Parochial Councils, then why not have *legally* established Parochial Councils? And here, as no other clergyman has done so, I trust, my Lord Harrowby, that you will permit me most heartily to wish your son every success in his bill.

I have myself established a Parochial Council in my small parishes of Toller Fratrum and Wynford Eagle, Dorsetshire. And already good results have accrued from our deliberations on spiritual, educational, and charitable objects. Our Council increases interest in Church work. And as my endeavour is to conduct it with tact, I have every reason to hope it will, under God, much increase my usefulness. My Council consists of the clergyman, churchwardens, and all the communicants, male and female, amounting in the aggregate to the nice little number of twenty-two. I am glad to say that I am supported by ladies on my Council; for I hold that for all charitable uses one lady is worth thirteen gentlemen. There are no more valuable helps to the clergy than women.

The old adage tells us “to hope for the best, think for the worst, and bear whatever comes.” And as Disestablishment and Disendowment are threatened, the best way to avoid these is to be prepared for them. The laity of the Church may be trusted. Past history has proved the laity may, with advantage to both, sit beside the clergy. Witness America, where the experiment has been tried for ninety-one years; New

Zealand, where it has been tried for seventeen years; and Ireland, where it is being tried at present.

But I have heard this objection made, viz., "If you establish Parochial Councils, jealousies and misunderstandings are likely to arise between clergy and laity."

I reply, my Lord, by asking, are there no jealousies, are there are no misunderstandings now?

On this subject of hatred, hear the common remark as to the different manner in which different denominations treat their ministers:—

The Presbyterians idolise their ministers.

The Independents rule theirs.

The Baptists starve theirs.

The Wesleyans work theirs to death.

The Roman Catholics submit like abject slaves to their priests. And lastly,

Episcopalian churchmen *hate* their clergy.

And one reason why I hail with delight these Parochial Councils, is, that they are calculated to remove this dreadful hatred; for they will direct relative to those things about which parish warfare generally culminates. As, for instance, the mode of conducting divine service, ornaments, robes, decorations, &c. And another advantage is, that at a vacancy, if a High Church clergyman succeeds a Low Church clergyman, or *vice versa*, things cannot be (as is too frequently the case at present) turned topsy-turvy.

Councils will also tend to improve our equanimity. "Temper," said a Bishop, "is nine-tenths of Christianity." And we should never be slow to meet the laity, if they tend to improve us clergy in this essential point. As for myself, I am never afraid to meet the laity; I am never afraid to speak above-board to either clergy or laity; and if I say the sentiment of my heart, I always find the laity respond to me, and I am not afraid to meet them in council by law established or otherwise. We clergy stand upon too great a pinnacle; we like to be autocrats; we like to think ourselves fine men; but if we hold out the right hand of fellowship to the laity, they will do the same to us. I, for one, hail any movement that is calculated to promote unity between the clergy and laity. Already we have found good to result from our little Parochial Council. Our clubs have prospered better; other things have been suggested of use to the parish which I hope to carry out; and, in fact, I find that in "*a multitude of councillors there is safety*." I was going to say, ladies and gentlemen, that I hope that we shall one and all work together for good. I hope that we are none of us so wedded to our own opinions that we are not willing to hear others who cannot altogether agree with us; and I also hope that now that the Legislature shows a disposition to legislate for us, we shall show a disposition to accept their legislation.

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### The Venerable ARCHDEACON EMERY.

I WAS anxious to say a few words upon this subject, because, as has been mentioned during the debate of this afternoon, we are really trying this great experiment of Parochial Councils in the diocese of Ely. For two years the subject has been in debate all over the diocese, and reports sent up to our Central Ely Conference to be considered. After a vast deal of consultation and consideration, our Bishop has formally put out a letter to advise his clergy throughout the diocese to try Parochial Councils, and I may say, according to his wisdom, he has left each clergyman very large discretion as to the way these Parochial Councils should be formed. But one thing strikes me, which makes me anxious to speak for a few moments. I quite agree that Parliamentary interference would be most objectionable, and lead, it may be, in many cases, to most disastrous results. But I do fear this,—the possibility that through the inaction of the clergy

—through their forgetting to take advantage of the respite given them—I do rather fear that Parliamentary interference may be forced upon us. Now, Mr Beresford Hope put this as his last point, and I want to put it as my chief point,—that my clerical brethren may lay it to heart. I think, as the result of this section, we have all declared, almost with one voice, that Parochial Councils are desirable. We have committed ourselves to it. What I say is,—let my clerical brethren go back to their different dioceses, and remember to what they have committed themselves, and seek in their own parishes, and try to assist their neighbours in other parishes, to inaugurate such a system of Parochial Councils, each council according to the special wants and conditions of the parish, so that there may be no necessity again for Lord Sandon, or any other well-wisher—for Lord Sandon is a well-wisher to the Church of England—to think it necessary to try to force this legislation upon us. It certainly is a most encouraging feature the amount of co-operation, under authority, which has been introduced into our Church during the last few years. We are seeing the good now of Church Congresses; we are seeing what we have produced in Diocesan Conferences, Diocesan Synods; and that feeling of amity and love and friendship between different classes of minds theologically different, which could never have been expected to have been produced ten or twelve years ago. Well, then, I say, if the clergy will throw themselves voluntarily upon their parishes, and draw around them the religious mind of their people, though they may differ one from the other, at first, in the little parish, exactly the same effect will be produced as in our large gatherings, and we shall get that unity of work, that proper unity in order to go forward, by Parochial Councils, not forced upon us by our legislators, and not forced upon us by our irreligious parishioners, but willing Councils of God's own people coming together, under their pastor, and with due submission to their Bishop, to carry out the work of Christ.

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The Rev. JAMES NOBLE BENNIE, LL.B., Vicar of St Mary's,  
Leicester.

I THINK that the presence of so large and crowded an audience in this room is very satisfactory upon a question, the bearings of which upon the future of the Church are, to my mind, most momentous. In the five minutes allotted to me, I will endeavour to set before you one point which, I think, has been made too much of, and another point which, it seems to me, has been almost entirely omitted. Now, let us ask ourselves, how is it that Parochial Councils, not having existed in time past, have ever come to be thought of, and actually to take form in legislation in Parliament? I believe the true answer to that question to be this,—That there had occurred in England cases where the greatest possible hardship was done to, and suffered by, the parishioners in consequence of the conduct of the clergyman at the head of the parish; and the object of Lord Sandon's bill was to give parishioners a security against such hardships—against being driven out of the parish church in which they have a right secured to them by the law of the land. And in doing so, remember that this is entirely an impartial measure. It does not favour one side more than the other, but it says, "This is a point on which we are to secure the laity of the Church of England as against the possible foolish action of the clergy in any one, or in fifty or five hundred cases. I think I may say at once that there will be, I hope, very few cases in which it will be necessary really so to protect them, but wherever one single case exists, I believe such a protection ought to be given to them. Next, observe that this bill, and that any motion for Parochial Councils, does not for one moment propose to touch the *law* or *doctrine* of the Church of England. That remains entirely untouched; all the rights of the clergyman, except the power of ordering the kind of service which he chooses to have, are left untouched. His

pulpit is his own ; and in this point I think Archdeacon Grant has mistaken the meaning of the bill—the bill says “conducting the services and ministrations of the Church,” but I do not think the word “ministration” is meant to apply to the preaching of the clergyman. If it is, let us put it out ; let us maintain the freedom of our pulpits to ourselves ; and having done so, let us acknowledge that the first part of this question really is between the clergy and the laity. Is the clergyman alone to decide the kind of service, or is the clergyman, with the parishioners assembled together in Parochial Council, to do it ? I believe it ought to be determined by the joint action of the two. “Let us have *voluntary* Councils,” is the unanimous opinion of this meeting ; but the reason why *voluntary* Councils fail to meet the end proposed by Lord Sandon’s bill is this, that a voluntary Council can only be called into action by the clergyman, whereas the object of the bill was to protect the parishioners against foolish and injudicious clergymen ; and that, I think, is a sufficient answer against *voluntary* Councils. So long as your pulpits are preserved to you, what more would you have ? Why should you grudge the laity a voice in determining the mode of service or of ornaments in a church ? But, secondly, this question, it seems to me, has been too much argued merely as a question of the Church. The question I should like to hear answered is this, For whom does the Church of England exist—for the clergy alone ? Does it exist for the Church laity alone ? I answer, No ; it exists for the whole nation of England ; and, therefore, observe, the true attitude for the Church to take up towards the nation is, not to say, “We feel ourselves to be a weak, and feeble, and invalid institution, unable to bear the light of day or the breath of heaven,” but, “We have such a confidence in our own sure foundations, and also in the good-will of the whole English nation towards us, if only the question were laid fully and clearly before them, that we claim for them the right of every parishioner to take, if he will, a part in such a Parochial Council, and to cultivate his share towards maintaining the Church of England, not merely in all its past integrity, but in giving it a far wider basis ; for I believe the fears that have been expressed with reference to Nonconformists and unsuitable parishioners are false.

Here the bell struck, and Mr Bennie concluded.

The Right Rev. CHAIRMAN pronounced the Benediction, and the proceedings terminated.

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### *WEDNESDAY EVENING, 11th OCTOBER.*

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The Right Rev. the BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM took the chair at seven o’clock.

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#### THE PROMOTION OF A DEEPER UNITY WITHIN THE CHURCH AND AMONG CHRISTIANS GENERALLY.

The following paper by the Right Rev. BISHOP CLAUGHTON, Canon of St Paul’s, and Archdeacon of London, was read by CANON MELVILL :—

THE promotion of unity amongst Christians is, at the present juncture, a work which yields to none in importance : I might almost add, hopefulness. Many, perhaps, who will admit the former, will doubt the latter assertion ; but, in truth, so many of the barriers which once separated us

from brethren, have been thrown down by the events of our time, that we have to ask ourselves, whether we will or no, "Is it not our duty to remove some of those that remain? Is it safe, with the enemy at our gates, that we should allow him to attack us, weakened by divisions and distracting counsels?" If we do ask ourselves this, can there be any but one answer? Is there not the plain warning of Holy Scripture for our guidance? "A house divided against a house falleth" (St. Luke xi. 17).

I will speak of the subject which I have ventured to lay before you on this occasion under two heads. First, the promotion of unity between ourselves and those various Christian bodies immediately around us—the sects of our own country; and, secondly, the reunion—at least, so far as brotherly relations of kindness and goodwill—between the more distant Churches, agreeing with us in organisation, but removed by distance and certain differences of creed.

I shall not pretend to compare the two cases as to their relative importance, but leave it to yourselves to estimate each according to the point of view from which you have hitherto regarded them.

I have always, I confess, been somewhat sanguine on the subject of a restoration of union with the leading sects, since the real ground of their original separation has been gradually removed by legislative enactment. I mean that it was the compulsory laws which dictated the terms of communion with us, rather than the actual terms themselves, which seemed to me to explain much of our English Nonconformity. I may well say this at the present moment, for not a few of our own clergy, if not laity also, are manifesting the identical state of thought and feeling which originated our English dissent. There are differences, of course, as to circumstances in the cases; but just as I would earnestly counsel my brethren not to suffer the mere fact of an "injunction" or prohibition to elevate any of the accessories of worship into matters of conscience, so I hope that the entire freedom of action allowed to our dissenting brethren may lead them to give no longer an undue importance to many of the questions for which they left us in unhappy times. What reason, for instance, remains why Wesleyans should stand aloof from the Church out of which they sprang, whose liturgies they often thankfully use, and whose orders their founder held? What is breaking up and diminishing daily many of the smaller sects but the removal of all penalties, and even inequalities, except such as the law cannot remove? Take even the more powerful and aggressive bodies. Their difficulty, they well know, if they would acknowledge, is the entire absence of any real grievance. A few have invested certain doctrines with exceptional importance, and, naturally, the excitement thus engendered creates followers; and with some, what is far better, the great Christian works they have undertaken in their separate existence, gives them deservedly a hold upon those followers. But the better their state as to Christian feeling and zeal for Christ's work, the more ripe are they for reunion with all His people, and especially with His visible Church and actual ministry. I remember an earnest Baptist minister abroad, with whom I often had conversation (not controversy) on religious topics, and especially on this one of the restoration of unity amongst Christians; and one day he told me suddenly that he could resist no longer. He had not altered his opinions, but they had given way to this paramount conviction—he could not remain separate.

And he acted on this, and left his ministry to take a lower place to labour for the union of Christ's people. And it was no question, observe, of Orders, or even of Baptism, on which he might have doubted his previous persuasion, but this only one of the unity of Christ's people. I cannot think that good men will much longer be at issue on this, when it is simply set before them to answer—"Is there one point of doctrine or practice between the Church of this nation and those who, rightly or wrongly, stand outside her, which does not either admit of fair adjustment, so that both might be in Christian communion, or which, just because it does not admit of such adjustment, passes out of the region of our present inquiry altogether?—for we are not treating of the terms of salvation, or of the Catholic Faith, which, when once made known to us, we must hold, if we would be saved. To such cases the rule which could apply would rather be, "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed" (2 John 10). Happily, it has been shown that, notwithstanding the difficulties which beset our Church when she enforces her discipline, she has on a late occasion effectually vindicated her fidelity to the Creeds, and one that was not of us has gone out from us, to minister no longer under false colours, but as a declared impugner of the faith. We can only wonder that a false charity should manifest itself in such cases. I need not point out to you the entire contrariety between such a feeling and that great Christian rule which I am commending to your acceptance in these remarks.

Of our leading sects, then, I would assert that, in my judgment, the time is not far distant when they must reconsider their position. Their origin, they will then find, has far more to do with State enactments than with Bible doctrine; and if they will study that Sacred Book which they have loved so well, they will read in its pages a thousand arguments for sympathy with us, their brethren, and a reunion with the Church of their fathers, for one which bids them remember past wrongs, however great, or claim supposed rights, which, so far as they are just, are no longer denied. But by that hostile attitude which is assumed by some—that purely carnal spirit of political strife, which, alas, some exhibit—they will but involve themselves (perhaps us also) in a common disaster, which, whilst it may affect the Church herself, certainly no sects will survive. Happier will it be for our country and that faith which is its glory, if we, by setting ourselves in earnest to heal past differences, can "gain our brethren;" and they, with a noble candour, laying aside the prejudices of generations, will join us in the great work that is laid upon us, of evangelising and bringing to Christ one of the noblest of God's nations—saving them from their own passions, from false guides that lead them astray, even from rulers that flatter them and given them power; but, alas! cannot give them grace to use it.

But there is the wider field of the Churches to which we must now turn our attention. And here, at least in one quarter, attempts have been made, not altogether without success, to establish brotherly relations and even communion between the Eastern Church and ourselves; and the attempt is full of interest, from the important effect which its success might have upon us in our position as a branch of the Catholic Church. If the Anglican Church, with her undoubted order and unbroken succes-

sion, were to establish intercommunion with the Eastern Church, it would go far to heal the most ancient and extensive division that the Church of Christ has had to deplore, or at least lay upon Rome almost the entire responsibility of its continuance. It would, moreover, greatly weaken that imperious Church in her exclusive assertion of Catholicity, whilst the power and importance of the races thus once more united in the bonds of a common faith would exercise an influence on Christianity of the greatest value. It is not easy, indeed, to exaggerate the beneficial results, religious and moral, which might be looked for, if it should please God to bless the efforts alluded to with a decided success. There are, it is true, great difficulties in the way. Our own formularies, even one of the creeds as it stands, and the startling imputation of grave heresies in a few instances, would seem almost to prohibit our making the attempt to make advances towards reconciliation. It is not in the compass of the present brief sketch of our religious position to enter into a discussion of these difficulties. But we may at once deny that such difficulties are insuperable. And the very fact of discussing them with the desire to restore unity is enough to justify such an assertion. It has been the absence of the desire for reunion, though all these many years, which has made it seem to us impossible that it could be restored. But men are not like inanimate bodies, that once riven asunder stand apart for ever. And Christian men, above all, should be conscious of a spirit within leading them to repent of strife; and to labour for peace, if the Son of Peace be with us, should be no strange thought or unwelcome task. No religious communications have for centuries so closely resembled apostolic writings, or seem to breathe so entirely their spirit, as some of the kindly courtesies which have been exchanged between our own honoured Primate and the fathers of that great body, which, in effect, represent half the Christian world. Shall I add that it is unworthy of our own position, and argues a very dangerous self-conceit in us, when we approach such truly venerable communities only with the recollection of past differences, or the imputation of present error. We are not indeed to adopt their errors, as we have not hesitated to declare them in error on some points of serious moment; but for this very reason we are bound to show all loving-kindness and charity towards them, and to respect in them the fidelity of faith and practice which on some points they have undoubtedly maintained. At all events, we may rest assured that no error will so soon be removed by denunciation as by kindly intercourse and counsel. It is only in the case of actual apostasy and wilful denial of the Faith, that the Church resorts to her dread "Anathema"—even then she leaves it to her Lord to judge the matter. But then we are dealing with the actual offender—the very author of heresy and misbelief—how much more should we deal lovingly with those who receive the sad heritage of error from their parents! We should remember this if we would remove the chief hindrance to the promotion of unity amongst Christians. It is too often our custom to deal with others in a judicial instead of a brotherly spirit. Such a spirit widens the separation from fellow Christians—it hinders us in our approach to the heathen themselves. Let us henceforth look with different eyes on our own island brethren, divided from us by ill-advised dealings in the past. Let us hail with gratitude any opening of kindly intercourse with the Churches, though different from us in some par-

particulars, confident that every step towards Christian unity will ultimately lead to the extension of Christian truth. And where we must continue our painful protest against error, let it be done not with bitterness, but with meekness ; let us overcome evil with good," and ever walk in love, as the Apostle counsels us, and, as we continually pray, "endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv. 3).

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The Rev. W. CADMAN, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, London, read the following paper :—

I ASSUME that the expression "within the Church" refers particularly to the members of "that pure and reformed part of Christ's Catholic Church established in this kingdom."

I assume also that the additional expression, "and among Christians generally," must be taken as affirming that the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is not confined to members of our own communion.

The acknowledgment of this truth, I may say at the outset, is one great step towards the promotion of deeper unity. Whom the Master acknowledges, His servants should acknowledge. To all to whom He extends His grace, we should extend Christian love. The connection of the great apostle's words is significant : "The grace of our Lord be with you. My love be with you all."

I, for one, see here the true principle of Catholicity and Christian union. Christian love should be co-extensive with the Saviour's grace. If so, Christian union must be regarded not so much as corporate with the visible Church, as individual with the Christian's invisible Head.

The question is, How best to deepen and extend this principle ?

My reply shall be given negatively and positively. I say, then, that—

1. We cannot promote deeper union by expecting visible unity among the visible Churches of Christendom.

I can give credit for the best intentions to the members of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom. It is impossible, too, to read without interest of the efforts of the Old Catholic party in Germany to combine the Greek and Roman Churches, and afterwards to effect a fusion with the Episcopal and other Protestant Churches.

But I cannot expect deeper Christian union from efforts in this direction for three reasons. As it seems to me, visible unity is not promised ; if so, it is not desirable ; and it is not possible.

It is not promised. I am not unmindful of the Lord's intercession, "That they all may be one." But surely the "all" of whom He speaks must be taken as applying not to professing Christians of any one generation, but to the "all" who shall be manifested as belonging to Christ at His coming—the "all" of every generation of His Church till His coming again, who shall believe on Him as the apostles did. Not till the revelation of the Visible Head at His coming may we expect the visibility of all His true members, and consequently their visible union.

In the absence of the promise it does not seem desirable. If unity



were dependent on the combination of outward organisations of the visible Church, it might result in corruption and error. For visible Churches have erred even in matters of faith (Art. xix.) Apostacy is a possible sin. The last fearful judgments connected with the Master's coming are visited upon an apostate Church. To promote union with such a Church would be to become partakers of her sins. It cannot be done while error is stamped with the infallibility of truth, except by the silencing of faithful witnesses, and the guilt of spiritual fornication.

Besides, such union is not possible. Side by side, or rather face to face, on the prophetic page, stand faithful and unfaithful servants—followers of Christ and adherents of antichrist—defenders of the faith and deniers of it; and this even at the Master's coming. Both may claim His sacred name—both have the form of godliness. But closer union is impossible. "What concord hath light with darkness? . . . or he that believeth with an infidel?"

2. I have further, then, to reply, that union is hopeless if it be sought for at the sacrifice of truth. The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable. Those, therefore, who seek unity as their first object may do so forgetful of truth. And this may be to lose their own souls. The question indeed remains, What is truth?

As a Christian, I can have no hesitation in contending that it is embodied and manifested in the person and work of Jesus Christ my Lord. He is the truth. This is the testimony of God's revealed Word, which becomes to me, therefore, the unswerving standard of truth. This is the witness borne by Christ's faithful Church everywhere and always, and it suggests to me the only possible conditions of union.

I find it expressed in the formularies and articles of that portion of the Church to which I account it the greatest privilege of my life to belong and to minister. My mother Church honours and exalts my gracious, loving, personal, present Saviour. Her prayers are either directed to Him or for His honour, or through His merits and mediation. Her sacraments bring me into closer union and communion with Him, and with all who partake of them with me. Her very protests show her desire to be faithful to her absent,—expectant of her coming Lord.

On all these matters I see the practicability of promoting a deeper union. I am united with all who receive this witness. But this is not union at the expense of truth. I dare not profess the same union with those who, though claiming ministry or membership in the Church, deny the verities to which she bears witness, refusing,—for example, to sing her *Te Deum* hymn of praise to Christ as God, or to pray that He will help His servants whom He hath redeemed with His precious blood.

It is very true that on some matters of revelation, as well as of the Church's testimony, we must be prepared for differences of opinion. All truth is important, but not every item of it equally important. Some particulars are but dimly revealed. Concerning these, differing opinions must needs be entertained, or, at least, different ways adopted of expressing them. But because of this must we therefore be uncharitable and bitter one towards another,—refusing the right hand of fellowship, and condemning those who do not express themselves as we do,—either

as heretics whose end is to be destroyed, or as those who have to do only with the uncovenanted mercies of God? Nay, verily, union cannot be without truth, but it may be approximated if we bear in mind the old rule—In essentials, unity; on doubtful questions, liberty; in all things, charity.

3. Another particular follows upon that just enunciated—viz., that union is hopeless if it be confounded with uniformity. This has been done too frequently, and has produced many evils. Uniformity may be enforced, but sometimes only by oppression and tyranny, or because of corruption and death. But unity is the result of liberty and love and a willing mind; and according to all analogy, where there is life there will be variety if similarity in its manifestation. Of course, where the great Master has spoken, there is no room for doubt. To hesitate would be to disobey. But He has nowhere told us to forbid and disown every one who, while believing in Him, and working for Him, followeth not with us. It may be that work for Him requires different organisations. What a pity to quarrel about the organisation when the work needs the help of all! The better wisdom surely would be to show the superiority of our own by its greater practical usefulness. Is it necessary to condemn the organisation of others because I am satisfied that my own is in accordance with the divine will. Dare I say, because from circumstances, it may be, over which they have had no control, some whose ministry the Lord evidently blesses, have been called to it after another order to that which I believe to be scriptural, that they have no authorised mission? Dare I say that worship ought to be offered only after one prescribed form, and the gospel preached only when the preacher is rightly vested? I, for one, dare not. I shall not succeed in promoting union by insisting on uniformity.

It may be right to guard against misapprehension by one further remark. Deeper unity is hopeless without honesty. Indifference is not a necessary consequence of walking charitably. Two evils, indeed, need to be avoided—the holding of truth in bitterness, and indifference to distinctive truth under the garb of charity. I shall not be able to gain influence with any brother by yielding my own testimony, which differs from his opinion, as if it were of no importance; but rather by affirming my own convictions with righteous faithfulness, while I give him credit for the honesty which I claim for myself.

I cannot expect, for example, to win over a Dissenter by becoming one myself; but I can show him that, as a Churchman, I am more anxious that he should belong to Christ's flock than to my fold. I need not do the work of my Heavenly Master as he does it, nor expect him to do it as I do it; and yet there may be the united recognition of that Heavenly Master, and that union of spirit and aim, which will raise us both above all uncharitable surmisings, while endeavouring each according to our ability and opportunity to work for Him.

I have now reached the point at which I begin to see, as I think, the possibility, yea, more, the responsibility, of seeking to carry out the duty mentioned in our thesis, both within and without the Church.

Utterly hopeless as to visible union in the whole visible Church until the Lord come, and utterly hopeless as to the possibility of existing

organisations effecting it, what remains but that an approximation should be sought for now in that which prepares for the final manifestation of unity.

This is to be found not in outward organisations, but in *personal attachment to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in loving work for Him*. To produce this is the work of the Holy Spirit of God. What the servant of God longs for now, what the world needs now, as the parched ground the showers of rain, is the fresh and abundant outpouring of the Spirit's grace and influence. Would that all that profess the name of Jesus could be brought to seek in earnest, self-denying, united prayer for this blessing!

Then each one would, indeed, serve the Lord Christ. The one ambition would be who could be most like Him? who could do most for Him?

Individual Christians would find themselves drawn to each other by being drawn closer to Him.

As when the circumstances of the Transfiguration had passed, the disciples, drawn from every distraction, saw "Jesus only;" so, if we could see Him only in all our plans and actions, we should approach a more perfect unity than now, alas! is possible, distracted as we are by divisions among true brethren, and perils among false brethren, by fightings without and fears within.

Or as watches which cannot be made to keep time together, even if set by the church clock, which itself needs sometimes regulating and repairing, but when made to keep with the motions of the sun, as indicated by a good chronometer, will be found to be agreeing more nearly with each other. So for each one of God's servants taught by the Spirit to aim to be more and more like Him in whom we believe, will result in the discovery of greater agreement with each other than before was thought possible. Nor is this surprising.

For, after all, there is real union already amongst the servants of Christ. They are Christians because of Christ,—not the *disjecta membra* of a dead body or absent head, but having a bond of union with Him, they are members of a living body, having common feelings and tendencies and sympathies.

To ascertain what these are—What, let us ask, would be the words addressed to a dying fellow-sinner? We should none of us speak to him of Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, but seize the opportunity to direct to Him who is at once the Author and Finisher of our faith.

What would be the sentiments expressed if we were on our knees together before God? We speak the same language in prayer, whatever differences there may be in discussion.

What, again, are the hymns of praise which we agree to use in common?

In these three particulars I see great principles of union. In contemplating their possible extensive influence amongst members of the Church of England, how deplorable hindrances of doctrines and practices, which may alienate, but can never unite, the Christian people of this land, and which, if they prevailed extensively, would create a necessity for a second Reformation! Yea, and how miserable are the trifles that disunite us, and that engender suspicions and strifes! Elevations

and postures, and vestments and tones, these, if they be of any value, must be the husk that conceals the kernel. Let us rather think of the kernel than the husk—of the things that make for peace rather than dissension—of the things whereby one may edify another—of the evangelical hymns we can both use, the evangelical sermons we both try to preach, the evangelical efforts we both put forth from the love of Jesus and for the love of Jesus, and in order that His love may be more widely known.

I for one care little for the stamp on the guinea if it be on the real gold. Nor for the walking dress, or the surplice or the gown, if underneath be the heart that is really beating with love to Jesus, and wishing to do nothing that is dishonouring to Him and repugnant to His truth.

Nor for the tunes or tones that are raised, if they be expressions of true, reverential, and adoring worship.

Nor even for the dust that is raised in sweeping the house, if it be done with an honest, earnest, loving endeavour to find, for the Saviour's sake, the coin that has been lost.

Amongst all our divisions there are evidences, I trust and hope, that in increasing personal love to Jesus we have the means of promoting brotherly love, and thereby deeper union. For—

2. We shall thus find ourselves engaged in loving work for the Saviour. Words are not needed to show how important this is to union.

When the servants are quarrelling with each other, the work left them by the Master is not done.

When they are suspecting each other, it is done imperfectly.

When they are misrepresenting each other, they are giving occasion to the enemy to spoil what has been already wrought!

But if work for the same Master have an uniting influence, what opportunities there are in the day in which we live for its exercise!

The afflicted, the poor, the ignorant, the wandering, we have them with us always, and we may always do them good. *They* are even at our own doors. But when we look further, there is the wide field of missionary effort open before us, white already in some instances to the harvest, calling for labourers, for reapers, for the exercise of all the gifts which the Spirit of our God has bestowed—dividing unto every man severally as He will.

Would not an association in every parish for the furtherance of the Church's Home and Foreign Missions, and a determination on the part of every communicant to be a member of it, be a bond of closer union? and is it not possible that, by consecrating at least a tenth portion of our income to God's special service, there might be a greater manifestation of it?

What shall we say when the Master returns, if, with these opportunities, He find us contending instead of doing; if, instead of healing that which is sick, we are arguing as to the form in which the healing medicine should be administered; if, instead of gathering the stray sheep, we should be biting and devouring one another because we cannot agree as to the shape of the fold?

A more loving spirit to each other for the Saviour's sake would

surely result from a united determination to work, whether separately or unitedly, for Him. Work from love to Christ will produce love, and therefore unity to the workers.

There may be one who loves the Saviour I love, who does not, and who cannot, pronounce my shibboleth. My Master understands why he can only say shibboleth, though I do not.

Another brother may have more or less ritualism in his composition than I have. But if he be an example to me of abounding love to the Saviour, abounding zeal for the souls for which my Saviour died, abounding self-denial in efforts to edify the Church which He purchased with His own blood,—why should I look askance on him or he on me, as though we were not brethren? why should bitter words pass between us, or condemnatory epithets be encouraged in publications which we support, as if it were enough for condemnation to say of one—He is a High Churchman, or of another, He is a Low Churchman, or of a third, He is a Dissenter? Would that all such bitterness, and all occasion for it, might cease! “The end of the commandment is charity.”

If parties there must be, let both agree to sacrifice party spirit on the common altar of Christian love. If erring brethren cross our path, let us contend with them, if they are to be blamed, face to face; but let it be with love, not by bitterness troubling, but by love serving one another. If questions arise which cannot be otherwise determined, let them, if necessary, be settled in a friendly suit; but, above all things, charge it upon our souls, in the name of that blessed Trinity into which we are baptized, to do nothing in a factious and uncharitable temper to increase or intensify divisions, but rather maintain and set forward as much as lieth in us; quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people.

Sure I am that this too would be the powerful attraction towards all that is possible of manifested union to brethren without.

Misunderstanding, misrepresentation, prejudice, have arisen like a heavy mist and vapour, which, springing from the earth, surrounds both church and chapel. But if we as Churchmen can show other Christians that we are as anxious as they are, and even more anxious, to catch the first beams of the Sun of Righteousness; if we, as Churchmen, exalt the name that sounds like sweet music in the ear of both a pious Churchman and a pious Dissenter, will the Dissenter be able to keep his heart closed against us? He may still prefer his organisation to ours, but if he loves the Saviour he will love us for loving Him, and the love of Christ will constrain us both to love each other. We may not, perhaps, think it expedient to work together, but as we pass by and see each other's good work we shall say, “The Lord prosper you; we wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.”

I have only to add, that this means of promoting union by cultivating love to the Saviour, and engaging diligently in work for Him, as effectual in promoting a more loving spirit to each other for the Saviour's sake, may be despised because of its simplicity. But it has at least this recommendation, that it is within the reach of all. All could not speak with tongues, all could not interpret, all cannot prophesy. But all can love, and work; and if we seek for the Holy Spirit's teaching,

and grace that we may do this,—real manifested love to the Saviour will not long exist amongst those who have hitherto fallen out by the way, without producing real union, and a desire for its manifestation to each other. And so will a wondering world again say, “See how these Christians love!” and a thankful Church, “Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!”

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The Rev. W. D. MACLAGAN, M.A., Rector of Newington, Surrey.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I will crave your indulgence, if, instead of reading a paper, as I have been asked to do, I avail myself of the permission which has been accorded, I believe, to those who are intended to be Readers by the Committee, and I think wisely accorded, of saying plainly to you what is moving in my heart, instead of reading it to you from a paper; and in doing this I feel the enormous disadvantage at which I stand, even if I read the most carefully prepared paper, after the eloquent address to which you have now listened from my dear friend and brother, Mr Cadman; and I trust that nothing that I can say, in the few remarks I address to you, will make you suppose that in essential matters I at all differ from him, least of all in that on which his hopes and exhortations to us are grounded—I mean, a closer fellowship, and an intenser love to our personal Lord Jesus Christ.

There are two questions which are before us to-night, and I can only, in the short time which is allotted to me, say but few words upon each of them; and one branch of the subject—that of union with the Continental Churches—I shall be constrained to pass by almost unnoticed. We have, first of all, to deal with the question of promoting deeper unity, or, as I should have preferred to phrase it myself, a closer communion among ourselves; for I believe that our great work is to realise, and not to create, the unity, for the unity already exists—to promote a closer union of those within the Church of England, and of ourselves with Christians generally. I confess to somewhat more of hope in both of these matters than my dear friend seems to have. First of all, with regard to ourselves within the Church, do we not really, after all, exaggerate our state of differences and divisions? I know that in every sermon which is preached, and in every speech that is made, we deplore our unhappy divisions; but are we not tempted to exaggerate them, and suppose that our case is so much worse than the case of the Church has ever been in preceding ages? Is it really so? Are we much worse in this respect than the Primitive Church? May we not go further back, to the Apostolic Church itself? Had it not its dissensions even about ceremonial—veritable quarrels between the Apostles themselves, however ingeniously St Jerome may have attempted to explain them away? And were there not personal quarrels, too, between St Paul and St Barnabas; and although we neither wish to justify these nor to extenuate our own, are we not apt to exaggerate ours, and to imagine our case to be so much more hopeless than it is, by supposing our differences to be very much greater than they really are? I say this as

regards our differences, because I think what we ought to deplore is not our differences so much as the animosities and strife which spring from them. I believe it is hopeless—even if it were desirable—that there should be a total absence of difference in the sense in which the word ought rightly to be used. It is impossible—with minds constituted as ours are—that we can ever see the great truth of God—all of us—from the same stand-point; and I am always inclined to hope that what appear to us in many instances conflicting opinions, are really only two sides of that great grand truth of God which nothing but omniscience can wholly apprehend, even as nothing but omnipresence can surround the great grand globe of His creation. And just as two men coming from opposite sides would give you a very different account of the world on which they live—one describing it as an arid waste in which the heat of the burning sun is intolerable, and the other as a frozen region where half the year was spent in darkness, so that to a being from another sphere it might seem impossible to believe that it was the same world; may it not be the same with our limited conceptions of truth. May it not be that in the great day when we shall know, even as we are known, we shall find that we and those to whom we have been opposed, were really only contending for the great truth of God from different sides, according to our different idiosyncrasies. But, my Lord, supposing those differences must exist, and I believe they ever will exist among us, for I have sometimes thought that it is only by the conflict of opposing opinion that the whole truth should ever be evolved; if they should exist, why should they separate us? why should men stand aloof from each other as they do in those odious parties into which the Church is divided? Why will not one man ask another to preach in his Church, because he bears another name in the so-called religious world? Why should men look on each other as enemies, and stand aloof and shrink from each other? And, most of all, why should men prosecute each other: brother going to law with brother, even though it be sometimes before unbelievers?

My Lord, I agree entirely with my dear friend who has just spoken to you about the utter indifference of many of those things about which we are quarrelling: but if they are so indifferent, why are they to be made the occasions of rending the Church asunder by prosecutions such as those referred to. I have no wish to sit in judgment on my brethren—especially on many whom I love and regard, and who I know have been bearing part in these proceedings; but I say—and I should be a coward if I did not say it—I would sooner cut off my right hand than join in prosecuting one of my brethren because his ideas of worship were different to my own. But, my Lord, the question remains, What is to be done in order to get rid of these feelings of animosity, and in order to draw men into closer communion one with another, who are not only loving the same Lord, but bearing the same commission, and engaged in the same great work? Now, I have no sympathy with that almost panic-stricken cry for Parliamentary legislation which seems to be the great panacea suggested by many of our Churchmen in the present day. I do not believe that any Acts of Parliament whatever—no, nor any Church reforms whatever—will be the means of drawing us closer one to another. I believe we are only bringing into an exagge-

rated importance things which we had much better forget. What I do believe would draw us together would be this : To join heartily and without suspicion, in the good work to which God has called us, with our friends from whom we differ in points of ritual, and even in points of doctrine. After all, is it not the case, that one party is believing more than the other, and not contrary to the other ? My Lord, I know, and rejoice to know, that many of those who would be stigmatised (I hate to use the word, but I wish to make myself understood) as Ritualists, are men who preach as fully and as simply the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ as any of the men who range themselves under the banner of the Evangelical party. I say this, my Lord, because I am able to say it from a very happy experience ; for although I do not, as all my friends know, belong in any degree whatever to the party so called, it has been my happiness to work with them in the great work of trying to save souls, and I have heard from their lips as full and as free a preaching of the Gospel of Christ as ever I heard from any pulpit in this land ; and if in addition to this they believe also in the grace of those sacraments by which men are drawn into closer fellowship with their Lord—if they believe in the necessity of more reverent or ornate worship than others can desire or sympathise with, why should that separate us ? Is there not one great foundation on which we can stand united ? and ought we not to unite on that foundation, forgetting that my brother believes more than myself, or that I have not seen my way to believe so much as he does ? If we wish, my Lord, to get rid of the animosities that spring from these difficulties, let us look at them in the face of that mass of heathenism and infidelity with which we are surrounded in our large towns and cities. One goes forth in one's crowded London parish—in those close alleys and courts—and sees the misery and sin found there, while at the very time a prosecution is pending because men will stand in a certain posture, or wear a certain vestment. Or still more, my Lord, let us look at it not only in the face of the heathenism that surrounds us, but in the view of the coming world, as we hope to stand round the same great Throne, washed in the same precious blood as the men we are hoping to cast out of the Church because we cannot accept their—

The CHAIRMAN.—I think Mr Maclagan will withdraw the words “hoping to cast out of the Church.”

Rev. Mr MACLAGAN.—I was simply supposing, my Lord, that that was the meaning of the prosecutions. I withdraw the words most thankfully—or any expression that can give pain to any one of my brethren. What I desire, my Lord, is, that in getting rid of our animosities, we should more unite together, in quiet times of retirement, in common prayer to Him in whose common work we are engaged. There are no seasons which I have found more full of blessing, than when engaged in work with men from whom I differ most widely on both sides. I believe that with the work of saving souls pressing upon us—with the desire of winning individual souls for Christ ; and praying for the Holy Spirit to help us in our work—it is impossible that these differences can be remembered, or that animosities can for a moment remain. It is in this real hearty work of winning souls for Christ that our differences must be forgotten. I observed in the Lord Bishop of



Lincoln's address yesterday what a hearty response he drew from this Congress—and it is always the case—at the mention of the names of Wesley and Whitfield, and no names deserve to be more highly honoured among those who love our Lord Jesus Christ, and seek to advance His cause. But, my Lord, I should like to know if the men who applaud the names of Wesley and Whitfield are ready to go and do as they did; why should we go on applauding them unless we are prepared like them to do something more than the formal discharge of our ministerial duties? Unless we are prepared to go out into the highways literally, and fetch men in for Christ, preaching the Gospel there, to win souls that are perishing in their sins, all our applause of the names of Wesley and Whitfield will go for nothing. We shall show that we have very little of their spirit, however much we may admire their names, unless we engage in earnest work like this among the poor; but the more we do so, the more our animosities will be forgotten, and the more heartily shall we be united together.

But I must pass on for a moment to consider another side of the question—the promotion of greater union with Christians generally. And first of all, let me speak of those in our own country—those who have separated themselves from outward fellowship with our Church—men who are members of the Church of Christ as well as we, because they are baptized men, and grafted into the body of Christ, but who have thought right to withdraw themselves from outward fellowship with us, and from joining in our worship. Now I confess I have much more hope of an outward union among those so separated from us than my dear friend and brother has. I cannot understand, as he does, that prayer of our Lord—so uppermost in all our thoughts when we speak of any subject like this—considering the purpose for which our Lord prayed, in order that the world might believe. I have never understood it as a union to be made manifest only in the great day of His appearing, but rather to be made manifest by His grace before then, to prepare men for his appearing; and I cannot but hope—and I think we ought all to make it the subject of our prayers—that that union may yet be brought about, although we may not be very hopeful of its being done in our own way, or be very confident of the way in which it is to be done at all. We must not dictate to God how or when we should like it to be done, but we are entitled and bound to pray to Him that it may be done in His own good time, and in His own good way. One thing, however, I am convinced—it will never be done by any compromises or concessions whatever. I believe that the best Nonconformists will think less of us the more they see we are willing to make any compromises. It is often supposed that because we deny to those men the same authority that we claim for ourselves, we are, therefore, denying to them the grace of our Lord, or withholding from them the love of our own hearts. God forbid that it should be so. I love Nonconformists as deeply and truly as any man in this room, for many of them are my dearest personal friends; but I will never hesitate to say that I do think my authority a better authority than theirs; an authority constituted by our blessed Lord Himself. I do not believe that either compromises or concessions, or hollow professions on platforms of agreement, where no real agreement exists,

will ever draw in Dissenters. Nor have I any hope of corporate reunion by the removal of disabilities or any other such means ; but this I do believe, that we have a powerful attraction in our system—an attraction for Nonconformists which, whenever they are brought under its influence, they are unable to resist. I speak from experience, living as I do in the very stronghold of Dissent, and under the shadow of the largest meeting-house in England—experience gathered from Nonconformists who have, when brought under the power of the Church teaching, admitted its superior power to build up the spiritual life. Young men one after another have told me that they have not found that spiritual life in the Dissenting community, and they have been baptized and received into the Church, because there they found the spiritual nourishment and edification which they desired. I believe the more we preach spiritual truth and dogmatic teaching, unpopular as it may be—for I know that commonplace words and smooth sayings are things that are best liked in these days—the better ; that in definite teaching and preaching of the truth is our best hope for rallying around us our Nonconformist brethren. My Lord, in the one moment that remains to me allow me to suggest one means more powerful than any other for drawing us into closer communion with one another, and of bringing back those separated from us—I mean the deepening of our own spiritual life. It may seem, my Lord, almost impertinent to bring such a thought before a meeting such as this, but at least I am thankful to be reminded of it myself. Self-evident duty though it be, I believe no power will tend more to draw us closer to one another, or to draw to us those separated from us, than the deepening and strengthening of personal holiness in ourselves. Christ is still the mighty power which draws all men unto Him, and in drawing us nearer to Him He will infallibly draw us nearer to each other ; and the best that any man can do if he has it in his heart to promote this closer union among his brethren and those that are without his Church, is to do what in him lies to preach Christ not only with his lips but in his life ; Christ Himself—not doctrines about Him, and controversies about Him, but the personal living Lord, and to show forth in his daily life the power of that same Christ, and the evidence of a life which is hid with Christ in God.

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## ADDRESS.

Rev. CHANCELLOR MASSINGBERD read the following:—

THE promotion of a deeper unity within the Church and among Christians generally is a very wide subject indeed. It may embrace—1. Home reunion—*i.e.*, with Nonconformists; 2. Eastern Church intercommunion, and with other Christian bodies, as Scandinavian and Church of Utrecht—not to mention the “Old Catholics,” on whose present proceedings we are looking with so much interest; and 3. Deeper unity within the Church. My object will chiefly be to confine myself to the first of these—which we have called in Convocation “Home reunion.” And I shall endeavour to set forth what has been done in Convocation on the subject. So far back as 1856, a petition was presented on the subject, bearing many influential names; but it led to no results, except indeed to unfavourable comments in some Nonconformist quarters. But in 1861 (now ten years since) a motion was unanimously carried in the Lower House, inviting the Bishops to “commend the subject in some formal and definite way to the prayers of the faithful members of the Church.” And though this was not done in any definite manner, it seems not to have been wholly without its fruit. Again, in July 1870, the report of a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation was unanimously adopted, from which I would beg to give a few short extracts. (The Report may be bought at Rivington’s for, I believe, 1d.) The Committee recite the former attempts at “Comprehension,” as it was called, made especially in the time of Charles II., and after the Revolution of 1688, pointing out the danger there must always be of “alienating some amongst ourselves in our desire to embrace those who are without,” by attempting to force upon the Church changes and alterations calculated to wound the feelings or violate the consciences of any within our own communion. “Taught by such examples,” the Committee say, “they are not prepared to recommend that we should set out with proposing any alterations of our existing formularies of faith and worship, while they by no means deny that concessions might possibly be admitted hereafter, as the result of negotiations carried on in a spirit of love and unity, and resulting from a mutual desire to arrive at such blessed results.” They then proceed to recommend—(a) That the Christian Knowledge Society be instructed to prefix the prayer for unity from the Queen’s Accession Service, to all their prayer-books. (b) That the day of the Queen’s Accession be observed as a national holiday with special reference to the use of that prayer. (c) That Wesleyans and other separatists be invited to institute similar prayers. In the debate which followed, it was further proposed that the Bishops should be requested to open direct negotiations with the Wesleyans and other separated bodies; but this proposal was not put to the House.

And here, therefore, arises the practical question, whether any such reunion be possible? for if it be not, the whole proposal must fall to the ground, and be relegated to the region of amiable dreams, to which those who are not aware of what is actually proposed, are already prepared to consign it. And certainly, if it were expected that any of the great religious societies who constitute the present Nonconformists were likely to come over at once to the Church on our solicitation, abandoning their existing institutions, their property, their organisation, and transferring their places of worship to us, the notion would indeed be chimerical. And no less so, in my humble judgment, would it be to attempt to coerce the Church into the surrender of such of our forms of worship and creeds as they may think fit to object to. But nothing of the kind is proposed. The only plan that seems at all feasible is that which is contained in the following passage towards the end of Southey’s “Life of Wesley:”—“Nor is it beyond the bounds of reasonable hope that, confining itself to the original intention of its founders, it (Wesleyanism) may again draw towards the Establishment from which it has seceded, and desire to be recognised as an auxiliary institution, its

ministers being analogous to the regulars, and its members to the tertiaries and various fraternities of the Romish Church." Now, on such a system, it is obvious that such religious societies might retain all their property, and the greater part of their existing institutions,—the details of the plan being the subject of mutual negotiation. And this proposal with reference to tertiaries and various confraternities has already received the sanction of our own Church. In 1862 a petition was presented to Convocation, from eighty-five clergy of this diocese, and especially from this vast and important city of Nottingham, praying that the clergy might be assisted by an authorised body of lay teachers, holding some subordinate office, as that of subdeacon or reader; yet not subject to those restrictions in respect to their other employments, or to those civil disabilities by which the clergy themselves are restrained. The matter was urgently pressed by the present Bishop of London in his place in the Upper House; and in 1866 the Lower House of Convocation adopted a resolution to the same effect; after which twenty Bishops assembled at Lambeth in the same year, including both the English Archbishops and the Irish Primate, with two Colonial Bishops, resolved—"To institute an office of Reader, and that the form of admission to the same be by public prayer and delivery of the New Testament, without imposition of hands," &c. The principle, therefore, of such lay agency as that now exercised by local preachers among the Wesleyans is already adopted by the Church. It is presumed that, in case of such reunion as is contemplated, the future *Ministers*, as distinct from local preachers, would be presented by their societies to the Bishop for ordination, and that some regulation might be admitted, such as that which both the Wesleys undoubtedly desired, and almost entirely maintained to the last, in regard to the reception of the Holy Sacrament at the hands of those episcopally ordained.

But I anticipate an objection here that this will be to introduce and stereotype dissent within the Church. If I may adopt the word *dissension* instead of *dissent*, I should admit, to a certain extent, the possibility of such a result. But I contend that, if it should be so, it would be no more than what is known to have existed amongst us before the Reformation, or than exists to this day within the Roman Communion; and I would further contend that such a state of things would be infinitely preferable to that which exists at present. We have a remarkable instance of the state of rivalry between the friars and the parochial clergy in the fourteenth century in the complaint of Archbishop Fitzralph of Armagh, that "there were in his diocese 2000 of his flock involved in the sentence of excommunication for various offences, of whom scarce forty came to his penitentiaries, and yet all these received the sacraments, and were absolved, or said to be absolved; so that the only persons who could have absolved them must be the friars" (Brown's *Fasciculus*, Append., p. 478). That is to say, the friars were acting then as the Wesleyans are acting now, *mutatis mutandis*, except that the friars were authorised by the Pope, and were not regarded as making a schism in the Church.

Divisions of opinion probably there will always be; but the question is whether it would not be infinitely better for all parties that those who now are wholly separated from the Church, and often hostile to it, should regard themselves and be regarded as once more forming part of that great community whose power for good, in every possible way, is now so hampered and so impeded by "our unhappy divisions."

As regards the amount of that influence which would thus be exercised, it may be sufficient to say that, according to the census before the last, there were, by Mr Horace Mann's tables, unreliable as they are in many respects, 14,077 congregations of the Church of England, and 11,944 congregations of all branches of Wesleyan Methodists; while of all other classes of separatists there were but 7033, including 1000 Romanists; so that the numbers of congregations of Church of England and Wesleyans, if united, would be 26,021, as against 7033 of all the rest. (I quote from a pamphlet of the Rev. C. Robinson, Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Blackburn.)

I have no time to speak of Eastern Church intercommunion, much as I should have desired it, except that the only principle on which such intercommunion has ever been

proposed is, that each Church should recognise the position of the other, without dictating to either. I need not remind the inhabitants of this place of the visit of the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, and of the enthusiastic welcome they gave him here in this very hall, on the memorable occasion of the consecration of the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, who now occupies the chair. But on the third point, the means of promoting deeper unity *within* the Church, I have two observations to make, and I give you them as an old man's thoughts, the result of long and anxious observation and reflection. (1.) We must try to get rid of the habit of contending each for his own little favourite bit of truth, and must try to see the good in all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and who seek to be humble and obedient members of His body the Church. (2.) We must learn to *utilise* enthusiasm, and not to *ostracise* it. And that is a lesson which, to her great calamity, the Church of England has never learned. There is in all hearts a vein of poetry, if you can but reach it. And the poetry of enthusiasm, with all its holy raptures and unearthly hopes, once kindled in the cause of religion, may be difficult to direct aright, but cannot be extinguished.

[Owing to some interruption in the course of Rev. Chancellor Massingberd's paper he retired, but he has generously allowed his paper to be printed in full.]

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#### The CHAIRMAN.

I AM quite sure that no one who knows the eminent services rendered by Chancellor Massingberd to the Church, could be guilty of interrupting him in an unseemly manner; and that there is but one feeling in this whole assembly, that is, of regret that he should have experienced a moment's pain. (Cheers.)

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The Rev. E. BAYLEY, B.D., Vicar of St John's, Paddington,  
London, said—

MY LORD AND CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to some of the statements which fell from my friend Mr Maclagan, it is impossible, I think, for any one in this room to question for a moment the beautiful Christian spirit in which he brought this subject under our notice. I feel that in this question especially, we have need of the spirit of forbearance, of brotherly love, and mutual concession.

With reference to the main question which is before us to-night, I heartily sympathise with what fell from my friend Mr Cadman, as to the importance of drawing a broad distinction between unity and uniformity: that we must dismiss at once from our minds the notion that external uniformity is essential to internal unity; and I believe that any public declaration which could issue forth from the authorities of the Church of England upon this subject, would be one step towards the attainment of a deeper spiritual unity. I believe, moreover, that it is of the utmost importance that we should have a true conception of what real unity consists. Does real unity consist in our all worshipping in one form—all using a particular framework of language—all wearing the same dress—all agreeing in one particular form of Church government? I venture to think it does not consist in all, or in any one of these points. Real unity does not consist in our agreement in externals, but in our adhesion and devotion to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

It is important, moreover, to bear in mind that in the question of the unity of the Church, we must remember in what the true Church of Christ consists; because I hold that whilst the true spiritual mystical body of Christ is the subject of a real and vital unity, it is vain to seek for that unity in the visible body of the Church of God. Hooker teaches us that when the Church is spoken of in connection with great and blessed promises, it is the mystical and invisible body of Christ with which we have to do.

Now, I conceive, that in the statement of the apostle, that one is the body and one is the Spirit which animates the body, we have to deal with the fact that real inward unity does exist in the spiritual Church of the living God; that unity is not there set before us as a *duty*, but as a literal and actual *fact*; and that all who are truly and spiritually united to the Lord Jesus Christ, whether they be already in heaven, or whether they be now upon earth, are, as a revealed fact, "one." When we come to the exhortation that we are to endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in that bond which is peace, we have to deal with the obligation which presses upon the whole visible body; and it is important to note that it is set before us in that passage as a subject for which effort is required, "endeavouring." The original word is a strong one, expressing that earnestness of endeavour is required in this particular, because difficulties will intervene, and opposition will meet us, when we strive to carry out this great principle of Christian living. We are to endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in that bond which is forbearance and peace. I think, we must further bear in mind that we, in this present day, have to learn again some of those great principles of toleration for which our forefathers fought. Perhaps some of us would be the better if we read over again "Locke's Essay on Toleration," because we seem to be coming to this—to consider that toleration consists in toleration towards those who agree with us, or towards those who, if they differ from us, do so in a tolerant spirit. Now I believe that real toleration consists in being tolerant towards the intolerant; in being kind and forbearing towards those who do not show kindness and forbearance towards us. It is exceedingly easy to be tolerant towards those who are tolerant towards us; but it is exceedingly difficult to be tolerant to those who are intolerant in their opposition to our opinions.

Now, my Christian friends, I will advert to one or two of the practical points which seem to me to bear upon this principle of the maintenance and promotion of a deeper spiritual unity amongst us.

In the first place, we must recognise that much difference of opinion is perfectly consistent with real and substantial unity. There are many points upon which men may agree to differ, and yet, in their heart of hearts, they may be one. Shall we not say that Saint Augustine, the Episcopalian; that John Bunyan, the Baptist; and that Thomas Chalmers, the Presbyterian, were one in their love to and union with the Lord Jesus Christ? and yet those men differed, no doubt, upon many important points. And if you know men, in the days gone by, differing upon points of importance, and yet substantially one, why may not the same substantial unity exist in the present day, though differences of opinion must and do exist? We all, for example, believe in the doctrine of the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but we differ very widely as to the effect which is to be attached to those two Sacraments. We all agree as to the importance of prayer, public and private; but we differ as to whether that prayer should be liturgical or otherwise. So in many other questions—questions, for instance, of Church government: we may be agreed as to the principle of order, but we may differ as to the precise mode in which that order is to be carried out. Why may we not cease to attach an undue importance to those principles which we do not believe to be essential to vital unity?

In the second place, we must, in this day, recognise things as they are. We have not to deal with a theory of Church or a theory of State; but we have to deal with these questions as they now exist. What, then, do we see around us? We see multiplying sects in this country. We see many divisions in our Church of England. We

see Rome claiming universal authority. We see infidelity aiming at the destruction of all true belief. Now, we must recognise these facts in dealing with the question of reaching out the right hand of fellowship to those who differ from us in non-essentials, but who agree with us in points which are of vital importance.

Again, we must bear in mind that the Church of England is not altogether blameless in this question of the divisions which exist amongst us. Is not the Church of England responsible for the Act of Uniformity passed in the reign of Charles II.? and was not that Act of Uniformity one of the main sources of modern Nonconformity? Was it not the most disuniting measure that was ever passed in this realm? And yet, that Act of Uniformity stands unrepealed upon the statute-book at the present day. I, for one, should hail the day, as Archdeacon Hare and Dr M'Neile would have hailed the day (for they have both written strongly upon the subject), when the Act of Uniformity was swept away from the statute-book.

Again, have we no quarrels amongst ourselves, which, at all events, we ought to mourn over? Is no unkindly feeling ever shown towards Nonconformists? Is there not an unkindly spirit often shown by men who ought to reach out the right hand of fellowship to those whom they believe to be true Christian brethren? And have we, in spite of what has been done by Convocation, as well as by others, endeavoured really and truly to remove those grounds of opposition, which it is our duty as a corporate body to remove from those bodies which are outside our own Church? I maintain we have not done what we might have done in this particular. We are ready to receive them if they come and join our body as it is, but we are not willing to take one single step to remove the obstacles that they conscientiously believe to interfere with the union which we profess to desire.

I do feel, however, that in this question the outward expression of unity must be spontaneous, and not forced. There are many in the present day in the Church of England who are anxious to promote a federation amongst sound Protestant bodies; but there are difficulties in the way. I doubt whether the majority of the members of the English Church are ready to reach out the right hand of fellowship towards, and to preach in pulpits which are officered by, those who have not received Episcopal ordination. I, for one, should be most glad to see the small tentative efforts which appear to have been lately made in that direction, made much more extensively. I am only expressing my own private opinion. I, for one, should be most glad to see those efforts made and re-made. But I see a difficulty. I see, from what has fallen from you to-night, that the Church of England is not prepared to carry out that which I for one should be most heartily glad to see adopted; and, therefore, I do not expect to see it carried out at present. But I am quite sure of this, that if we had a little less prosperity, and a little deeper love, many of those difficulties would be speedily removed. If we had a little persecution we should soon find ourselves banded together more closely; and if we had a little deeper love to our Lord and Master, that many of these difficulties would speedily vanish. Let one deep wave of true spiritual life sweep through the length and breadth of this land, and Christian men would forget many of their differences, they would clasp each other's hands, and confess that they were brethren. Forgetting many things which now divide them, they would unite on the great principles and truths on which they were really united, and would go forth ashamed of their past bigotry, and their past cold-heartedness, their past illiberality, and want of toleration, and as one united army—different regiments if you like, but still one army—would go forth to do battle for their Lord and Master.

## DISCUSSION.

## The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF SYDNEY.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I am very much afraid that the differences of opinion which have been expressed this evening are but a small part of the difficulties which beset us in endeavouring to promote increased union either amongst ourselves or with others. There is no doubt that we are bound to pray for union; that we are to seek peace, and to follow it if it should endeavour to escape us. But when we leave our closets and go into the world, or take counsel with our brethren who are as desirous as we ourselves may be to promote peace, our real difficulties commence. We find it next to impossible to give any practical expression to those feelings which do truly animate us.

It appears to me that there are two principles that lie at the bottom of all endeavours to promote unity. There should be love. Without love there can be no union, nor without it can there be any real expression of a desire for unity. And there must be truth. Truth must be the foundation upon which all endeavours to promote unity rest. We are to speak the truth in love; and when we follow after those things which make for peace, we are, as an apostle admonishes us in the Epistle to the Philippians, to seek first "truth."

Now, how shall we apply these two principles either in our intercourse with our brethren in the Church of England, or with those separated from us? Assuredly, it is very easy to love our brethren of the beloved Church of England. It is very easy to labour with them in endeavouring to promote the common cause of our Lord and Master. We can have no greater desire than that which is expressed in the prayer for unity, viz., that we should lay to heart the great danger we are in by our unhappy divisions, and endeavour by all means in our power to promote peace and unity. And yet it is impossible to conceal from ourselves that very wide differences exist within the body of the Church of England, and that those differences are upon points which the respective parties regard as essential, and that no man can hold honestly and firmly an opinion upon a point which he regards as essential without defending that opinion, without endeavouring to maintain it against opposition, and without testing it even, if it should be in the last resort, in a court of law.

I cannot, for myself, understand how, when the law has been declared, when the voice of the Episcopate has been heard, and when the Ritual of the Church of England has within the last thirty years—that is, speaking within my own memory—remained unchanged as regards any change made by lawful authority, there should yet exist, on the part of some, such a manifest determination to resist the law, not to listen to the voice of authority, and to make changes (because considerable additions are sure to be regarded as changes) in the mode of ministering in the Church of England. The question is simply this, that there can be no unity without subordination; and amongst the pieces of advice which I would wish my dear friend—as I trust I may be permitted to call him—one to whom my heart certainly went forth with very great affection, though I had never seen or heard him before, Mr Maclagan—to accept, and which he may suitably tender to those with whom he is associated in these great and blessed works, is, that they should submit themselves to the authority which has been set forth in a court of law, and listen to the voice of authority as it is enunciated by those Bishops whose godly admonitions they promised to obey. But while I feel this strongly, yet I do also feel that the discussion of this subject, and the desire which, I am sure, it will evoke in many minds for the promotion of unity amongst ourselves, ought to have some effect upon our conduct, and that we should cease to indulge in personality, cease to impute motives, and, above all, give credit to those from whom we differ for being actuated by the same motives which we claim for ourselves.

The question which has been submitted to the Congress this evening has a second



thought, referring, I presume, to Nonconformists, and those who are separated from us in various ways at home. I have certainly known Roman Catholics whom I could not but love and admire; not for their religion, but for that which they had in spite of their religion. I have met with many Nonconformists whom I greatly love, and whom I feel to be much my superiors in many respects. I do not love them for their Nonconformity, but I love them for the grace of Christ, which I cannot but see in them; and I unite with the Apostle in wishing that the peace of God may rest upon all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

Nevertheless, I have found that it tends to promote peace and unity to abstain from entering into any discussion with either one or the other; and if we do but carry on our own work in our own way, believing that the Church of which we are members and ministers is, to use an expression used this evening, above all other organisations, and stands higher, in that it is purely apostolic in its order and scriptural in its doctrine, I believe we shall do more to promote unity in either direction than by any other means. I confess, for myself, I can see no progress towards unity in attending the ministrations of the Church of Rome. I believe the Church of Rome does not in the least respect us for going into their places of worship, and serving with them while we refrain from entering into their communion. I cannot but feel that if I were at Geneva, I would much sooner worship with the Geneva Presbyterians than with the Roman Catholics; and I must also add, that if I must necessarily choose with whom I should stand, I would rather stand with men like Howe and Barter, with men like Chalmers, and with the Wesleys and Whitfield, than I would with any divines since the separation of the Eastern and the Western Churches, either in the Greek or in the Roman branches. And I believe we do best promote unity—"Time.") If that gentleman who is so loud in declaiming against my using the time that is within my own power will kindly not interrupt me, I will proceed. I think it is scarcely fair upon speakers that they should be interrupted either by applause or by disapprobation, and I have been greatly pained (I must use my last minute by stating this)—on returning after an absence of eight years from England—at finding that in a religious assembly feelings either of commendation or disapprobation should be so strongly and perseveringly enunciated; and I think it would be a wise law of the Congress if it was required that all such demonstrations should be reserved to the end of the speeches.

The Secretary tells me that I have one minute more. In that one minute, then, I would say that I deeply regretted the interruption that occurred in the case of Chancellor Massingberd; but I am extremely thankful that he has returned to the meeting, and I would earnestly trust that he will illustrate the benefit of a discussion of this kind by allowing his manuscript to be printed.

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### EARL NELSON.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I was intrusted at Southampton with the great privilege of reading a paper upon a subject somewhat similar to this. When at these Congresses we are intrusted with a subject, I think it is natural that we should desire to look after it as it turns up at other Congresses, and to think of the subject long after the discussion which we may have originated has passed. It is for that reason that I ventured to send in my card upon this occasion.

In that paper I went fully into the matter, and drew a clear distinction between the spiritual unity, in the enunciation of which I agree with the gentleman who spoke here, Mr Emiliius Bayley; but also, I believe—and I think I am right in believing—that a visible unity was prayed for by our blessed Lord, and that the object of that visible unity was to be a means, when it was attained, of helping the world to believe in His

name. And I think it is evident also, if we look around us in our own country, that if we could present to those masses of infidelity with which we have to contend a more united front, it is obvious, I say, that greater blessings would attend our ministrations. This evening I shall occupy your time very shortly, and only touch one branch of the subject.

I quite agree with a preceding speaker that we cannot force union one way or the other. We cannot force the Church to join with the Nonconformists, or the Nonconformists to join with the Church; but in that, looking to this subject—which I have thought it my duty to do really long before I read a paper upon it, and when I first heard it enunciated in very able speeches at the Church Congress at Wolverhampton—I have come to the conclusion that many things that have lately happened, not by our own seeking, have tended very much to bring that unity in our own country with the Nonconformists into a greater chance of being carried out than there ever was before. I will only refer you to two questions, on which two measures have been passed during the last two sessions of Parliament.

In the first place, the Elementary Education Bill, and last session the Universities Tests Repeal Bill. Now, both these questions have had a direct tendency to force us, whether we will or no, into a sort of unity—unity at all events both at the Universities and on the school boards—fighting the great question of religion with the orthodox Nonconformists; and I do entertain some hope that bringing them together in one cause will tend to make the Church and those orthodox Nonconformists who hold the Creeds see that there is not that difference between them and us that they have hitherto supposed. Now, in particular,—and let that one thing give us a hope, for if we can do it with one, why should not others be led to do so in the same way. It struck me the other day that under this feeling—under this compulsory united action in one good cause, the education and the maintenance of our people in a true religion—that we might look for unity among the Wesleyans and ourselves. I said before, this unity is not to be forced. It is perhaps at this present time only my individual thought; but I hope that many of our Wesleyan friends who may be here will hear that thought and think about it. It appears to me that where many of us hold the same doctrine as Wesley—where we use many of his hymns with delight—where perhaps some of us more fully agree with his teaching than many of those who bear his name,—there is, it seems to me, little required to induce more unity between Wesleyans and ourselves. It appears to me that if they will only accept the rule of their founder, that they should receive the Sacrament in the Church of England, there is no reason why that union should not be completed, and why we should not receive the Wesleyans as a brotherhood ready for preaching the gospel throughout the land; not in opposition, but in communion with the Church of England, with their own chapels, with their own ministers, with their own Wesleyan Conference, with their own President managing the body in union with the Church, and walking with her and labouring with her in the cause of Christ in this land; for then, if that was done, they who wish to have Episcopal ordination could be admitted at once to minister in the churches of this land, and many might have an order of the diaconate which many laymen are asking for, and sub-diaconates for reading and teaching in the schools with the authority of the Church.

I have thrown out this thought because I really do believe that our being forced, from no seeking of our own, to be thrown together in greater union, must tend to open the hearts of all, and must, in the end, lead to that visible unity as regards Wesleyans and ourselves, which would be not only a mighty means of carrying on the work against infidelity in this land, but would be a means which would induce other orthodox Nonconformists to rejoin the Church to which they originally belonged.

The Rev. J. C. RYLE.

I HAVE sent in my card to-night, and ask to be allowed to say a few words for a very simple reason. I wish to be allowed to express the very deep sense I feel of the immense importance of this subject of unity. I give place by subjection to no man in the Church of England in my earnest desire for a deeper unity both within the Church and without the Church to which I belong.

My Lord, I have never hesitated to express my opinion publicly and honestly on any platform, and I suppose I should be put down, if my picture was taken to-night, as a very strait-laced Evangelical. Well, it may be correct or it may not be correct; but at all events, whatever name I go by in the estimation of others, I ask them to believe that in true love to the Church of England, and desire to promote unity amongst all true-hearted Churchmen, I give place to no Churchman within the bounds of the Church.

I do not agree with all that my friend Mr Maclagan has said to-night upon the subject of the prosecutions carried on by the "Church Association." I do not stand here to enter into any dispute about it. I will only make the charitable and courteous remark to him, that I think there is another view of that subject to be given if there was only time to go into it. But I leave the subject there, and ask him to remember that I do not accept the view he has given of the persecutions as quite a correct view.

Now, with regard to the Greek and Roman Churches, I shall say nothing at all, because until the Greek Church alters and the Roman Church alters, I think union is impossible. I shall say very little indeed about union with Nonconformists. I only say we ought to regard our Nonconformist brethren in England and Wales with great tenderness and consideration. Who made them Nonconformists—the greater part of them? We drove them out of the Church of England by our own neglect, by careless clergymen, by careless Bishops, careless services and ungodly living among Churchmen; and we should not be the first to throw a stone at them or speak lightly about their having left us—"Schismaticus est qui schisma causat non qui separat." Whether we have not caused a vast amount of Nonconformity, I leave to those who read Church history to judge for themselves. We are never likely to bring them back by any treatment but that of kindness. I co-operate with them on all matters on which I can co-operate. I co-operate with them on the platform of the Bible Society, and I think it no harm at all; and as we have agreed that Bishops and Deans and learned men may co-operate with Nonconformists in revising the Bible translation, I suppose we may co-operate with them in spreading that translation when it is made. But it is unity in the Church about which I wish to say a few words. Division is a cause of weakness, and we are in danger from our unhappy divisions. In the recent debate on Mr Miall's motion, the finger of scorn was pointed at us, as a house divided against itself; and when so pointed, one felt sorry that an answer could not be given. Since the time when Ridley and Hooper were divided among the Reformers, never has there been a time without any divisions among us. This is but poor consolation. The question still remains, Are not these divisions in some sense remediable? is there no bridge of any kind to be put over the gulf? Cannot true-hearted men of various schools of the Church of England be brought somewhat nearer to each other than they now are, and be brought to work together somewhat more comfortably within the same Church?

My Lord, I am going to say a strange thing; I hope no person here will think that I cease to be an Evangelical because I say it. I am going to affirm my firm conviction that there are many clergymen in the Church of England who differ from that school to which I belong myself, whom I believe to be true-hearted men in the sight of God—I believe they love Christ; I believe they have the Holy Ghost; I believe they are renewed in the spirit of their minds, and that they love the Church of England. And because their heads, as I conceive, are very much mistaken, am I to say that their hearts are not right in the sight of God? Mistaken I believe they are on many points, but I

believe they love the truth. Do I love the Bible? So do they. Do I love the Prayer-Book? So do they. Do I love the Creeds? So do they. Have I subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles? So have they. Am I zealous for the Church of England? Do I love the Church of England, and think hers the best communion upon earth? So, I believe, do many of them. I want to know whether we cannot devise some means of bringing these men, true-hearted men, in different schools of opinion, into closer union one with another?

Now, my Lord, I cannot say I expect a great deal of unity to be produced by Congresses. Congresses do a great deal of good, no doubt; they rub off corners, [and make us respect one another. They dispel some prejudices. Perhaps when people see a man for the first time, they are apt to expect that they are going to see a *monstrum horrendum informe ingens*; and they often go home and say, "Well, he is not so bad a fellow as I thought he was." This is one benefit which may come out of Congresses. There is a great deal in seeing a man face to face. Still, after all, I think we want something more than this. Whether or not God means to bring us together by some fierce persecution—whether, like bars of iron when cold, you never can weld them together, yet when you put them into the fire and have made them white hot, you can make them one; I say, whether in that way true-hearted Churchmen and real children of God shall be brought together, it is not for me to say. Ridley and Latimer had different ideas about vestments; but when the fires of Smithfield were lighted up, and Bloody Mary consigned many of our best Reformers to death, it was then found that they were agreed in piety, and in one mind in the prospect of death. Danger and persecution may bring us together some of these days more than we are brought together now; but in the meantime, may we not do something more for promoting unity by private conferences among the leaders of opinion in the different schools of the Church? We shall not do much by standing on public platforms, where every slip of the tongue is sure to be reported. But can we not get small meetings?—not large meetings, where men are shy; but small meetings, where the leaders of opinion in various schools of thought in our Church may quietly sit down and talk with one another, and, above all, ask one another what they really mean by the words which they use?

I believe, myself, my Lord, that many of our differences will be found to arise, when we come to sit down and talk quietly over them, from the different meaning which we attach to words. We shall then find that words which we take in one sense, men of other schools take in another sense; but in reality, in the sight of death, on a deathbed, in the sight of the judgment-day, in the sight of anything which brings our heart of hearts out, we are one in the sight of God, one in Christ, joined by the same Spirit, one on the same Rock of ages, for time and for eternity.

Well, I can only say, before I sit down, we should all pray and strive, and make some sacrifice to attain more unity in the Church of England. This is one of our grand weaknesses, that we are not a more united Church. If we were a united Church, we might laugh to scorn Mr Miall's motion, or the efforts of any other man, whoever he might be, if we were but of one heart and one mind, instead of wasting our strength in contending one with another. But if, like the unhappy Jews at Jerusalem, with Titus and his Roman army thundering at the gates, we are found wasting our time in internal conflict, —then we may expect that we shall never be able to resist with success any outward foe. The end will be that the words used on a certain occasion will be verified in a strange manner in our case, and perhaps "the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation."

THE REV. C. F. LOWDER, M.A., Incumbent of St Peter's, St  
George's in the East, London.

It is not the first time that I have had the satisfaction of following Mr Ryle on the platform of the Church Congress, and I can truly say that the last time I had the pleasure of doing so, I was only too thankful for the privilege, as I am now, for he has completely cleared the way for me. He has so well set before you the principles on which we feel that any true unity must be established, that I feel most thankful to him for those truths which he has just enunciated. I feel with him that it is not merely on these platforms of the Church Congresses that we must talk of unity; it is not merely holding out the right hand of fellowship here, but by considering it carefully, with prayer to Almighty God that the work of unity may, with His grace and blessing, be promoted. And if I say anything to-night which may help that, I thank God for giving me grace to do so; and if I say anything which may hurt or wound in any way the feelings of those who hear me, I hope they will believe it is not because I wish to wound their feelings, but because I feel that above all peace there must be truth. I must speak the words of truth which I hold and believe; but I desire to speak those words of truth in the way of peace.

Now, I have this advantage over Mr Ryle, that he was obliged to put aside the thought of union with Rome, the thought of union with the Eastern Church; and addressed himself merely to the two subjects of unity in our own Church and unity with Non-conformists. Thank God, I am able to believe, and I desire with all my heart, and I pray every day of my life that Almighty God may bring about a unity in the whole Church; not only a deeper unity within our own ranks; not only a unity with Non-conformists, but a unity with the whole of Christendom; and I thank God for all the symptoms of that unity which (amongst all our difficulties, and amongst all the distresses of Christendom) is yet in the distance. And I hope we shall all pray that, whether it be in the decisions of the Council of Trent, which we are told by one of our great divines may be examined and reconciled, or in the Thirty-nine Articles of our own Church, that we may yet find a basis of unity with our brethren within the Roman Communion. We thank God for the wonderful advance of the hopes of reunion with the Eastern Church. But having said this, let me address myself now especially to the subjects of unity within our own communion, and unity with our Non-conformist brethren; and let me, putting aside mere flowers of rhetoric, draw the thoughts of this great meeting towards the Altar of our God. I have been taught to believe, and every year that I live, I believe more heartily and truly, that the great centre of union between Christians is, under our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in that Sacrament of love which He has left and bequeathed to His Church; and I believe it will be found, as we all, though from different points of view, learn to love that Sacrament of love—learn to use that Sacrament of love—learn to betake ourselves more and more to it—that we shall find, by the supernatural grace of the Sacrament, that spirit of love, of charity, and of unity growing more and more within our souls, and binding us more and more together. Surely I speak to the consciences of every one in this room when I remind them that this was the great bond, the daily bond of unity, between the first Christians of the Church; and well may we go back to those early times of the Primitive Church, to the Acts of the Apostles, and learn there how, with the fresh grace of Pentecost, the first Christians, under the apostolic guidance, learned to join and unite themselves together. And I believe most firmly, that if each, in our several churches—it may be at present under different forms of ritual—it may be with differences of outward reverence—it may be with differences as to our faith in that adorable Sacrament; yet, I believe, that if we, with all our differences, would pray that we might have grace to go back to the days of the Apostles; and if we would ourselves urge

upon our people the reverent, and the frequent use of that blessed Sacrament, in the spirit of love, I believe that it would be the great means of drawing our hearts together; because we could not approach the altars of our churches—we could not approach God in that blessed Sacrament, day by day, as we should do according to the example of the early Church, without feeling that we were more drawn together, that we were more attracted, that we had more grace to love one another. I am quite sure that this would be a principle of union among ourselves; and if Mr Ryle will only put in practice what he has so eloquently advocated here—the meeting together of men of different schools of opinion, that they might understand one another better—I think we should find some means by which, at least, we could understand one another better in respect to that great Sacrament of our Church, and in the right and reverent use, and the restoration of it amongst us. And as it is with ourselves, in restoring deeper unity, so, I believe, it is with respect to our Nonconformist brethren. I do not believe there is any use at all in pretending to our Nonconformist brethren that there are no differences between us; that is a hollow kind of unity; it is no use talking about ourselves as one when we are not one. The want of unity, the disunion of one parish from another parish, and the disunion of one parish priest from another parish priest, are great evils and great dangers, and we must be content to face them, and to pray God that He will give us grace to avert them more and more. And so with our Nonconformist brethren; it is no use our going to them and telling them that there is no great difference between us. There are great differences between us. There are great differences in respect of the Holy Communion, and I believe it is wisest to set forth the truth, and to teach them that it is in their parish churches that they can alone get that blessed Sacrament in its fulness; and, I trust, we shall draw our Nonconformist brethren to ourselves when they see us constantly, lovingly, going forth in the power of sacramental grace to do our Master's work, to draw in and convert souls to Christ; when they see the devotion and love of our communicants who gather around His altar, they will see the love of Jesus Christ working through His Sacrament; and when we go to them in the power of that grace, and through these blessed sacraments, then I believe we have a manifestation, and an example to set before them which they must see, which they must follow, and which they must feel to be true and real. Therefore, I pray that I may leave this one thought with you—let us restore the love and the reverence, and the frequent and daily use of the blessed Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood among us, and believe that there is a true means of union.

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The Rev. WILLIAM LEFROY, M.A., Incumbent of St Andrew's,  
Liverpool.

MY LORD,—When last I spoke at a Church Congress I had the pleasure of preceding the Rev. Mr Lowder, and I have now the pleasure of succeeding him; and I want to give you my reasons for not being quite so hopeful of union with the Church of Rome as he seems to be. I shall try to do this in five minutes, and I shall give three reasons.

I ask leave to say, that between the Anglican and the Latin Communions there is—firstly, antagonism; secondly, the antagonism is designed; thirdly, this designed antagonism is mutual. The first point is illustrated by the Reformation in the past, and by every alternate individual secession in the present. Organic secession involves essential opposition; and thus individual secession on either side is explained. Hence every man who has left the Church of England to join the Church of Rome, from Christopher Davenport to Dr Newman, and every man who has left the Church of Rome to join the Church of England, from Cranmer to the last Maynooth student, is a

witness to the fact of antagonism. The literature of this great question—dogmatic and conciliatory—is a second illustration. The famous tract of Sancta Clara, of 1634—the Eirenekon of that day—its reappearance in an English dress in our own; the well-known Tract 90; Dr Pusey's historical preface; his elaborate Eirenekon; and the uncompromising reply of Cardinal Patrizzi to an address from the society which seeks to promote the union of Christendom,—this "conciliatory" literature is pointless apart from the opposition it seeks to assuage; and the mere mention of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England in juxtaposition with the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent is sufficient to save me from heaping together further proof, so that literature, dogmatic, conciliatory; secession, organic, individual, mutual, indicate that the attitude of these Communions is antagonistic. But antagonism may be apparent or real, accidental or designed. If accidental, it may be healed by explanation; if designed—designed through the essential contradiction of truth to or by error—then, so far from explanation offering a basis of agreement, it only exhibits the fundamental differences on which designed opposition rests. In this case, opposition is not only inevitable—it is imperative; it must exist, because it ought to exist. But I pass on to say something about the designed opposition that exists between the English Articles and the Tridentine decrees. It is certain that the controversial Articles of our Thirty-nine are little else than a reproduction of the Lutheran statements on the same subjects, especially those contained in the Confession of Augsburg. It is equally certain that the canons and decrees of Trent were aimed at that Confession. We know this from Sarpi, Pallavicino, Perrone; and Waterworth, in his preface, declares that in the Council of Trent "the innovators of the sixteenth century were condemned." Sarpi states that the decree respecting tradition was purposely passed in opposition to the statement of Luther. Pallavicino is equally candid. Here is Tridentine theology opposed to Protestant Confessions. Yet in the face of this Cranmer accepted some of these very articles, and communicated his intention to oppose Tridentine dogma in a letter to Calvin in 1552-3. That letter is given in Hardwick's history of the Articles. "Our adversaries," says Cranmer, "are now holding their deliberations at Trent, in order to confirm their errors; shall we then neglect to assemble a pious synod to refute those errors, and to purify the doctrines." Here, then, Protestant theology was designed to oppose Tridentine confession. And more, when the forty-two Articles were reduced to thirty-nine, in 1562-3, the Articles bearing on the Roman Catholic controversy were scarcely altered, except to make them more unmistakably Protestant. Thus the dogmas of the twenty-second Article of 1562 were termed the "doctrines of the schoolmen;" in 1562-3 they were termed "Romish," and Burnet explains the diversity by the fact that although the Tridentine decrees were not then published, yet that they were passed, and because they were, this alteration was made. The same anti-Roman amendments are found in the Articles on the use of the vernacular tongue in Public Worship, the Sacraments, and the Lord's Supper. Of the pointed illustrations of this position which our present articles supply, I shall cite but two, from the twenty-eighth and thirty-first. The Council of Trent, in its twenty-second session, and fourth canon, anathematizes those who say that by the sacrifice of the mass a "blasphemy" is cast upon the sacrifice. This decree was passed in September 1562. Now, in the Elizabethan revision of January 1562-3, this very word "blasphemy" was introduced into our present thirty-first Article in obvious reference to Trent's fourth canon, passed in the previous September. Again, the decrees on the Eucharist were passed in October 1551; the eighth canon anathematizing those who say that Christ is given and "eaten spiritually only." In the face of this, in 1562-3 the words were introduced into our article "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner." Here, again, English theology is purposely antagonistic to that of Rome.

The Rev. C. F. LOWDER.—I beg to call the speaker to order for misquoting my speech. I did not speak of union, but of unity.

The CHAIRMAN.—I must say that Mr Lowder's call is perfectly in order. I did not call the speaker to order myself, because, knowing the time was very short, I was anxious, as long as you were content to hear him, to give him his five minutes. Mr Lowder is quite in order. The object of the meeting is for the promoting of unity, and not the advancing of opinions.

The Rev. W. LEFROY.—I am thankful to Mr Lowder for his correction. I only regret that he did not make it when Mr Maclagan spoke of the prosecutions. I say, then, the points I have been allowed to refer to show that the unity which men are endeavouring to bring about between the Church of Rome and the Church of England are confronted by these great difficulties of antagonism—designed antagonism, and a mutually designed antagonism. And let the gentlemen who are endeavouring to bring this union about act as they please—"Question, question." The question is the difficulties of unity. My Lord, I again venture to lay before you this—How can we have unity until you face designed antagonism? Do what you will, you will never make the Articles of the Church of England speak the language of the Church of Rome. You cannot do it.

The CHAIRMAN.—I really must read the question. It is the promotion of a deeper unity within the Church and among Christians generally. (Mr Lefroy's time having expired, he did not further attempt to address the meeting.)

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### MAJOR-GENERAL BURROWS.

MY LORD,—I desire to say a few words upon the subject of this evening, which has been for some time a very interesting one to myself, and appears to be of great importance at the present time, when the advantage of union, and yet the difficulty of attaining it, is so fully recognised.

We are called upon to consider in what manner a deeper unity may be promoted among Christians within the Church of England, as well as with Christians generally; and I venture to think that such a meeting as this Congress is likely to have a great and beneficial result in both these directions, considering the kind hospitality which has been displayed by members of various Churches to those who have come to Nottingham on this occasion; and although this may not be the appointed time for expressing our thanks for such kindness, we must yet feel grateful for it; and that a union of sentiment and sense of common interests have been largely promoted by this Congress.

Now, with regard to the extension of more unity in the Church itself, and in addition to other plans suggested, I would state, from my own experience, how much of united feeling and action is produced by friends working together among the masses of the people, and endeavouring to reach them with the gospel of peace. Permit me also to say, that as soldiers in a campaign are not always talking about being united and helpful to one another, but are acting and fighting and obeying as one man, and are thus insensibly drawn together in good fellowship; so if we, as Christians, talked rather less about unity, and worked more in concert, we should perceive a more united spirit in our different communities. Trusting also that it is not irrelevant, I would say that this working and acting together can be well carried out by members of the Church agreeing to work in unison in the crowded parishes near them, with the concurrence of the clergy-men, and if this is done on a well arranged and extensive plan, it might lead to much more acquaintance and fellowship in our own Communion than at present.

I have the pleasure of being acquainted with the rector of a crowded parish in the south-east of London, who invited two Christian laymen to work among the men who were idling about on a Saturday afternoon. Not content with setting them to work, he went himself in their company, speaking earnestly to the men, singly or in knots and



groups, showing his friends how it should be done, and engaging in prayer with them previously. This mode of proceeding prospered as to its results, and it led to another effort of a similar kind being made in a large neighbourhood, carried on by several zealous workers, instructed and led by one of those laymen whom the rector had encouraged to commence the work in the first instance. I venture to think, my Lord, that many of our laity might thus be induced to act if they were directed and encouraged, while they would themselves realise one of the rewards of efforts made for the cause of Christ—viz., that of being drawn to one another in Christian love and duty, far more than if they had remained in isolation and comparative inaction.

I am also anxious to throw out the idea that more might be done towards the attainment of the unity we desire by establishing social meetings amongst our people, somewhat after the manner of the Nonconformists, the evening being spent in hearing information upon missionary and other topics, and in the enjoyment of the intercourse of friends and acquaintances.

The soiree, to which we are invited at the close of the Congress, by our kind and generous friend the Mayor, may be considered as a meeting of the above description, which could be imitated in many places on a smaller scale, thus providing the means of interchanging ideas and sentiments, as well as of informing each other concerning the progress of schemes of good in which we may be engaged.

With regard to uniting Nonconformists to the Church, a subject which has been much dwelt upon this evening, I venture to think, that if as members of the Church of England, both lay and clerical, we exhibited more of the spirit of reality and true concord, our Nonconformist friends would be more drawn towards us "as a city that is compact together." Working with one another and with them would tend to smooth down differences, and lead us, under the divine blessing, really to "love one another."

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### The Rev. H. T. EDWARDS, Vicar of Caernarvon.

MY LORD,—In rising to address this Congress, I venture to ask for some indulgence as a stranger. I belong to a people who are, at least in their language, a foreign people. I am also one of the clergy of a Church that is, to a very considerable extent, as far as its inward life goes, unknown to the people of England. I think I am entitled to ask some degree of indulgence, as I am the only native Welsh-speaking clergyman who addresses this Congress. It seems to me that under the circumstances I had a right to ask the President to allow me a longer time than five minutes in which to make some observations upon religious unity from the point of view of a clergyman who works in a country where religious disunion prevails to an extraordinary extent. Indeed, I think my countrymen have a right to complain that the Welsh Church has never received much attention at these Church Congresses. During the ten years in which they have been held, I am not aware that any subject affecting the life of the Welsh Church and its four dioceses has ever been discussed, or that any native Welsh-speaking clergyman has ever been invited to read a paper or to deliver an address at any one of these meetings.

I shall now say a few words concerning a deeper religious unity, as the subject presents itself to the mind of a Welsh clergyman. I confess that I have been disappointed in the treatment of this solemn subject by the various readers and speakers this evening. With all deference and humility I venture to say that there has been little depth in that treatment. It has been from first to last superficial. What is the deep foundation of religious unity? Whence comes the obligation to realise that unity? It is found in the truth that unity is an eternal attribute in the divine life of God. The salvation of humanity depends upon the participation of every attribute in that divine life. Every spiritual obligation rests upon that sanction. Why is the Church obliged to be holy?—"Be ye holy because I am holy." So the obligation to realise unity is derived from the

same source—"That they may be one, even as we are one." This eternal truth found expression in the Jewish Church objectively. What was the centre of its unity? The whole life of that Church revolved around the Ark of the Testimony and the Shekinah of the Presence in the Holy of Holies. When the Jewish dispensation had passed away, the principle of unity survived in a new form. It burst as it were the shell of exclusive Judaism, and had wings given to it, that enabled it to travel under another form into all lands. What are the essential forms in which the unity of the Christian Church is enshrined? It dwells in the testimony of the Catholic Creeds, and in the supernatural presence extended by the power of the Eternal Spirit working in His own appointed order through an authoritative ministry in the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

In every land it is the duty of man to obey the spiritual law of unity no less than the law of holiness, by clinging to that Church which has inherited the rights of original mission, which retains the Ark of the Testimony in the Catholic Creeds, and in which the Sacraments are rightly and duly administered by a regularly authorised apostolical ministry. We are sometimes told that unity is impossible because divisions are so rife. But are we justified in ceasing to strive for holiness because unholiness is prevalent in the world around us? No. In the same way the law of unity demands the obedience of every soul, however grievously it may be violated by others.

In this land the Church of England has those essentials that constitute her the centre of unity. Therefore, as clergymen of that Church, we are bound to invite the souls of our countrymen to seek her sanctuaries as the only temples in which they can bow before the God of unity. We have been advised not to claim a monopoly of divine grace. But I do not think that we are likely to gain any advantage by speculatively discussing before the people the degrees of grace that may possibly be attainable in unauthorised systems on the outside of that Church which is the divinely appointed centre of unity in this land. It is not for us to speculate how much grace can be found in systems of human creation; but we are bound to call the people to seek grace and life in that one Catholic and Apostolic Church in this land which contains the fulness of God's truth.

Now, a large number of people have been alienated from the Church in Wales. What is the cause of that estrangement? Not the doctrines, not the Sacraments, but the gross maladministration of that Church. For one hundred and fifty years alien Bishops were sent into Wales, utterly incapable of addressing the people in their own language, utterly unable to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments in the only tongue understood by nearly a million of my countrymen. Could the Welsh people be expected to realise the divine authority of that Church whose chief pastors addressed them in a language which they did not understand? The English Episcopate in Wales has destroyed the Welsh Church, and substituted for religious unity innumerable sects. I am also convinced that maladministration in other forms is the main cause of dissent in England. The system of the Church is too inelastic. There is a profound conviction among earnest laymen that it is almost impossible for them to find within her fold any sphere of religious usefulness, and that conviction alienates them from her gates.

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#### The Rev. F. F. GOE, M.A.

Two lessons may, I think, be profitably drawn from what has been said during this discussion: First, as to unity within the Church, it has been distinctly admitted on both sides, that unity, however valuable, may be purchased too dearly, and that it is too dearly purchased at the expense of truth. Mr Maclagan gave utterance to a most important sentiment when he said, "I do not believe in compromise." Neither do I; and therefore I hold, that there can be no true unity with men who hold and teach doctrines which our Church deliberately cast off at the Reformation; to such we must

apply the language of St Paul, "To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you."

Secondly, as to union with Nonconformists and Protestant bodies on the Continent, I think we cannot hope to advance far in that direction without acknowledging two principles. The first is this, that a distinction exists, and ought always to be drawn, between the Church and the Churches; between the visible Churches of the East and the West, and of England, on the one hand, and the mystical body of Christ, which is the object of faith, not of sight, on the other. When I say, in the words of the Nicene Creed, "I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church," I am not speaking of the aggregate of visible Churches, but of the whole body of those in whom the Spirit of God dwells, and who "are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." The other principle I think we must admit is this: that the Episcopalian form of Church government, although it be essential to the perfection of a Church, is not essential to its existence; and in saying this, I am supported by great names, which many High Churchmen regard with reverence. Yesterday afternoon, when the Bishop of Lincoln made mention of the name of Bishop Andrews, it was received with great applause. Now Bishop Andrews in his correspondence with Du Moulin says: "Though our form of polity be of divine right, it does not thence follow either that there is no salvation, or that a Church cannot stand without it. He must be blind who does not see Churches standing without it; he must be iron-hearted who would deny salvation to them. You do not condemn a thing by preferring to it something better." The same opinion was held by Bishop Cosin, who is also venerated by High Churchmen. In his correspondence with Mr Cordel, he says: "Though we may safely maintain it, that their ministers (i.e., of the French Protestants) are not so rightly ordained as they should be by those Bishops of the Church who, since the apostles' time, have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest, yet that by reason of this defect, there is a total nullity in their ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all, because they are ordained by those only who are no more but priests or ministers among them, for my part, I would be loath to affirm and determine against them."

I think that the recognition of these principles, in dealing with Nonconformists at home and Protestants abroad, would greatly help to remove prejudices, and promote unity.

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### The Rev. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.A.

I WISH just to revert for a moment to some passages that occurred at the beginning of this meeting—that subject of which the centre was our Lord's prayer for unity.

I venture to think the interpretation given to that prayer by my friend Mr Cadman is somewhat arbitrary. I understand him to say (and I have heard the same said in other places), that the prayer was not meant to be fulfilled until the second coming of our Lord. That is a very arbitrary interpretation. It may be that the fulness of that prayer will not be accomplished until the second coming of our Lord; but that by no means shows that we ought not to strive for the fulfilment of that prayer by outward unity. There are a great many things which I do not expect to see before our Lord comes again. I do not think the promise that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord will be fulfilled, in its outward sense, until He comes. Nevertheless, nothing shall persuade me that it is not our duty every moment of our lives to strive and pray for that consummation. We are to be looking unto, and hastening to that consummation. We cannot tell by what means it may please God to bring about those things for which we are striving and praying.

I quite agree with what has been said, that unity is nothing without conviction; but

surely the history of the Church's divisions demonstrates to us this, that there has been something wrong in the ideas of truth that men have held—that it is the false and overbearing way in which each has asserted his convictions which has prevented unity. There has been, no doubt, an essential unity among those who are really at heart Christians. Bossuet was a real Christian, and so was Claude; but when the feud between them came to such a point as that Bossuet advised even murderous measures against the Church of which Claude was a member, we can quite understand that they were doing something that was very wrong. In essential things Toplady and Wesley were one. There must have been unity in their souls in the sight of God; but when the strife grew so fierce between them as to lead Toplady to publish a treatise against Wesley entitled, “An Old Fox Tarred and Feathered,” we can well understand that it was something wrong that he was doing. Now, those two cases I have pointed out were very extreme cases, but I think the same thing exists in some degree wherever there is division—wherever there is an outward division in those who belong to the same fold of our Saviour Christ. It ought to be, therefore, our constant endeavour as far as possible to remove those things that prevent unity. I say, I believe that there has been in every age of the Church something wrong in the convictions of Christians, each one putting something more into the article of salvation besides simple faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, which we are all taught to believe is the only thing necessary for salvation.

I venture to think, when we exaggerate anything non-essential that we prevent unity—we prevent love; because whenever we exaggerate any matter it is quite certain that those who do not agree with us, instead of taking the exact medium in their opposition to us, will take some position much further from us than that exact medium; and I venture to think some of the expressions we have heard on this platform, and which have been very loudly cheered in this hall, with reference to the value we ought to set upon Episcopacy, are such as show that opinions are held which are overweening, and which must necessarily produce antagonism; and I think while this is the case we may expect, nay, even desire, that, in the providence of God, things should arise which are calculated to abate our extreme pretensions. We have heard on this platform (and I remember hearing the same thing preached at my ordination) that the same arguments will make us uphold Episcopacy as a divine institution as make us believe in the Trinity itself. I believe that to be far too high to rate Episcopacy. I should be myself disposed to rate it very much lower; and I think until we cease to rate it at that great height, we shall have non-Episcopal bodies greatly blessed by the Spirit of God outside our communion. And, moreover, it would be very wrong for them to give up their position until those our exaggerations are corrected. The balance of truth ought to be preserved; and where it is not preserved, I believe it is through God's wise providence that there arises an antagonism to redress that balance which we have disturbed.

I venture to think, as regards Nonconformists, that we may do something more than has been said this evening towards showing sympathy with them; and where our pretensions are not so high as has been stated, we shall have greater success. I cannot help thinking that when Mr Maclagan (though the spirit he has shown is worthy of great admiration), says to his non-Episcopal brethren that he believes his commission is so much higher than theirs, this must necessarily disturb the love that would exist between them. When we feel that we are almost upon a level—that it is merely a matter of opinion—that it is a matter of organisation—a matter in which each denomination, led by the Spirit of God, has the power and the right to choose its own form of worship—then we shall gradually come back to the real grounds on which Episcopacy stands, and may then be reunited in the only way in which I believe it to be possible for us to be united, in the Episcopal Church. I believe that we may go farther than merely meeting our Nonconformist brethren on the platforms of the Bible Society; I believe that we may sometimes attend some of their festivals and the anniversaries of their congregations, and that doing so will bring about a better spirit. And I may conclude by saying, that I have never found simple-minded Christians, and

especially the poor, able to appreciate the differences on which different sects have been formed. They always seem to me to see, through all these differences, the unity of the Spirit, and I believe we may learn a very great lesson from them.

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The Rev. GEORGE EVERARD, M.A., Vicar of St Mark's,  
Wolverhampton.

THERE was a sentence uttered by one who preceded me with which I feel the very deepest sympathy, though uttered by one with whom I differ in very essential points. It was said that one of the greatest points of unity is holy living; and if every Christian here to-night were to try to live nearer to Christ, to have more faith in Him, more burning love to Him, that that would be a great means of uniting men together as Christian brethren. Let it be the prayer of our heart—

“O Holy Ghost! into our minds send down Thy heavenly light,  
And kindle our hearts with fervent zeal, to serve God day and night.”

There is one means of unity which I must touch upon, although it has been before mentioned. I believe one great means of unity is holding fast pure scriptural truth. I believe that error is the great separatist; I believe that scriptural truth is the true uniter; where error comes in, whether that error be Socinian, or Romish, or Rationalistic, I believe that it immediately raises up a high wall, a high barrier, between Christians, and that there is no greater friend of unity than he who stands fast and firm by the blessed truths of Holy Scripture, making those truths the strength of his own soul, and the strength of his ministry, as he goes forth to proclaim Christ crucified wherever he may be.

My friends, there is one text, as we are drawing to the close of this evening, that you will permit me to mention, as a practical text to which I would refer those who are present. There is one word about unity in the Gospel of St John that I think has not been mentioned. You will remember when Caiaphas uttered those remarkable words about the death of Jesus, the Evangelist adds: “This spake he, not of himself, but being high priest that same year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also He should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.” I learn from this that the link of unity is the cross of the Redeemer. The link of unity is not what some good brethren imagine, something supernatural in the elements, nor even is it chiefly the sacrament itself. We all believe the Presence in the Sacrament, but not in the elements. I believe the real bond of unity is to stand beneath the cross of our Redeemer. There, beneath that cross, Mary and John formed a new link; the Saviour bound those two hearts together as they stood beneath the cross. Oh! if each of us are drawn by divine grace to gaze upon that Crucified One, if our hearts are filled with love to Him who died for our sins, surely we shall love our brethren who are there also. Can we, when we see beneath that cross a brother who loves that Crucified One in his heart, be separated from him? I see my brother there as I see myself. I see that he and I are both saved by the blood that was shed there. I see there the bond of unity that shall join us together—faith in the Crucified—not faith in the real Presence in the Sacrament—but faith in the Crucified Saviour, and this shall bind us together for ever.

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The Rev. G. W. BRAMELD, M.A., Vicar of East Markham, Notts.

I WISH to say a few words on a subject which must shortly come to the front, and which bears directly upon the matter now under discussion—I mean the revision of the Common Prayer. It has been truly said that uniformity is the great foe to unity; and this truth is so far recognised, that while all parties are agreed in a general love and veneration for our admirable Liturgy, all are, at the same time, ready to admit that some alteration is needful. Hitherto this question has been treated on a very narrow basis. I am inclined to think that it ought to be treated on a very broad one. The one society which has, as yet, taken up the subject, proposes, I believe, to alter the Prayer Book by excluding from it all High Church doctrine and practice. After the large-hearted and generous speeches which we have heard to-night from the leaders of the Evangelical party, I rejoice to think that such a scheme has no chance of success. We do not want one party in the Church to have all its own way—we want fair-play for all parties; and the only plan by which fair-play can be secured seems to be the extension of the principle of alternative services. It is thus only that justice can be done to our friends the Ritualists. I am myself no Ritualist; with many of their opinions and practices I feel no sympathy at all. But I recognise their earnestness, sincerity, and piety; and as the Catholic theory, as they interpret it, requires an antique and ornate ritual, I see no reason why the first Prayer-Book of Edward, with some modifications, should not be restored to them. To the Liberal or Broad-Church school, too, something should be conceded. They require no new Liturgy; but, while not desiring to alter the present practice where its retention is wished, they feel that they should no longer be denied the option of omitting the pseudo-Athanasian Hymn, the language of which they believe to be opposed to the gentle, loving spirit of the gospel. The anomaly involved in reading Jewish commandments in a Christian Communion-service they would rectify by adding, “Incline our hearts to keep this law *according to Thy gospel*,” to the response, as virtually recommended in the rubric of the Scotch Liturgy. The Evangelical party have their own objections to certain parts of the service. Alternative prayers might be inserted in the Baptismal Office, and the occasional use of extempore prayer might receive legal sanction. With reference to the Nonconformists, I think that it would be possible to find a bond of union with them on the basis of a common alternative service, to be used by agreement at certain times, alike in church and chapel. A joint-committee, formed on a plan similar to that which has been found so satisfactory in the revision of the authorised version of the Bible, and formed of Churchmen, Wesleyans, and Dissenters, who, like the Rev. Newman Hall, adopt liturgical forms in public worship, might agree to draw up such a service as I have suggested. I have good reason to believe that such a proposal, if made by those in authority in our Church, would receive favourable consideration from some who differ from us; and I think that much good would result from it. Much of the vulgar prejudice existing in some minds against the use of written prayers would be removed; and surely Churchmen and non-Churchmen would love each other better when joining in one common service, based upon the dear and glorious Liturgy of the Church of England.

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#### The CHAIRMAN.

It would be very interesting to sum up what has been said to-night, but I will not trespass upon your time. I would only caution this Church Congress that it cannot promote unity either with itself or any one else if it is prepared to do that which has been recommended this evening—viz., to abolish Episcopacy, to mutilate the Prayer-Book, and to unite with Rome.

The meeting closed with the Benediction.

*THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 12.*

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The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the chair at ten o'clock.

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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONCORDATS AND THE DECLARATION OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY: THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE RELIGION AND POLITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT read the following paper:—

MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—A religious revolution is now going on, which will probably produce more permanent effects in Europe than even those military conflicts which have lately arrested our attention. This revolution is stirring the heart of society to its lowest depths, it is bringing into the field the reason, the will, and the conscience of millions; and its issues will reach far beyond the limits of time and space, and will make themselves felt in eternity. There cannot, therefore, be a more interesting question for ourselves than this—can we, by our prayers, our counsels, and our acts, render any service in guiding this revolution aright, and in leading it, with God's help, to a happy consummation? For some years past, events, in rapid succession, have been hastening on to a crisis. On the 8th of December 1854, when Pope Pius IX. published, in St Peter's Church at Rome, his Pontifical Brief, promulgating the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and requiring all men to receive it as necessary to salvation, he practically assumed the attribute of Infallibility, which has now been elevated into a dogma by the Vatican Council, on July 18th, 1870. And when, on the 8th December 1864, he published his Papal Encyclic with the "Syllabus" attached to it, he publicly declared beforehand upon what principles, and in what manner, he would exercise that prerogative which he now claims of personal Infallibility, not only with regard to articles of faith, but also in questions of morals. Let the "Syllabus" of 1864 be construed together with the dogma of Papal Infallibility, promulgated by the Vatican Council in 1870, and let these again be combined with the still more recent papal decree dated July 7th, 1871, elevating Alphonso de Liguori—whose system of moral, political, and theological teaching is notorious—to the rank and dignity of a "Doctor of the Church," and it may then be easily foretold what will be the destiny, not only of the religion of Europe, but also of its civil liberties and political institutions, if the Roman Papacy shall be able to exercise in practice that universal dominion which it now claims for itself. By the mysterious working of Divine Providence, the day of the exaltation of the Papacy in the Vatican Council, was the eve, in a certain sense, of its humiliation. On the morning after the promulgation of the decree of Papal Infallibility by that Council, the terrible war broke out which has humbled France—the protectress of the Papacy—and which has led to the transfer of the capital of the kingdom of Italy from Florence to Rome, by the suffrages of the Romans themselves, and to the entrance of the troops of the King of Italy, on the 20th of September 1870, within the walls of Rome. By another remarkable coincidence, on the 9th of December 1870, that is,

on the morning after the anniversary of the decree of the Immaculate Conception, a "Project of Law," as it is called, was laid before the Italian Parliament, announcing the transfer of the capital of Rome, and declaring at the same time that "guarantees" would be accorded by the kingdom of Italy for the spiritual independence of the Papacy. The discussion of that law of "Papal Guarantees" occupied the attention of the two Italian Chambers for about five months, and it received the royal assent on the 13th of May in the present year. This law contains the elements of a revolution, moral, political, and religious, such as have rarely been embodied in any one legislative enactment. It has altered the relations of the Church to the State in the kingdom of Italy, and it may tend to change those relations in every country in Europe. During more than four hundred years the nomination to all episcopal sees in the states of Sardinia, Piedmont, and Savoy, has been in the hands of their temporal ruler, according to the terms of a concordat, or compact, made with Pope Nicholas V., in the year 1451, by which it was agreed that the Bishop of Rome should have a veto on that nomination, and that the episcopal nominees of the temporal power should not be allowed to exercise their episcopal functions without the previous reception of bulls of institution from the Papacy. A similar arrangement has prevailed generally in Roman Catholic countries since the concordat between Francis the First of France and Pope Leo X., in the year 1516. All these concordats were based on unsound and vicious principles, and were fraught with disastrous results. According to their terms all the ancient rights of the clergy and laity in Christian Churches were swallowed up by a collusion between the Royal and Papal powers; and the consequence was that, whenever kings and popes disagreed, there was a collapse of Episcopacy. Let me cite one or two illustrations of this statement. Louis XIV. of France was engaged in a conflict with the Papacy for ten years, from 1683 to 1693; the Pope refused bulls of institution to the king's episcopal nominees; and the result of that struggle was, that at the end of that period there were thirty-five dioceses in France without bishops. A similar conflict arose in the present century between the Emperor Napoleon and Pope Pius VII. The Pope refused to confirm the emperor's nomination to episcopal sees, and many of the most important dioceses in the empire were for some time without chief pastors. "The Concordat of 1801," said Napoleon to the Duke of Rovigo, "was the greatest mistake I ever made." In the year 1811 Napoleon convened a Council at Paris, consisting of bishops from France, Italy, and Germany. And, on August 5th of that year the Council passed a decree unanimously, "that the emperor should nominate to all vacant sees, and that if, after the expiration of six months, the Pope refused to institute the bishops nominated by the emperor, then the metropolitan of the province should give institution; and in the case of the nomination of archbishops under similar circumstances, the senior bishop of the province should institute." The Pope himself assented to this arrangement in a paper drawn up at Savona, May 19, 1811. Let us now pass on to our own time. In the kingdom of Italy there are now no less than eighty-nine bishoprics vacant. How will these vacancies be filled up? This is one of the most interesting questions of the day. By the recent law, the Civil Government of Italy has renounced all right to nominate to episcopal sees in its own dominions; a right which has been



exercised by it for four hundred years. The concordat, dating from the fifteenth century, has been abrogated in the present year; and an important question has now arisen, Who will appoint to those vacant bishoprics? The Bishop of Rome is eager to do so; but he cautiously pauses awhile, lest in the present temper of the Italian Parliament and nation towards himself, his episcopal nominees should find, when they enter on their dioceses, that their sees have been despoiled of their episcopal revenues by the civil power. By a royal decree, issued 25th June 1871 (that is, more than a month after the passing of the law of Papal decrees), a startling announcement was made, that all bishops must have the royal "placet" to their appointment before they are admitted to the possession of their temporalities. Hence it has come to pass, that the clergy and laity in nearly ninety dioceses in Italy are now without any episcopal head. Such are the melancholy results of vicious principles and bitter animosities. But, on the other hand, here is a providential opening for the religious revival of Italy. If by a vigorous effort of Church reformation, carried on by a cordial co-operation of the State with the Church, making an appeal (such as was made at our own Reformation) to Holy Scripture and to the principles of primitive Christian antiquity, these eighty-nine Italian sees could now be filled by faithful, holy, and learned bishops, independent of Rome (as St Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, was in the fourth century), and preaching the doctrines which St Ambrose preached, then Italy would be regenerated; and the abolition of the mediæval concordat would be the restoration of the pristine purity and glory of the Italian Church. But, if the opposite alternative should prevail, if the Bishop of Rome should be allowed to exercise an absolute and uncontrolled appointment to these sees, in contravention of all primitive precedent, then the kingdom of Italy will one day bitterly rue the consequences. And why? Let us bear in mind that all Roman Catholic Bishops, at their consecration, are required to take an oath of feudal vassalage to the Roman Pontiff. Let us remember that they are then constrained to swear that they will "maintain his royalties against all men," and that they "will persecute and attack" all persons whom he styles "heretics and schismatics and rebels against himself:" and let us recollect that in Italy, and in most Roman Catholic countries, bishops have absolute power over the clergy of their diocese, and can suspend them at will from their office, and deprive them of their livelihood. And let us not forget that the Roman Catholic priesthood exercises a secret and potent influence over the wills and acts of the laity who adhere to them, by means of the Confessional, and by denial of the sacraments on deathbeds; and then we shall have some notion of the compact and overwhelming power of that spiritual sway which is wielded by the Papacy, acting on the episcopate, and through the episcopate on the priesthood and the people, and exercising a dominant influence on Roman Catholic magistrates and statesmen, and on Roman Catholic military and naval officers, and on private soldiers, and we shall not be slow to acknowledge that whensoever bishops are appointed solely by the Papacy, the power of the Papacy will be aggrandised and intensified. And now that the Roman Pontiff has been declared by the Vatican Council to be infallible, that is, to be a god upon earth—not only in matters of doctrine, but of morals—and that "the Syllabus" has been put forth as the pontifical code, civil

as well as ecclesiastical, then we may see reason to fear that the abolition of the concordat may lead to the further exaltation of the Papacy, and that the nineteenth century may perhaps behold a mysterious spiritual empire silently and suddenly established, not less lofty in its pretensions and prerogatives, and not less potent in its sway, than that which domineered over Christendom in the days of Pope Gregory the Seventh, or of Pope Innocent the Third. My lords, ladies, and gentlemen: The results which will thence arise it is not difficult to foresee. The enlightened intellect of Europe will not consent to be led captive by an illiterate clergy holding the Syllabus in its hand, and proclaiming from its pages, as if they were divine oracles, that the human reason, conscience, and will, and all literature and science, and even Holy Scripture itself, and the Creeds of the Catholic Church, and all patristic theology and Church history must bow down before a so-called infallible authority in the person of the Roman Pontiff, and do homage to what one of the greatest of the Roman Catholic laymen of the present day—Count Montalembert—almost with his dying words, called “the idol of the Vatican.” The mind of Europe will not submit to be ruled by an ill-educated priesthood, speculating on the credulity of the multitude by novel dogmas, and false miracles, and fond superstitions. Therefore, though Rome may triumph for a time, yet, eventually, the victory will be won by infidelity. When the populations of continental Europe behold Christianity identified with tyranny and fraud, they will loathe and despise Christianity as an imposture, and recoil from it with passionate indignation, and will trample it under foot with vindictive resentment. Infuriated crowds will unfurl the banner of Infidelity and of Red Republicanism. Sedition and faction, confusion, anarchy, and outrage, civil and ecclesiastical, will prevail. The scenes of carnage and conflagration recently enacted in Paris will be multiplied in the cities of Europe. Thrones and dynasties will be thrown prostrate in the dust. Civil Government will be dissolved; and Rome will at length fall a victim to that wild and furious spirit of anti-Christianism which she herself has evoked. But, thanks be to God, there is a brighter side to this dark picture. Under His controlling Providence the Vatican Council has given an impulse to a religious movement in Germany which may, by His blessing, act beneficially not only on that country, but on Italy and France, and other Roman Catholic lands. The leaders in that movement have shown their wisdom in the name they have adopted, “*Old Catholics*,” indicating thereby that, in their opinion, the adherents of the dogma of Papal Infallibility are *New Catholics*, and therefore, so far as the dogma is concerned, are *No Catholics*; and that they themselves are resolved not to espouse anything that is new, but to hold firmly what is old: in a word, to maintain with all their might and main the doctrine and discipline of the ancient Catholic Church of Christ. If they are true to these principles, they are invincible; their success is certain, and a glorious triumph it will be. It is also a happy thing, that among the leaders of that movement are men of profound learning and of fervent piety. And it is no small benefit, that they have before their eyes in Germany, even in its religious divisions and rationalistic theology, a salutary warning against the evil effects of surrendering the principles of ancient Catholicity, and of breaking the continuity of the chain of Apostolic

Church Government, which binds together the members of the Catholic Church to all past ages for a series of eighteen centuries. It is devoutly to be wished, that the civil Governments of Europe may awaken to a consciousness of their own duties and interests in the present eventful crisis. Europe has now a volcano smouldering beneath her feet. Society is menaced by two powerful enemies, Ultramontaniam on the one side, and Infidelity and Communism on the other. If either of these two forces prevail, there will be a general shipwreck of social order and domestic peace. Governments cannot contend successfully against either of these enemies by apathy and indifference to religion. They cannot fight the battle against the Papacy by the mere defensive artillery of royal *placets* and *exequaturs*. Kings and States have need of Christianity. Infidelity can only be encountered by sound religion. Romanism can only be resisted by Catholicity. The secular policy of Erastus has too often aggrandised the spiritual despotism of Hildebrand. When Governments abdicate their Christianity, and separate themselves from God and His Church, and look coldly on her claims, and even thwart and paralyse her efficiency, they cut off the cables of their own sheet-anchor with their own hands, and give up the vessel of the State to be driven at random by the terrible hurricane of revolutions which, by a righteous retribution of God, will overwhelm them in an abyss. It is, therefore, to be regretted, that the Government of the kingdom of Italy, in order to grasp at a temporal prize, which may at last prove a mere empty bauble and idle pageant (the temporal supremacy of Rome), and in order to induce the Roman Catholic Governments of Europe to acquiesce in their seizure of the new capital, has surrendered the Church of Italy, as a captive and a slave, into the hands of the Papacy; and in order to gain a secular diadem for itself, has sacrificed the Royalties of Christ. Such a Machiavellian policy cannot prosper; and it is much to be hoped that it may be speedily abandoned; and that even for its own sake the Government of Italy will have the courage and wisdom to protect the spiritual rights of the loyal clergy and laity of that country, and to encourage and assist them by all means in its power to work an internal reformation of the Church, which would then become the best bulwark of the throne, and the strongest safeguard of society against the twofold danger with which they are now threatened—Ultramontaniam on the one side, and Unbelief on the other. May the Governments of Germany be induced to follow a similar course! But whatever States may do, the duty of Churches is clear. They are bound to help one another in restoring and maintaining evangelical truth and apostolical discipline. All members of all Christian Churches ought to endeavour, by God's grace, to be "Old Catholics." Nothing would more rejoice the Church of Rome than that the leaders of the movement in Italy and Germany should abandon ancient principles and practices, and should take up with that which is new. Nothing would please her better than that, in the impatient vehemence of their exasperation against her, they should deviate from the straight path of primitive antiquity, and stray into the numerous byways of modern sectarianism. Their only safety is in unity, unity in the truth of God, as received and taught in the apostolic age by the Church of God. May it please Him to raise up courageous and holy men in the episcopate of France, Italy, and Germany, whose names may shine in our own day with the lustre of the St Hilarys and St

Martins, the St Ambroses and the St Bonifaces of old. And as the apostolic fishermen in the Gospel beckoned to their partners in the other ship that they should come and help them, and they came; so, in the present day, if the "Old Catholics" in the ships of the Churches of Germany, Italy, and France, should think fit to beckon to us, who rejoice to be the "Old Catholics of England," may we regard that invitation as a call from Christ Himself, to labour as fishers with them, and joyfully to help them to draw up the apostolic net in obedience to His Word. And may that net be filled without breaking, and may its contents be brought in safety to the shore of Everlasting Life! Some, perhaps, there may be among us who would discourage and withhold all expressions of brotherly love and goodwill towards the Old Catholics of Germany, because, while those "Old Catholics" appeal to Holy Scripture and the primitive Church, and while they reject the decrees promulgated by the Church of Rome during the pontificate of Pius IX., they state, in their manifesto, published at Munich on the 21st of last month, that they "stand on the creed of Pope Pius IV." But such a denial of sympathy on our part seems to be narrow-minded, uncharitable, and ungenerous. You cannot expect an immediate change from Romanism to Catholicity. There must be a gradual convalescence in spiritual things as well as physical. How many years did our Reformation require before it was matured and ripened, from the days of Wickliffe to those of Ridley and of Parker? And yet, who that looks back to the noonday of the latter, does not perceive that it never could have beamed upon England without the twilight of the former. It will be our wisdom and our charity to discern with joy and thankfulness the first streaks of the dawn and the earliest bright beams of the rising sun. My friends, we ourselves, in a certain sense, stand on the ground of the Creed of Pius IV., for that Creed contains the Nicene Creed. Let us hope that the Old Catholics may continue to hold the Nicene Creed, and not insist on the Tridentine additions to it, as terms of communion; then they will be "Old Catholics" indeed. They will be united with us, and we with them, in one heart and one mind, and we, together with them, shall with one mouth glorify God. May He, in His own due time, hasten that blessed consummation! I rejoice to be able to say, in conclusion, that at the Diocesan Synod held in the Cathedral Church at Lincoln on the 20th of last month (at which more than 500 clergy of this diocese were present), I was authorised and requested to write, in the name of the Synod, a letter to the "Old Catholics" of Germany, assuring them of our sympathy and help. May it please Almighty God of His great goodness to vouchsafe His blessing to all such endeavours to promote the sacred cause of that only unity which deserves the name of unity—that of unity in His truth.

The Lord Bishop also added the following observations:—I wish to state that I owe a debt of gratitude to one of the most distinguished Nonconformists in this place—Mr Paton, the head of the Congregational Institute in this town—who addressed to me a letter on this subject, stating that he had been travelling on the Continent, and had been in the society of Professor Huber, who said there was an earnest desire that there should be some tokens of sympathy exhibited from the English Church towards the "Old Catholics." I owe it to the distinguished Nonconformist I have mentioned, who is a scholar well versed in ancient and modern literature, to

say that the proposal of the Synod of Lincoln was due in some degree to his suggestion. I owe it to him and his kindness that I have now before me a letter which he has kindly committed to my charge, acknowledging the receipt of that synodical letter, and saying that it will be translated into German, and inserted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

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The Rev. LEWIS HOGG, M.A., read the following paper :—

I WOULD first ask attention to some losses and gains accruing to the See and Church of Rome, wherever nations have greatly restricted, or wholly abolished, their concordats with her. I will confine myself to points I have found admitted, without hesitation, by members of the Church of Rome, ecclesiastics and laymen, of very various positions and schools of thought, from devoted Ultramontanes to decided Old Catholics.

Let us glance at the losses first. Let us take four points :—1. The Church's secular power ; 2. The press ; 3. Marriage ; 4. Education. On all these the Papacy, from her own point of view, has sustained material loss, especially of late years, through the weakening of the hold concordats gave her.

1. The Church of Rome has well-nigh lost her secular power. By secular power I mean not merely the temporal sovereignty of which the Pope has been lately deprived, though that sovereignty was the most perfect expression of this power. I mean that far-reaching secular power which the Church of Rome claims to exercise as of inherent right ; which she has always tried to secure, as far as possible, by concordats, and has always vigorously exercised wherever she got full hold of a country. It comprised the power of coercion, directly exercised by the Church itself, for upholding her own faith and teachers, and for suppressing all opposed teachers and teaching ; also that power of appeal to the secular arm to enforce her decrees and censures, which proved so powerful a support to her for ages. Further, it comprised that power, she so long and warmly cherished, of exempting her clergy from the control of the civil law and civil power. Now, this power is nearly gone ; though it has been strenuously re-asserted in the recent "Syllabus," has been stipulated for in some recent concordats in South America ; and has been but lately swept away in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere. Now, the prisons which, not many years ago, formed a regular part of a Bishop's diocesan arrangements, are gone. In Rome itself, the last traces of this system are gone. The Inquisition is powerless. The law of the State is, or is fast becoming, supreme over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil alike. The clergy are no longer exempt from the jurisdiction of the civil and criminal tribunals. Painful illustrations of this latter change have recently occurred in Italy : in Rome a monk, in Bologna a high dignitary, the capitular vicar of the arch-diocese, have been tried before the ordinary assize courts, and respectively condemned for murder and treason. The latest, and perhaps clearest, expression of this great change (which has been effected, more or less, in

all countries) is contained in the recent Italian law on the relations of the State with the Church. This law provides for the full freedom of the Church in her own purely spiritual sphere; for the free publication of all her decrees; for free exercise of ecclesiastical authority and functions in spiritual and disciplinary matters, without any interference from, or appeal to, the State. On the other hand, no *enforced* execution of Church decrees or censures is recognised or allowed; obedience to them must be voluntary. If Church sentences produce any juridical effects, it appertains to the civil authority to take cognisance of such effects; if they prove contrary to the law of the State, or to public order, or injurious to private rights, they are void, and become subject to the common laws of the kingdom. Loudly as the Syllabus and Papal encyclicals officially protest against the Pope and the Church being thus stripped of secular power; vast as has been its effect in keeping whole countries—Italy, Spain, and others—till within the last few years almost hermetically closed against any disturbance to external religious uniformity; still, no one who is familiar with the immense amount of dead stagnation, of religious indifference, and of secret unbelief it produced, and the consequent reaction to keen, scornful repugnance to the clergy and to religion itself, when once the external pressure was thrown off, can look upon this change as one of unmixed loss to the Church of Rome. Accordingly, many of her most devoted members not unwillingly accept this change, and, whilst acknowledging the abstract principles of the “Syllabus,” point to their Church’s influence in our own and other free countries, in proof that she need not altogether dread her inability to enforce those principles. But the change is vast, and, thus far, the balance appears to tell heavily against the Papacy.

2. Closely connected with the secular power, and forming one of the most frequent subjects of its operation, was the Church of Rome’s control over the press. This formed an essential feature in concordats. Thus the Bavarian Concordat, still unrepealed, gives the Bishops power to demand that the Government shall proceed against authors and publications injurious to the Church. Had this article been enforced, no Janus, no Quiribus, no proceedings of Old Catholic congresses could have seen the light of day. But, like many other articles of that and similar concordats, it remains a dead letter. It cannot be enforced. In Italy, the loss of this control has led to some striking results. The Bible, so long rigorously restricted in circulation, is freely spread, and producing no small amount of conviction of the vast divergence between the teachings and practices of the Church of Rome at this day and in the days of Saints Peter and Paul. Further, the Bible is penetrating into quarters where, a few years ago, it was little dreamt of. It is being officially introduced into the Italian courts of justice in lieu of the crucifix as the sacred symbol on which oaths are administered. In Rome itself, lately, the National Guards were sworn upon the Bible; a Hebrew copy of the Old Testament being provided for the Jews, whereon to swear, as free citizens, their loyalty to the King of Italy—a contrast truly to their condition not many years ago, when compelled, on the accession of each Pontiff, to stand by the Arch of Titus to present the Pope with a handsome Hebrew Bible, and, further, to attend

a church every Friday, ay, and to pay the preacher to whose exhortations to them to become Christians they were compelled to listen. Far more noteworthy, however, than the bare introduction of the Book into the courts of justice, is the contrast between two appeals made to it, in those courts, by two of the highest law officers of the crown, within the last twenty years ; for this contrast indicates a vast change in public feeling. Twenty years ago, in the highest court in Florence, the then Tuscan Attorney-General, prosecuting on behalf of the crown, in accordance with the concordat, held up Diodati's New Testament and the Italian version of our Prayer-book, read passage after passage out of them, and asked what security there could be for Church or State if such dangerous books were allowed free course through the country ?

You know that story of the Madiai—their sharp imprisonment, for the sole offence of having and using those books in their own home, and the difficulty of their release. Who could then have expected that, in less than twenty years after, another Attorney-General would apply, on behalf of the crown of Italy, to the highest court of Naples, to issue a mandamus to the authorities of Salerno to proceed with the civil marriage of a priest, and that one of the grounds of his successful appeal would be to the New Testament ? From it he urged that the Divine Founder of the Church Himself chose St Peter and the bulk of His apostles married men ; that St Paul laid down special rules for a holy married clergy.

He further showed that the Primitive Church and its greatest Fathers approved and acted on this institution ; and concluded, amid the enthusiastic applauses of a court thronged to overflowing, by predicting that popular prejudices would fast melt away when once his countrymen saw a holy married priesthood, and that both Church and State would enormously gain by the restoration of this scriptural and primitive institution, which the Papacy had suppressed mainly for ambitious ends. And what was the reply of the opposing advocate ? He answered, that *he could have nothing to say to such ancient documents as the New Testament* and others cited by the Attorney-General ; that he must abide only by the Council of Trent and the later practice of the Church in accordance with the concordats. Whatever may be thought of that priest's own conduct, does not this case clearly show the loss of influence incurred by the Church of Rome, when, her power of shutting up books being gone, the advocates of her system are driven to abandon the appeal to Holy Scripture and Primitive Church history, and rely only on the decrees of her then last Council, or, as now, on the sole utterances of her head ? Can the ultimate issue of such discussions be doubtful ? This great change is embodied in a few words in the recent Italian law, already referred to, enacting that “the discussion of religious matters is fully free.”

3. This brings us to Rome's loss of power of control over marriage. The tendency, in all countries, undoubtedly, is to carry out the practice of France and Italy, viz.—that the State will require civil marriage, and will leave all citizens free to solemnise their marriage by their respective religious rites. Though the Papacy is thus stripped of legal control over marriage, I do not apprehend she will lose any great amount of purely religious influence over the marriages of her sincere

members. So long as they really desire (as God grant they may !) to sanctify marriage by the Church's solemn consecration of it, no serious change will be felt. One result, however, follows from this change, viz.—the power the Papacy has so long exercised through dispensations, specially in the case of mixed marriages, is palpably weakened. May we not hope this loss will be balanced by one moral gain to herself—that she will less frequently grant these dispensations, so repugnant to every honest mind, whereby Protestants, base enough to accept the terms, are allowed to marry Roman Catholics, on condition of secretly abjuring their own faith, while continuing to profess it openly, aye, and to worship according to it, so long as the ecclesiastical authorities deem it prudent for them to enact this living lie? I speak from personal knowledge of losses that have befallen the Church of Rome from the issue of such a dispensation.

4. The heaviest loss, probably, that the Church of Rome has sustained, and appears likely still further to sustain, is her loss of control over national education. I would ask any who visits Italy to observe this for themselves. Go through the schools of Genoa, from the university to the striking evening-schools for men and lads. Visit the schools in Milan, remembering the bye-law of that municipality which shuts out the clergy from them. Look at the magnificent colleges in Naples and Palermo, and other southern Italian cities, all, a few years ago, in the hands of the Jesuits, in accordance with the concordat which bound the kingdom of Naples "to erect all schools in the spirit of the Catholic Church;" look at them now in the hands of Government, professors and teachers animated by a spirit as opposed as possible to that of the Jesuits. See their grand stronghold in Rome itself, the Collegio Romano, now likewise in Government hands; and then you will feel what the Papacy has lost in Italy, not only by the removal of her own most trusted teachers, but by the substitution of a diametrically opposite influence. Further, remember that the Church of Rome must feel that she has literally thrown away her chance of holding that vast power by her persistent rejection of the singularly liberal offers made to her—offers which gave her the sole control of religious instruction in the national schools, when first vigorously established in Piedmont, and successively planted through the rest of Italy, as it has been won to freedom and unity; and you cannot fail to estimate the enormous loss of the Papacy on this head. What she has lost in Italy is, perhaps, more patent, more thoroughly gone from her grasp, than her similar losses in other countries; but the tendency in France, Spain, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, is in the same direction. The recent words of a learned Italian priest and university Professor of Canon Law, to myself, hold nearly as true of the Government schools in France and Spain: "Respecting the (Italian) universities and public schools, there is complete separation between State and Church; the Church does not enter at all into the public instruction, just as the State does not enter into the seminaries" for training the clergy. What sympathy can be expected between the rising generation of clergy and laity under this woful system of mutual isolation? What a contrast does it present to our own system of training clergy and laity together, in close intercourse and sympathy, in our "semi-



naries of sound learning and religious education," our ancient universities and public schools, which have so long furnished "a supply of men duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State!" God grant we may never let slip this tried and sure means of keeping up national religious life! It is a point upon which the German "Old Catholics" are manifesting keen interest, as one of vital importance in their eyes.

No point, I think, is more full of warning, and thus far more full of encouragement to ourselves of the Church of England, than the striking contrast between the influence that the Bible and the Church still exercise over our national education, and the absence of like influence over the national education of Italy and other countries which have thrown off the concordats which bound them to the See of Rome. An Italian monk, who had travelled largely through England, remarked to me: "The thing that impressed me above all, and proved to me how deeply your Church had hold in the country, was the one sight that met me at every turn, specially in your country districts,—wherever I found a church, I found near it the home of a domestic clergy and a parish school." He added, "We feel the want of it here in Italy now." Many Italian Churchmen have made similar remarks to me; many desire that the Government should introduce the Holy Scriptures into the national schools. Now, to balance these losses, what do the See and Church of Rome gain by the restriction or dissolution of concordats? They clearly gain freedom from many very stringent and harassing restrictions concordats imposed. Some of us, at times, are apt to chafe a little under some of the restrictions State connection imposes on us, though our un-established brethren warn us not to rush hastily from the few ills we know to the many we know not of. But none who know the stern restrictions their concordats imposed on Austrian, Neapolitan, and other bishops and clergy, can doubt that any restrictions we bear are but as a feather in the balance, or can wonder that the removal of such pressure is counted a vast gain by the Roman clergy. Further, the Papacy gains freedom in her choice of bishops. At present, indeed, the nomination of bishops by the Governments, directly or indirectly, and their acceptance and confirmation by the Pope, is the one most important arrangement still remaining in force, wherever concordats have existed. Even in Italy, where, by the recent law settling the relations of the State to the Church (though ignored by the Pope), the crown expressly abandons all claim to the nomination of bishops, a strong material guarantee is as yet held by the State. With the exception of the See of Rome itself and the six Suburbicarian Sees, all other bishoprics must be filled by Italian citizens, and, if they wish to enjoy the episcopal revenues, the royal placet must be given to the Pope's nomination. If the Pope should nominate any bishop wealthy enough not to need the episcopal income, his nomination can take effect without any reference to the crown, but only in that case. The Italian Parliament, however, is pledged to complete this law by another providing for the re-arrangement, preservation, and administration of Church property, which is expected to complete the absolute separation of Church and State. Wherever concordats are breaking down, through the tendency to separation of Church and State, the Papacy

is clearly gaining more uncontrolled freedom in the choice of her hierarchy, like that she enjoys in our own empire and in the United States of America. Further, she gains freedom for all assemblies of her clergy, and, generally, for all the internal management of her own affairs. Under many a Roman concordat, no Church assembly, such as the late Lincoln Diocesan Synod, could have been held without State permission; and the advice tendered to Napoleon I. touching the clergy and their synods, "It's an excellent wine in bottle, but very apt to effervesce in cask," has not been forgotten by other statesmen. Now what is the natural result of this increased freedom from the obligations of concordats? It enables Rome to bind her hierarchy in closely serried ranks more tightly than ever to the foot of the Papal chair. From that chair, she trusts, will go forth with electric thrill the impulses that will move in unison this marvellously compacted hierarchy, stretching to the ends of the earth. This it is on which her devoted adherents rely as the true source of her strength in the conflicts they see daily becoming more threatening. "Give us," said a learned ecclesiastic to me lately—"give us a sound united episcopate, and the bark of St Peter will safely weather the storm." Together with this gain of freedom and increased compactness, the Papacy counts on retaining hold of the masses in the countries hitherto subject to her sway; though it is striking to listen to frank avowals of the loss of her hold over large portions of the field of active modern thought, as this is manifested through the press and by those who are moulding education, specially in the powerful middle strata of society.

What bearing has the new Papal infallibility dogma on this state of things? It appears likely to intensify both the losses and gains above mentioned. Whilst it repels still further from the influence of the Papacy those already separated from it, and, apparently, has checked the tendency of some among ourselves to approach Rome's communion, and has happily brought back some thoughtful minds to us who had strayed into her fold, it is palpably shaking the allegiance of many inquiring minds, hitherto devoted adherents of the Church of Rome, and this on a scale not witnessed since the Reformation. Such are some of the results of the new dogma, viewed from its inner and purely spiritual side. Externally, in its bearings on the Church's relations with States, I have found that Ultramontanes, Liberal Catholics, and Old Catholics, practically agree in admitting that in some countries, notably throughout Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland, it has been either alleged as a pretext, or really felt as a cause, for apprehensions, embarrassments, increased jealousy of Papal influence, and, generally, as tending further to weaken, instead of strengthen, the ties between the See of Rome and the various nations and Governments hitherto linked with her by concordats. In other countries, as in France, little apparent change seems, thus far, to have been produced by the mere dogma itself. A few bold voices, not without influence, have been lifted up against it in France, such as those of Père Hyacinthe and Père Gratry, but, thus far, they have elicited no great following; the mass of their countrymen who are not Ultramontane in their sympathies are too indifferent to religious questions to trouble themselves about a new theological dogma. In Italy, there is a much

larger body than in France, both among the clergy and educated laity, who are thoroughly opposed to the dogma. The Italian press also (with the exception of the clerical journals), so far as it has evinced interest in the question, counts the new dogma as another element of the irreconcilable opposition between the Papacy and their own national life. But generally, in Italy, the mere dogma is regarded with the same scornful indifference as the rest of the proceedings of the Vatican Council; contemptuously dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders and the remark, "It's an affair of the priests and the sacristy." Thus in Italy, for the most part, the clergy and others who sympathise with their "Old Catholic" brethren in Germany in opposition to the dogma, finding little general public sympathy, and no support from the authorities, timidly keep silence. Meantime, what gains does the See of Rome hope for from the dogma? She counts upon it as a powerful means for securing her hold more firmly over all who remain true to her. She counts on it as the final crushing blow given to all troublesome pretensions of national Churches. Rome's dread of national Churches and their inevitable measure of independence appears to have been one main motive for urging on this final concentration of all authority in the Pope alone. This it is which inspires her with such keen hatred and dread of Döllinger's movement. "He pushes for the radical destruction of Catholic unity by setting up national Churches;" "He aspires to a total transformation of the divine constitution of the Church; it is a sort of federation he wishes to substitute for the monarchic form established by our Lord Jesus Christ"—such is Döllinger's condemnation by the Archbishop of Cambrai in his pastoral just issued. "He would bribe the State by bringing the Church under its heel;" "The Governments encourage the 'Old Catholics,' because they wish to get national Churches under the heel of the State"—cry other Ultramontane authorities. To crush out national Churches, the Papacy will not hesitate to crush Döllinger and many another noble son. Thus the Papacy counts upon the new dogma as the needful climax to her long, patient, skilful series of efforts for knitting the hierarchy and the whole Church in one compact phalanx, under one, sole, absolute, undoubted guidance. Can we say that she counts without her host? Are there not now, as always, multitudes who love not to trouble themselves with religious inquiry? who are fascinated by that natural craving of the human heart for an infallible guide? who willingly yield themselves to any one who will not scruple loudly, perseveringly, however groundlessly, to proclaim himself such? Thus Rome hopes to tighten her hold upon the faithful within her fold. Nor is she without hope that the infallibility dogma may prove a beacon that may lead to her, as to a refuge, some storm-tossed souls from without. For such, she points to it as the highest assertion of the principle of authority in these days of constitutional liberty, which, she diligently inculcates, inevitably runs a downward course to wild revolution and anarchy. Such appear to be her hopes of gain. And now, what appears likely to be the "influence upon the religion and polity of Christendom" of such changes as I have ventured to indicate, springing from "the dissolution of the concordats and the declaration of Papal infallibility?" One conjecture only will I hazard. Many of you who have gazed from the

heights of Fiesole on the glorious prospect over Florence outstretched below, have been struck by the singular aptness and felicity of the simile with which that distant view of the imposing dome of Florence Cathedral inspired our great historian. "It seemed," says Hallam, "an emblem of the Catholic hierarchy under its supreme head; like Rome itself, imposing, unbroken, unchangeable, radiating in equal expansion to every part of the earth, and directing its converging curves to heaven." What would Hallam have thought of the stability of that fabric, if (as I trust will never be the case with that noble pile) a nearer view had disclosed that its guardians, in defiance of the original designs of its founder, had gone on adding one weight after another to the top-stone, till the pressure so strained the converging ribs that some of their joints were starting, that gaping cracks were ominously yawning between them and the surface they ought to support and hold together? And, further, if he found that, despite loud warnings of coming danger from some who had longest known and best loved the old building, and who counselled removal of the top-hamper, and return to the primitive design of the founder, as the only means of safety, its guardians persisted in adding yet another and heavier weight, would he not feel that collapse was, sooner or later, inevitable? Is not this what the guardians of the imposing fabric of the Roman Church have been doing? They have departed from the maxims of that "wise master-builder" who helped to lay their foundation, and who exclaimed, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." They have weighted that cross, so divinely grand in its severe simplicity, with one superstitious addition after another; they have hung upon it the triple crown of spiritual and mundane ambition; they have now presumptuously hung upon that crown the God-like attribute of personal infallibility; can we wonder that they have stricken panic into the hearts of many who dwelt under their roof; and that, whilst some are protesting against their suicidal folly, and bestirring themselves to clear away the threatening top-hamper and revert to the original design of the founder, others seem to hear a warning cry, "Come out of her, my people?" Collapse of Rome's imposing outward unity seems, sooner or later, inevitable. Some of her devoted adherents own their dread of the falling away from Christian faith of large masses of her once nominal members; others we see detached from her who yearn for restoration of the purer faith and worship of the Primitive Catholic Church. God grant that, when the din and dust of present and coming conflicts are cleared away, many may be found labouring to win the prophetic blessing, "They that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in." Some such we see already nobly labouring for that end. To all such, surely, our duty is clear: to cheer them by our sympathy, to help to sustain them by our prayers and in whatever practical ways we can. Thus, whatever be the coming fortune of the Papacy itself, we shall be doing what in us lies to hasten on that blessed time when many members of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, long divided yet yearning for brotherly re-union, shall stretch their hands toward each other from east and west, from north and south, saying, "Now, therefore, ye are

no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God ; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." Then, for such a "building fitly framed together . . . an holy temple in the Lord," "will we not fear though the earth be moved" by storms of unbelieving assault from without ; firm in the divine assurance, "God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed."

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The Rev. S. GARRATT, M.A., Vicar of St Margaret's, Ipswich, read the following paper:—

THE learning and courage of the leaders of the opposition in the Vatican Council, and also of those comparatively few, who, with Dr Döllinger, are now resisting its decrees, cannot but excite our admiration. Though a numerical minority, they constitute the immense majority of the intellects and consciences of the Church of Rome. And it cannot, unless the analogy of all history fails, be in the least degree doubtful that such a majority of men of power must eventually rule the body to which they belong. We may look upon it as certain that the future rulers of the Roman Church will be the very men whom at present the Pope and the Roman Curia are trying to crush. And the question really is, how, when this inevitable reaction has taken place, the religion and polity of Christendom will be thereby affected?

For we must never lose sight of the fact, that in matters of this kind, reaction is not only as in physical impact equal to the action, but often greatly exceeds it in intensity and duration. We may confidently expect a great reaction in favour of the authority of councils, and that, without any express renunciation of Papal infallibility, the power of Councils Ecumenical will be enormously increased, so as even perhaps to become the most powerful institution in Europe and in Christendom.

This appears probable from various considerations.

In the first place, the dissolution of the concordats in effect abolishes altogether, where a concordat has existed, the connection of Church and State, and will render it the easier for the prelates of the different nations to meet in council and act independently. In any city outside the limits of the great nations, or by solemn compact rendered inviolable, such an assembly would possess a dignity and wield an influence which the claim to conciliar infallibility, the more readily yielded to by way of counterpoise to the personal infallibility of the Pope, would render almost irresistible.

In the next place, the natural result of the ultimate triumph of the minority or liberal party, will be re-union between the East and the West. The Eastern Churches have no objection to the primacy as distinguished from the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and to a council called with the consent of their own patriarchs they would yield unquestioning obedience. Nor can it be doubtful that the Bishops, constituting the minority in the Vatican Council, would be willing to yield at least as much as the Council of Florence to conciliate the Greeks. [At Florence,

in the canons of union, the use of either leavened or unleavened bread in the Mass was permitted, the right to recite the Creed without as well as with the *filioque* conceded, the simple assertion that there is a purgatory after death made, and that modified view of the Papal authority as compared with that of other bishops adopted, which is now maintained by the liberal party in the Church of Rome, and justified, as for instance, by Bishop Marel, by the Greek version of the canons of Florence.]\* The future council, when the present opposition have become dominant, and have a Pope of their own way of thinking, will inevitably attract and include the Orientals. Indeed, reunion with the Greek and Russian Eastern Churches, and a gradual understanding with Protestantism, as well as the recognition of the Roman primacy, only in accordance with the writings of fathers and the decisions of councils, form main points of the programme presented by Dr Döllinger and others to the Old Catholic Congress at Munich on the 23d of last month—a not indistinct foreshadowing of the future.

Nor is it difficult to see how the tendency so evident towards the revival of the Roman Empire, in some form or other, either monarchical or republican (and the union of all Europe into a single or double confederation), would tend to facilitate the meeting of a council really œcumenical at some common centre, the moral power of which, and its influence on the counsels of princes or republics, would necessarily be enormous.

In such a council, although it is not likely that the decree of the Vatican Council will be repealed, the personal authority of the Pope will, of necessity, be practically diminished, both by the necessity of meeting the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, if not of other patriarchs, without destroying it; and also by the co-existence of that conciliar infallibility, which in accordance with previous canons, as of Pisa, Constance, Basle, and the speaking silence of Trent, a Council Œcumenical, when out of the influence of the Roman Curia, is sure to claim. By the decree of the Vatican Council, the accusation which we Protestants have always brought against the Papacy, that the Pope fulfils the inspired prediction of the "man of sin sitting in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God," is solemnly confirmed; but when the minority is in power, the only way in which—without altogether denying the œcumenical authority of the council in which they have themselves taken part—they can remedy the inequality, will be by raising, as in fact the fifteenth century councils did, the authority of a council to the same awful and blasphemous height.

What, then, will be the result of the future triumph of the liberal party, so certain to follow by way of reaction on their present defeat? Will it be for good, or will it not, when it takes place, prove pregnant with trial for the churches of Christ?

For in what consists the difference between the infallibilists and their opponents? Both believe that infallibility resides in the Church—in what they call the Church. Both parties are agreed in receiving all that has been taught by the Council of Trent. Even if, for the sake of union with the East, these able men should be willing to modify some parts of popular Roman theology, or of Roman discipline, which, like the enforced celibacy of the clergy, are not *de fide*, we know from what took place at Florence,

\* The passages included in brackets were omitted in reading for want of time.

and the canons there passed, the exceedingly narrow limits within which such concessions may be contracted. Perhaps these concessions would not have to be all on one side. The Eastern Churches, more superstitious than the Church of Rome, would have to relinquish, it may be, the anticipative adoration of bread and wine before consecration, common, as Dr Mason Neale admits, to all the Eastern communions, and to remove the worship of the Virgin Mary from the position which Dr Newman has pointed out it occupies, not as in the Church of Rome in books of popular devotion, but in the Greek canon of the mass.

It is even possible that men of such consummate ability as Dr Döllinger and his associates, might express Roman doctrine in words less offensive and more fitted to win assent and invite the submission of English Churchmen, than those of less accomplished scholars and divines.

But suppose all these improvements made, and a union of Christendom constituted—the natural result of the reaction from the Ultramontanism of this Vatican Council—it would be a union, the doctrine of which would not diverge one hairbreadth from the canons of the Council of Trent, in which no difference would be allowed on such subjects as Transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, the co-ordinate authority of tradition with the Word of God, the sacerdotal character of the clergy, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the Tridentine doctrine of justification. For is it not true that even Döllinger and his associates, as well as Dupanloup and Maret, and the other bishops of the minority in the Vatican Council, hold all those errors renounced at the Reformation as strongly as the majority? All of them, I believe, have spoken as loyal members of the Church of Rome, and adhere to the Council of Trent. It would be no credit to them to look upon them, in spite of all their antecedents and all their professions, as Protestants in disguise. That is to discredit their moral uprightness. They are men far above any such disingenuousness. Nor have they, like Luther, learned any great truth like that of justification by faith, fitted to withdraw them unconsciously from their allegiance to the system in which they have been brought up. But they see, what their less strong-minded opponents cannot see, the true method of maintaining Roman Catholic doctrine by not exaggerating it; and, in order to keep their bow in strength, refuse to bend it till it breaks. The Protestant Reformation is not in danger from Pope Pius IX. and his advisers. There is nothing attractive to us in the Syllabus and the Vatican decrees. But the reaction from them is fraught with peril. There is too great danger, lest admiration for the boldness and learning of the men, who, in opposition to the Pope, are maintaining the true interests of the Papacy, should tempt members of the Church of England to look upon the most able opponents of Protestant truth as if they were on our side.

In the speech of the Archbishop of Paris, which forms Appendix I. of the Letters of Quirinus, he speaks of “that universally admitted infallibility . . . which reposes wholly and solely on the agreement of the Bishops in union with the Pope.”

With this distinction we have no concern, except to dread the most, whichever infallibility has the greatest likelihood of being received and obeyed.

[That the desire for some infallible judge of controversies is a very strong and prevailing one on the Continent of Europe, appears plainly from the num-

ber and strength of the supporters of Papal infallibility, especially among the clergy ; and the minority are equally zealous for the infallibility of a council. It is true that at the present moment the declaration by a council of the Pope's infallibility, creates a logical difficulty for them, as is shown in the restrictions apparently placed on the infallibility of councils, in the Munich programme, which really amount to little ; and the Munich programme only represents the operations of a small portion of the great liberal party. Sooner or later councils will rise again into that position of supreme authority which the great councils of the fifteenth century claimed ; and the temper of this nineteenth century is one to which such an assumption, however unwelcome to many, on the part of an individual, is too likely to be hailed with joy when made in behalf of a body claiming to represent all Christendom.]

Happily for us, we know that the only infallible authority is God's written Word. There is nothing in our Articles about the infallibility of the Pope, because it was not when they were written a dogma of the Church of Rome, though a pious, or impious, opinion ; but the infallibility of councils, to believe in which was then thought orthodox, is distinctly negatived ; and we are not told that some councils, reputed general, were not so ; but that general councils, however legitimate, have erred "in things pertaining unto God." "The universally admitted infallibility," of which Archbishop Darboy spoke, is exactly that which our Articles deny.

We are approaching, as it seems to me, a time when that future council, to which the liberal members of the Church of Rome are looking forward, while raising its own authority to the same level, or, if possible, a higher level than that attributed to the Pope by the Vatican Council, will, like the Council of Constance, crush with the strong hand of power those whom it cannot attract by its reforms. For it is never to be forgotten that it was the Council of Constance,—convoked expressly for the reformation of the Church in its head and its members, and which decreed the superiority of a council to the Pope, the council most in accordance with the opinions of the learned and intellectual men who formed the minority in the Council of the Vatican,—which burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

Bishop Maret, one of the most learned and able of the Vatican minority, in his work, "*Du Concile Général et de la Paix Religieuse*," so far from disapproving of this act, makes it one of his main proofs of the œcumenicity of his council. These are his words—

"We have a celebrated bull of this Pope, Martin V., given at Constance, with the approbation of the council, commencing with these words, *Inter cunctas*.

"In this bull Martin confines himself to purely and simply directing the execution of the council's sentence against Wickliff and John Huss, and on the ground that those decisions are those of a General Council. It is sufficient to read the bull to convince one's-self of this. 'The General Council of Constance has cast out of the Church John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, as heretics.' . . .

"In the subsequent part of the bull this is still more plainly shown. After having decreed the penalties incurred by heretics, he adds certain questions, which he orders to be put to those whose faith is suspected, and among these questions we find this—'Do you believe that every General Council, and especially that of Constance, represents the Universal Church ?



Do you believe that all the faithful are obliged to approve and believe that which the holy Council of Constance, representing the Universal Church, has approved, and does approve, concerning the faith and the salvation of souls, and that which it has condemned, and does condemn, is contrary to the faith and to good manners? Do you believe that the condemnations of Wickliff, of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, have been pronounced canonically and justly by that Holy Council?"

"Can anything," says Bishop Maret, "be more formal, more decisive, than those words for the indivisible authority of the Council of Constance?" \*

And can anything, let me add, be more decisive as to what we may expect from this future council, if it should have the power? But should it be so, should there be a council as liberal as the Council of Constance except to Protestants, including, as the liberal party desires, all the East, and all the West, not only each Protestant bishop, but each Protestant clergyman, and each Protestant layman must, if faithful to Christ, maintain God's truth, like John Huss, even though alone in so doing—"Athanasius contra mundum."

Other reasons lead me to the same expectations as those which I have already stated. A union of Christendom in apostasy in connection with a restored Roman Empire—a Council Œcumenical at Jerusalem—the submission and death of Protestant Churches, by the appearance before it of their representatives, and the persecution of those whose loyalty to Christ forbids their obedience to Antichrist, appear to me events predicted in the Apocalypse, and I think that even now they are casting their shadows before.

But whether predicted or not, that the removal of the Papacy from Rome, and its removal to Jerusalem, as suggested more than ten years ago by the Abbé Michon, one of the most eminent liberal theologians in attendance on the council, and the translation of the present council, or the indiction of a future one to that Holy City, and the adhesion to it of the Eastern Churches, and a strong effort on the part of many in our own Church to avoid being shut out from it, are not improbable events, will be admitted freely by some who think that will be for the best which, I believe, will be for the worst.

These events are the natural results of what is now taking place, and are looming, not indistinctly, in the distance. The infallibility dogma, and the dissolution of concordats, are tending, both by action and reaction, to transform the religion of Christendom into a new, more attractive, more subtle, and therefore more dangerous development, both in the East and the West, of that mysterious, apostate, sacerdotal system, which falsely claims to be the mystical Body and Bride of Christ, the chains of which our fathers broke at the Reformation, and to which, by God's grace, we will never, never return.

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\* Vol. I., pp. 397-399.

## ADDRESS.

The Rev. E. F. FFOULKES, M.A., read the following :—

THE dissolution of the concordats is a problem which should be studied in connection with the termination of the Crusades. Europe embraced the Crusades with enthusiasm and prosecuted them with ardour, till at length, convinced by bitter experience of their true character, it loathed them far more cordially than it had ever loved them ; and the only two people left in all Europe to carry on a Crusade against each other at last were a Pope and anti-Pope. After which, holy wars, from having fallen into disrepute, became ridiculous.

Concordats, as many of you will remember, came into vogue shortly after the Crusades had died out, and the East been abandoned to the fate to which they had so largely contributed.

The real object of the Crusades had been to subjugate the Eastern Church to the Western ; the real object of concordats was to regulate the subjugation of the Western Church to the Pope. There was a strong family likeness between them, though it was confined to one feature, viz., their hypocrisy ; the sheep's clothing and the ravening wolf were never blended more consummately, or calculated to deceive more perniciously, than in both these cases, though their triumph proved in each of them a superficial one. As long as the Crusades lasted, the enthusiasm of the many could always be played off against the discontent of the few.

Deprived of that fertile resource both for multiplying their extortions, and also for diverting attention from them, the Popes artfully bethought themselves of another way of insuring them for some time to come, by consenting to go halves with the secular power ; and such bargainings, to invest them with an air of respectability, were called "concordats."

This, then, was the secret clause—the secret understanding—attached to every concordat proper, viz., that the Pope and emperor, king or duke, as the case might be, should agree, first, to support each other in collecting, and then come to terms in dividing, the spoils obtained by robbing one Church after another, in the country they were affecting to serve by negotiating in this way. Mutual interest, of course, made both conspire to disguise their object. Accordingly, the one came forward as the champion of spiritual independence for the Church all the world over, the other to protect his own subjects in their just rights and liberties. Of such concordats the first was the Germanic concordat, concluded in 1447, between Pope Nicholas V. and the Emperor Frederic the IV., surnamed "the Peaceful;" and one concluded between the reigning Pope and the reigning Emperor of Austria recently, and still more recently dissolved, the last. Lesser potentates abandoned them as soon as they could do so with impunity.

When a concordat had been concluded favourable to Papal exactions and usurpations, as when the celebrated Pragmatic Sanction was surrendered on behalf of France by Francis I., to curry favour with Leo X., in 1515, Rome was apt to be betrayed into celebrating her victory by bonfires and illuminations. When Rome got the worst of it, as in the concordat between Pope Pius VII. and Napoleon I., it was sure to be denounced and declared void as soon as circumstances would permit.

I suppose there never was a concordat framed that satisfied both parties entirely ; or, if there was, it was all the more sure to be felt oppressive, and rebelled against by the nation at large, whose temporal and religious interests it professed to guarantee—witness the Austrian concordat of our own times.

Now that the Pope can get nothing out of the churches in communion with him anywhere but purely free-will offerings, and sovereigns have ceased everywhere to be able to barter away the liberties and goods of their subjects, concordats have fallen into desuetude, and gradually become so much waste paper, even where not actually cancelled. Nobody—not even kings and emperors—would venture to raise so much as a finger in

favour of the reaction that would be needed for their revival, but the Court of Rome ; and the Court of Rome has happily become a thing of the past as much as they. England may boast of never having been made the subject of a concordat, even in her Roman Catholic days, since which she has thriven quite well enough without the court of Rome for three hundred years, to be indifferent to relations with it of any kind. Russia, Prussia, Switzerland, and the United States of America, though younger nationalities, may well say the same. And Europe collectively, that has been in the habit of making war and peace, from the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, downwards, without consulting the Pope—that peace for terminating the last, the longest, and the bloodiest of all her religious wars, which he so horrified the conscience of Christendom by endeavouring to nullify, that his advice has never been asked on such subjects since—Europe, I say, has already delivered her opinion, to the effect that neither her religion nor her politics having ever been benefited or elevated in the slightest degree by her relations with the court of Rome, she need be under no apprehension that either would suffer in any way from their total cessation.

How far the declaration of infallibility, which has just been propounded, is likely to influence the religion and politics of Christendom, ought not to be difficult to predict, supposing Christendom only true to itself. "*Roma locuta, causa finita est,*" should never have but this one meaning from henceforth—"Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird." Up to the fourth session of the late Vatican Council, Ultramontanism had never been more than a sect, even when in the ascendant. Roman Catholic emancipation had been won in this country by the unequivocal disclaimers of the dispensing and deposing powers of the Pope, which our Roman Catholic countrymen of the last century procured for Mr Pitt from the universities of Paris, Louvain, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca, and subscribed unanimously themselves ; and by the numerous other works published by them in this country down to the accession of Pius IX., in which they protested, that to charge them as a body with the doctrines of Ultramontanism was a foul calumny. Pius IX. himself entered upon his pontificate in mature age, as the champion of progress and coryphæus of free government. Read the decree on which he has in his decrepitude been wheedled by designing men into staking his all. If Christian bishops, priests, deacons, and people were true to themselves everywhere, the effect of this decree shortly would be to leave the Bishop of Rome in a minority of one, by way of bringing him back to his senses. For, unless this decree is utterly meaningless and incoherent, it must be construed as a whole, and construed as a whole it cannot be without its third and fourth chapters being seen to be related logically to each other as antecedent and consequent ; so that the antecedent has to be affirmed before the consequent can be inferred ; and if the antecedent were to be withdrawn, the consequent would be left unproved. Pius IX. and his indefatigable prompter, Father Perrone, have been doing their worst, ever since it passed, to blind us to this connection between its parts. But they cannot gag history ; and the witness of history is that till his predecessors had entangled Western Christendom in the meshes of their supremacy, not a whisper had been heard of their infallibility. Their supremacy, therefore, needed to come first, for their infallibility to come now.

What, then, is the supremacy which the third chapter of this decree claims for them ? Immediate jurisdiction over all churches everywhere, and all Christians everywhere, laymen or clergy, without exception. In other words, the Pope claims to hold the whole Church in bondage, and be subject to no law himself. How, and when, was this claim first made ? It was first asserted by Innocent III. at the 4th Lateran Council, and it was extracted by him from the Decretum of Gratian, in which it is grounded on the false decretals of the earliest Popes, and the false donation of the first Christian emperor. Till these spurious documents had got into circulation and been received as genuine, no jurisdiction of any sort had ever been claimed by the Popes outside their patriarchate in advance of the Canons ; and of these, the Canons of Sardica, down to the days of Pope Nicholas I., were cited by them on all occasions, as those which made

for them most. The Councils of Lyons and Florence, to which this decree refers, simply repeat the spurious positions of the 4th Lateran.

Pius VI. told the four German reforming archbishops of the last century, that the false decretals might be thrown into the fire for all he cared ; notwithstanding which, they are quoted in the catechism of the Council of Trent to this day as standard authorities, and the third chapter of this decree builds on them no less, however carefully it may avoid naming them. As Gibbon remarked, Rome was willing enough to kick away the scaffolding when the house was finished, but not before.

The keystone of the whole fabric consists in the oath taken by every Roman Catholic bishop at his consecration not merely to uphold, but to augment the prerogatives of his suzerain, or liege lord, by every means in his power ; without any salvo to such means as are consistent with law and truth. It took ages to bring this oath up to the required pitch, and to rivet its links one by one without exciting suspicion. At length the Pope caught his bishops in the net of their oath, and made them affirm his infallibility ; just as Henry VIII. caught his bishops in the net of a "*præmunire*," and made them affirm his supremacy. By this oath they measured the truth of the dogma which they affirmed. It interpreted both history and Scripture for them agreeably with what they were required to do. Nothing is more certain that before this oath was invented Papal infallibility could not have been so much as dreamt of in the Church. General councils examined the dogmatic letters of the Pope that were submitted to them, as much as any others, and approved, disputed, or even condemned their contents, according as they were found orthodox or the reverse. To this day his infallibility is denied by every Christian bishop without exception, not enslaved by this oath. His infallibility would never have occurred to anybody but for his sovereignty ; and his sovereignty being in *extremis*, those most interested in its maintenance resolved, in the hope of saving it, to affirm his infallibility. They calculated with good reason that this oath rendered the acceptance of his infallibility by every bishop of his communion morally certain as soon as proposed ; for it could be used with crushing effect against all dissentients. It would render every dissentient prelate liable to deprivation on the nail ; it would coerce the clergy through the bishops, and the laity through the clergy. And it has proved just the formidable lever that they thought it would. A Church in thralldom has had no alternative but to accept as of faith what a free Church had again and again contradicted in practice.

Pius IX., subsequently to the passing of this new dogma, has been at considerable pains to explain that his right of deposing kings and of releasing subjects from their obedience had no direct connection with his infallibility, as if any believer in his infallibility could from henceforth venture to call a *wrong* what he had called a *right*, or question his being possessed of any right which he had affirmed was his. Was it by accident or design, then, that in commenting on his infallibility for the first time, he referred with so much distinctness to this claim we supposed he had given up long since—his right, as he still calls it, of deposing kings—though he was good enough to add that it was a right he had no intention of exercising at present, the *conditions of the times*, forsooth, being different from what they were when it was last used by his predecessors ?

For centuries past, then, the See of Rome has been stealthily contriving the enslavement of all the bishops in communion with it one by one. In our own it has obliged them to make profession of their degradation collectively. We have seen them sign away with their own hand all the inherent privileges of their order, acknowledge that they are the Pope's vicars, not Christ's ; and that he, without them, stands possessed of the entire power in ruling, the entire freedom from error in teaching, which Christ bestowed on His Church. I call them traitors to their order, and to the Church at large—bishops that, as far as in them lay, have unbishoped themselves by their own act. Pius IX. has built on their subserviency to assert his autocracy, and counts on imposing upon all Christians, without exception, through them, a serfdom as complete as theirs.

What will civilised and educated Europe say to his programme? One of two things. If it has any real religion left in it which has not been absorbed into fanaticism or indifference as yet, it will speedily compel him to come down from his idol pedestal and become amenable to law again; which I devoutly trust it will. If it has not sufficient Christianity for this effort, it will bid adieu by degrees to the religion which he offers it with a smile of contempt, and say that it is a much easier and more rational creed to believe that there is no God at all. Let us not say, *Suare mari magno*, with the heathen poet. Nevertheless, blessed be God, for having graciously provided that for everybody that would avoid such shipwreck as this, the alternative has been proved not to lie between forsaking Christianity and being a slave to the Pope, seeing that the Reformation was never more triumphantly vindicated in the sixteenth century by the disciples of Luther and Calvin, than it has been in our own times by Pius IX. and his masters the Jesuits.

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The Rev. R. P. BLAKENEY, D.D., LL.D., Incumbent of Christ Church, Claughton, Birkenhead, read the following :—

THE definition of Papal infallibility was designed to establish a complete unity in the Church of Rome, and to augment her power of attack and defence, but it has failed in both objects. The Roman Catholic bishops of England stated that "the infallible definitions of last year closed the last divergence in matters relating to faith, compacting more solidly than ever the internal unity of belief and the supreme doctrinal authority of the Church."—*Pastoral, Tablet*, June 3, 1871.

Now this is not warranted by fact. It has been defined that the Pope is infallible, when speaking *ex cathedra de fide et moribus*, but another definition is needed to fix the limits of infallibility. The *Tablet* states that this was brought before the Pope, who replied: "Some persons desire that I should explain and define the decision of the Council, but I will not do so; it is clear of itself, and has no need of explanations." (Aug. 5.) Advisedly, the Pontiff, like the Delphic oracles, gives an ambiguous answer. Before the definition, a controversy took place in the *Tablet* between Dr Ward and Mr Ryder. Dr Ward advocated infallibility as the attribute of all bulls and pronouncements, while Mr Ryder confined it to definitions within the deposit of the faith. The Ward party denounced their opponents as Minimizers, as "mischievous and dangerous rebels," as "unsound and disloyal Catholics." (See *Tablet*, Aug. 17, 1867.) The German Bishops now appear to take refuge in the Minimist view, but the English bishops, in their address of May last, claim for the Pontiff "the prerogative divinely bestowed upon St Peter (as they say) securely to judge and decree in the cause of faith, of truth, and of the sound principles even of civil government."

This difficulty was foreseen by the authors of a proposed compromise. In their scheme they objected to a formal definition, because "there would be perpetual discussions as to when, and under what circumstances, the Roman Pontiff is to be believed to have addressed the faithful, and to have pronounced an infallible judgment."—*Catholic Opinion*, Feb. 12, 1870.

Let me notice the dogma, (1) as to the Church of Rome, (2) as to Governments, and (3) as to the Eastern and Protestant Churches.

#### I. THE DOGMA AS TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

(1.) The definition is an outrage upon the intelligence of Christendom, is calculated to alienate many from the Roman communion, and to drive many others, who do not

know a true form of Christianity, into infidelity. Dr Döllinger petitioned in vain for an audience of the German bishops, expressing his readiness to prove that the definition is based upon "an entire distortion of the history of the Church."

Dr Newman admitted that the defence of the definition "might be most difficult logically in the face of historical facts."—*Catholic Opinion*, April 19, 1870.

The German bishops, in their memorial against any definition, stated that "there are grave difficulties arising from the Acts and Fathers of the Church from genuine historical documents."—*Catholic Opinion*, Feb. 1870.

The definition assumes five points as true, (1) that Peter was the vicerent of Christ, (2), that he settled at Rome, (3) that he was bishop of Rome, (4), that the Pope is his successor in power and office, (5) and that the Pope is infallible. Even if the first four were proved, there would still be a great gulf between them and the fifth—a gulf which cannot be bridged, if any regard be paid to the facts of history. As to the other four, let me say in passing, that if any one of them be untenable, the whole superstructure falls. There is something to be said for the second point, that Peter was at Rome, and yet "there is nothing like certainty," as Mr Foulkes observes, in his "Difficulties of the Day," "that Peter was ever at Rome, much less founded that See," (p. 165). Eusebius, in the fourth century, says that Peter had been at Rome; but we cannot rely upon such a tradition, so far removed from the alleged fact, when we know that uncanonical traditions even of a few years afford no solid foundation upon which to build our faith. For example, there is in Nottingham a report, or tradition, that the Romish Cathedral on Derby Road owes its origin to controversial lectures delivered by a former curate of St Paul's. I happen to be in the best position to know all about it. That gentleman, when on his way to Lincoln, to receive ordination, entered Nottingham for the first time, June 6, 1843. One of the first objects which attracted his attention was the Cathedral, then rising up. The lectures were delivered at the request of the incumbent, in consequence of the erection of the Cathedral, and the efforts of Romanists to proselytise, and yet the tradition now is that the Cathedral was built in consequence of the lectures. So, as Mr Foulkes observes, evidence may yet be forthcoming to show that Peter did not die at Rome, but at some other place. The Church of Rome in building vast pretensions on a foundation of sand gives a handle to infidelity.

The German bishops in their memorial deprecated the imposition of more than is required by the Council of Trent, on the ground that such a burden might react in favour of infidelity.—*Catholic Opinion*, Feb. 5, 1870.

Count Montalembert, "that great Catholic," so-called, complained of the encouragement given under Pius IX. to "exaggerated doctrines, outraging the good sense, as well as the honour of the human race."—*Catholic Opinion*, March 12, 1870.

Romanism, even as it was, had but little hold of the intelligent. Apart from its professional learning, its strength lay in the uneducated. Superstition is a source of infidelity. The Reformation relieves Christianity from an incubus of error, and the Church of England, by her moderation, commends religion to the learned. A *Vert* visited Austria to observe the condition of the Church, and gave in the *Tablet*, August 1866, his experience. He says, "The gentlemen laughed at him . . . not merely for going to mass, but for even entering a church at all, or evincing the slightest interest in anything connected with religion, which they considered quite beneath his notice." This infidelity, hitherto passive, will now become active under Ultramontane aggression. Rome now says, Believe the Pope's infallibility or be anathema; submit to this, or suffer penalty as a "dangerous rebel."

(2.) The definition, with its accompaniments, identifies the Church of Rome with principles which had been repudiated on her behalf by authorities in this country when they demanded and obtained an increase of power in the councils of the nation. It gives ground for disappointment and complaint to the public. The Irish Roman Catholic bishops, in 1826, in synod, declared that "it is not an article of the faith, neither are they required to believe that the Pope is infallible." Dr Murray, in his

examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1825, denied the right of the Pope to depose kings. I quote from the report : " Q. Is his (the Pope's) authority confined altogether to spiritual authority ? A. Wholly confined to a spiritual authority, according to the words of our Saviour, ' My kingdom is not of this world.' . . . His spiritual power does not allow him to dethrone kings, or to absolve their subjects from the allegiance due to them," p. 223. Like sentiments were expressed by Bishop Doyle, and all who appeared before the Committee. But now the right to depose kings is avowed by the Pope himself. The *Tablet*, August 5, 1871, quotes his words : " The right to depose kings does not spring from infallibility, but from the authority itself of the Vicar of Christ." It is true, the Pope says, he does not intend to exercise it, but we should be sorry to have to depend upon his will, if he had the power.

Dr Manning says, that the Encyclical and Syllabus were received by 500 bishops in Rome, at the centenary of Peter, " as a part of the supreme teaching of the Church through the person of its head, which, by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, is preserved from all error " (Centenary of St Peter). And yet the Pope, in these pronouncements, condemns the principle of religious liberty ; as, for example, the proposition that " immigrants into certain Roman Catholic countries are laudably permitted the exercise of their several worships."

## II. THE DOGMA AND GOVERNMENTS.

This definition is a declaration of war against civil States. Dr Manning said, in 1867 : " The Pontiff will be inflexible to the end. . . . If rulers will not submit to his voice, the peoples will. . . . The Church is nowhere more vigorous than where it is in closest sympathy with the peoples, as in Ireland, Poland, America, and Australia."—*Ibid.* Ireland stands first in his list, and we know that the Government of Ireland is the cruz of England. It affords us an illustration of the results of the unrestricted interference of the Papal power. We need not go back to days long past. In the year 1831, certain diocesan statutes were published in the province of Leinster, which have been brought under public notice by the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee. These statutes describe " reserved cases " as " atrocious and weighty crimes," from which the Pope alone can absolve. A list of these is given, and amongst them " heresy " occupies a prominent place. Moreover, these statutes show, that four clerical conferences were held yearly for the cultivation of the study of moral theology.

With a view to this, a certain book was taken as a standard for the discussion of questions. In 1831, the moral theology of Dens was selected as the book. To this, published by Coyne, Dublin, a supplementary volume was added, containing an epitome of moral and canon law from the works of Benedict XIV., amongst which is the bull *Unigenitus* in full. This epitome contains references to several other bulls, as the bull *Cenæ Domini*, of which Bishop Doyle had said in his examination before the Parliamentary Committee—" If that were in force, there is scarcely anything that would be at rest among the Catholic States of Europe " (April 21, 1825). There is also the bull " *Urbem Antibarum*," for the restoration of forfeited property. Passing over others, some of which sanction the inquisition, the epitome of Benedict XIV. contains the words, which are also found in full in the " *Diocesan Statutes* :—" The Bishop is bound, even in places where the office of the holy inquisition is flourishing, to purge the diocese entrusted to him of heretics." The epitome of Benedict had been published by Liguori in his last volume—Liguori, whose extreme views were peculiarly pleasing to the Pontiff, and who has this year been raised to the dignity of doctor of the Church—an honour to which but very few have been elevated. Whatever Dr Murray and others may have thought privately of the moral or ecclesiastical force of these authorities, it is the fact that they were set up for the guidance of the clergy. It must also be added that, although submission to the Pope on the part of the Bishops is the order of the day, Bishop Doyle made some admissions which are very instructive in these times. In Committee, he said, referring to restrictions as im-

posed in pre-Reformation times :—"Such restrictions were exceedingly necessary, as the Pope at that period pretended to have in the country rights and privileges which are now utterly abolished, and can never be revived; on that account it was very necessary that his correspondence with this country should be carefully watched, and an interference with the rights of the Crown strictly guarded against, but at present when no such right is pretended to, such laws as then existed cannot be thought necessary; but if they were thought necessary, I could have no objection to them" (Report, p. 119). If Bishop Doyle had lived till this year, he would have seen that not only the attribute of infallibility, but the right to depose kings is "pretended to" by the Pope!

No wonder that Montalembert should say that the new Ultramontanes "had pushed everything to extremes, and abounded in hostile arguments against all liberties (*Catholic Opinion*). The Roman Catholic Irish are the most devoted to the Pope, and seeing that there is an unrestricted intercourse between them and the Roman Curia, there is little hope, so long as the *status quo* remains, that the *crux* of British statesmen will cease. It is otherwise on the Continent, where the fulminations of the Vatican now appear to be but a *vox et prætereæ nihil*.

### III. THE DOGMA, AND THE EASTERN AND REFORMED CHURCHES.

The new dogma renders corporate union between Rome and the Eastern and Reformed Churches an impossibility, unless the latter are prepared to yield everything. There is no hope that the acts of Pope and Council will be repealed, and it seems that there is no alternative for Roman Catholics but submission or secession. "Come out of her, my people, that ye partake not of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

The definition justifies the Reformation, and immensely strengthens the Protestant position. "A good tree cannot bring forth corrupt fruit," and the Church which sanctions doctrines that "outrage the good sense as well as honour of the human race," must have been unsound. Thank God for "the reverend Fathers and great Divines," as they are called in our 30th Canon, "in the days of Edward VI., of whom some constantly suffered for the profession of the truth," and "overcame by the blood of the Lamb." Thank God for the Reformation, which is the bulwark and glory of old England. Twenty years ago, such a definition would have been regarded as an impossibility. At that time the professions of Romanists were so liberal, and many of them, I believe, sincerely so, that Protestants who had misgivings were regarded as bigots, but it turns out that the bigots were right. The high sanction given to the works of Ligouri, canonized in 1839, was an evidence of Papal policy now so pronounced.

The Pope, in his Syllabus, has condemned the proposition that it is his duty to reconcile himself with civilisation and progress. Had he done what he condemns, the Reformation would have had reason to fear. As it is, the Papacy puts itself out of court altogether.

This infatuation is, I believe, a fulfilment of the prophetic word. Convocation in 1606 decreed that, if any man deny that the Pope is "the man of sin," he doth greatly err. This view, taken by our Reformers and other great divines, and amongst moderns by the Right Rev. President, has been marvellously confirmed. The Pope's assumptions remind us of the words of the prophet as to the monarch of Babylon :—"O Lucifer, son of the morning, . . . thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds. I will be like the Most High; yet thou shalt be brought down." . . . This blasphemous exaltation of a man who pretends to be the infallible guide of the whole earth should bring us to our knees, and, as a sign of the times, should incite us to watchfulness, and yet to hopefulness; for it sometimes happens that, when the night is darkest, the day is nearest.



## DISCUSSION.

## The Rev. ARCHER GURNEY.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN—or let me rather say, fellow-Churchmen and fellow-Churchwomen; for I trust that in the main we are really and truly of one heart and mind. Although there must be, in many points, differences between us, yet I trust we all love the Church of England, all love the Prayer-Book, and all love the Word of God; and, consequently, I do believe that we have a moral, and a sacramental, and a spiritual essential unity.

Let me first begin by saying a word or two, if I can, to allay what appeared to me to be the slightly exaggerated apprehensions of one who has read, notwithstanding, to my mind, a most remarkable paper—I mean the Rev. Samuel Garratt. Mr Garratt has given us to understand, that he apprehends the very speedy overthrow within the Roman Catholic Church of the whole of the great Ultramontane party, and that he thinks that the Old Catholic party, as they are called—Dr Dollinger and his friends—before a very lengthened period has elapsed, will represent the great Latin Communion. I think he greatly underrates both the spiritual power and the intense earnestness and devotion of the Ultramontane party. If he knew much of the internal working of the Romish Church, he would know, and I think he must know, as a thinking man, that men are generally far more governed by their feelings than they are by abstract philosophical and theological opinions. Now, the Roman Catholic laity and people have been trained in habits of obedience and submission to authority, and since that authority is identified, and has been identified for centuries, with their dearest hopes and strongest prepossessions, to imagine that this will all be cast to the winds in a few years, is, I think, a very exaggerated apprehension indeed. On the contrary, for my own part, I am persuaded that whatever large proportions this Old Catholic movement may take—and I trust it may take very large proportions—and even if this should end in an open schism within the great Latin Communion—still, for a long time to come, humanly speaking, Ultramontanism will continue to have its millions and tens of millions of adherents within the Latin Church. However, I am of opinion, personally, that what Mr Garratt apprehends may, in a certain sense, come to pass; that is to say, there may be a great schism in the Latin Church, and the portion of that Church which stands out for the Old Catholic movement may very possibly make an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the great Eastern Church; and then it may be, that, at a future period, there may come a trial to some of us as to whether we will, or will not, waive what we may hold to be the “faith once delivered to the saints” on certain points, in order to obtain the great and glorious blessing of intercommunion. I think that hereafter that may be the question, but assuredly that is not the question to-day, and it is looking forward a very long way to suggest these possible evils of the morrow to our minds. I would say, let the morrow take care for the things of itself; and let us for the present follow the example of our revered President, in gladly welcoming the first great movement towards life and liberty. Let us not, in a coldly critical spirit, stand aloof and say, “You do not do all that we wish; you do not say all that we like; therefore we will have nothing to say to you at all, and we won’t exchange any friendly greetings with you.” That would not be wise; that would not be kind; that would scarcely be Christian. And one other word I would say, which may tend to diminish slightly what I think is an extreme apprehension, of a future stupendous power that is to reach over the whole of Christendom, and compel us, whether we will or no, to worship the Virgin and the Saints; for that, I believe, is the outcome of the dread of Mr Garratt. Let me mention this fact. I have lived twelve years in France, nearly thirteen; I have had many opportunities, necessarily, of knowing the minds of educated Frenchmen, and French Roman Catholics; and so little are they under the influence, as a rule, of their own clergy, intellectually, that when, a few years ago, M. Renan pub-

lished his so-called "Life of our Lord" (which was rather an attack upon Him under a show of flattery)—I say, when Renan published his notorious book, the only answers read in France by Roman Catholic gentlemen generally—although most learned answers were put forth by Roman Catholics, for instance, by the Père Gratry of the Oratory, and by Père Felix of the Jesuits,—the only answers that French Roman Catholics would read at all, were the answers that proceeded from French Protestants. They would only read those of De Pressensé and Guizot; and why? "Because," they said, "what comes from our own men is 'shop'; we do not believe in them: We believe they are pledged to a system which they must uphold, whether or not." I do not say that this was just with regard to Père Gratry, far from it; but this was their feeling. I am simply stating a matter of fact. Therefore, as a matter of fact, I believe we have very little to dread either in France or in Italy, or in any other part of the Continent, from the intellectual influence, in the days to come, of the Latin clergy. The power that is arrayed against us there is that of intellectual infidelity. That is exceedingly strong, chiefly by way of reaction from the errors and corruptions of the Roman system; and as my time is rapidly hastening to an end, and I have scarcely another minute probably left me, let me venture to entreat this large gathering of Churchmen and Churchwomen, as far as may be, to present a front of cordial kindly alliance among themselves to the enemies on the right hand and the left. Surely, dear friends, as I have said, we cannot all expect to be of one mind. There are those amongst us who dwell more especially on the moral aspects of truth, those who dwell on the spiritual, and those who dwell on the sacramental. Do let us live and let live. Do let us bear with one another. Depend upon it, the Church of England, whatever its divisions may be, is the great living hope of Christendom; therefore, let us do all that lies in our power to strengthen and consolidate her; and until we have something like good feeling, and a disposition to see the good that is in others, it is utterly impossible that we should aim, with any hope of success, at any external union either with the great Latin and Greek Churches on the one hand, or the great outlying Protestant world on the other. We shall hereafter, please God, extend the right hand and the left hand, and be, as I believe, the appointed instrument in God's hand—the great appointed instrument—for the repair of the breach and for the reconciliation of the Christian Church; but for that we must, first of all, cultivate good feeling amongst ourselves; we must deny ourselves the pleasure of saying spiteful and harsh things of one another, and ask of God the essential Christian graces of love, meekness, and humility.

### REV. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A.

MY LORD,—When I gave in my card this morning, I certainly had no notion of the formidable task I was undertaking in coming forward to address this vast assembly with the idea that I could tell them anything which it might be worth their while to hear; and I assure you that I feel in a tremor of nervousness which may possibly drown my utterance. The subject of our discussion is the influence of the dissolution of the Concordats and of the definition of Papal infallibility upon the religion and polity of Christendom. Now I suppose we should all agree—and I always like to start from some common ground of concord—that the influence of the Vatican definition on Christendom at large will depend largely on its influence on the great German nation. And that for two reasons—first, because Germany at this moment stands supreme in Europe—supreme, not merely as a great military power, but perhaps even more as an intellectual leader; and secondly, because the movement against Papal infallibility hails from Germany as its birthplace, and pre-eminently from the school of Munich, of whom that illustrious scholar, and I think you will bear me out in adding, that noble confessor, Dr Döllinger, is the recognised head. Now, I have been privileged both this year and last to hold

frequent conversations with Dr Döllinger on the prospects of the "Old Catholic" party ; and perhaps the Congress may be interested in learning his exact opinions on the subject. It is Dr Döllinger's firm conviction that not one of that band of bishops who made up the minority in the Vatican Council will be able in the long run to hold out. He gave me his reasons for that opinion at length ; but it would be impossible to repeat them in the short time at my disposal. In a few words, they came to this. Papal infallibility is but the coping-stone of a vast edifice which has been in course of construction for centuries. In particular, the Roman *Curia* has, by its elaborate system of dispensations, inclosed the Roman Catholic Episcopate in a network of entanglements from which escape is scarcely possible. Once within that net a bishop is as helpless as the fisherman within the embrace of the cuttlefish in Victor Hugo's story. Resignation or submission : he may choose one or the other ; but there is no third alternative. The submission of Dr Hefele, bishop of Rottenburg, is a case in point. He is one of the most learned men in the Roman communion, and his vigorous opposition to the Vatican decree was felt to be most damaging. It so happened that the expiration of his quinquennial faculties took place soon after the adjournment of the Council of the Vatican ; and when he applied for a renewal of his faculties, he was told that submission to the Vatican decrees was a *sine qua non* of his request being granted. He held out for some time ; but he soon found himself so fettered in the administration of his see, that he had to face the alternative of resignation or submission ; and he chose submission. One by one the bishops of the minority have now given in their adhesion to the Vatican decrees—all, I believe, but two ; and one of the two is the intrepid Strossmayer, who is determined to hold out at all hazards. It is evident, therefore, that the "Old Catholic" movement has nothing to hope from the bishops who composed the minority in the Vatican Council. So much for the dark side of the picture. And now for the bright. Dr Döllinger thoroughly believes that his cause will triumph in the end, though not in his lifetime. He gave me very good reasons for that conclusion ; but time will not admit of my doing more than skipping lightly and rapidly along their surface. In the first place, the abolition of the temporal power must have a vital influence on the future of the Papacy. So long as Rome remained the visible capital of Roman Catholic Christendom, and its bishop occupied there a temporal throne, it was comparatively easy to persuade the multitude that there was a difference in kind, and not merely in degree, between the Pope and other bishops. But when the Pope descends from his earthly throne, and reverts to his ancient status in the Church, the glamour through which men saw his office magnified beyond its due proportion will vanish, and the malign influence of the curial system on the fortunes of the Church will vanish with it. In the second place, the liberation of education from the dominion of the Jesuits is being gradually accomplished all over Europe, and more especially in Germany. The Universities are already free, and the normal and parochial schools are under influences which are totally opposed to the Vatican decrees. The masters are all opposed to Ultramontanism, being appointed by the Civil Government. Moreover, while the priest, or Protestant minister, gives religious instruction in the parochial school for two hours in the week, the schoolmaster has the week at his disposal for that purpose. Thus a new generation will grow up in Germany, who will not accept Papal infallibility ; and the bishops will then be compelled to choose between acceptance of the Vatican decrees and retention of the loyalty of their flocks. Dr Döllinger is strongly opposed to schism, if it can be avoided. He wishes to reform the Church from within. And now let me consider for a moment what contribution we English Churchmen can make to the cause of which Dr Döllinger is the champion. I have a better hope of the movement than Mr Garratt has. I think it deserves our sympathy, and I trust that we shall fully give it ; for I know that Dr Döllinger and his friends yearn for it. In the next place, I trust that English Churchmen will encourage the "Old Catholic" party, so far as they can do so inoffensively, to retain above all things the ancient organic constitution of the Church of God. I am not going to enter into an argument in defence of the primitive origin of Episcopacy, though I believe

the historical evidence for it is unimpeachable. I prefer to rest my case on a practical issue. It is impossible to deny, I think, that the natural tendencies of non-Episcopal bodies in relation to Christianity are centrifugal, whereas the tendencies of Churches which have retained their ancient polity are centripetal. They may be laid low, even to the ground, like our own Church under the Commonwealth; but they have a vital principle within them which enables them, when the tyranny is overpast, to take root downward and bear fruit upwards. The truth is, it is impossible to gauge accurately the inherent affinities of non-Episcopal Christian communions in a land where they live beneath the shadow of the ancient Church of God. Philosophers tell us that the air we breathe is impregnated with countless germs of life, though they are too minute to be apprehended by the senses. In like manner, wherever the Church of God has a local habitation, life-giving influences innumerable are going out of her, which are imbibed insensibly even by myriads who do not own her sway. If you would see the natural tendency of bodies, which have cast off the original organisation of the Church, to run to seed, you must seek them where the influence of the Church no longer overshadows them; and, as a matter of fact, the nearer that they approach to that condition, the more you will find them to recede from the fundamental truths of the gospel. The denial of Christ's Divinity may now be heard from the pulpit where Calvin preached. Look at Protestant Germany too. Many of you, no doubt, have read those remarkable letters on the state of Christianity in Germany, which appeared in the *Times* in the beginning of last year, and which have since been published separately. The writer is a most accomplished German Protestant, who has the best means of knowing the state of religious thought among his countrymen; and he tells us in calm and sober language that the great body of educated Protestants in Germany have come to the conclusion that Christianity is so obsolete and effete a thing that it is no longer worth while to take the trouble of attacking it. I repeat, therefore, my earnest trust that the "Old Catholics" of Germany will not depart from the primitive organisation of the Church, whatever may betide. And now I must turn aside for a moment to break a lance with Mr Garratt. He thinks that the infallibility of the Church is as objectionable a doctrine as the personal infallibility of the Pope, and he declared, amid the cheers of his friends, that the only infallibility which he believed in was "the infallibility of God's written Word." Now, I wish to ask him a question which has often been asked, but never can be answered on his theory. How do you know that the collection of writings, called the Bible is the written Word of God, except by the infallibility of the Church? Do you dispute that? ("Yes," from a chorus of voices in Mr Garratt's neighbourhood.) Very good. Then I must dispose of you at once; and I will begin by subjecting your position to a twofold test. (Here the time-bell rang, and the rev. gentleman sat down.)

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### The Rev. Dr F. G. LEE.

MY LORD BISHOP, MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank Providence constantly that I have never suffered either from the moral malady of blind admiration for the Church of Rome, or from the corresponding craze, on the other side, of a cordial detestation of that Communion. On the present occasion, notwithstanding Dr Little-dale's epigrammatic description of a moderate man, I claim, on the subject before us, to be regarded as such. On this particular question, therefore, passing by concordats—a topic which has been so ably treated from various points of view by previous speakers—I will confine myself exclusively to Papal infallibility. Now, I hold it to be a simple duty on the part of all persons who desire to bring about the reunion of Christendom to try to minimize as far as possible the manifold difficulties which already exist, or from time to time arise, with reference to that question, whether in our own or any other Communion. I feel tolerably certain that, if all those who are so ready to

express an opinion or deliver judgment on the recent decree of the Vatican Council, would take the trouble to read it carefully and weigh with deliberation its complex propositions, they would find large loopholes throughout its wording, together with principles laid down in the introductory part of it which, if carefully applied to the claim of personal infallibility, might in some time to come enable the whole of the Church Universal, fairly called together and faithfully presided over, to set the ordinary Ultramontane gloss upon it altogether aside. This, I am aware, is not the popular view of the question. It is one not commonly entertained. But I venture to hold, notwithstanding, that as in times past, on one or two vexed questions, the people of England have, in the progress of years, changed their minds, and this, too, on subjects connected with our relations to the Church of Rome, so in the present case the popular conception of the recent Decree may turn out erroneous. It is not twenty years ago, for instance, that the whole country rose in a state of frenzied excitement with regard to Papal Aggression, so called—augmented and intensified by the flowers of rhetoric which fell from the bench of Bishops in the House of Lords. I have seldom regretted anything so much as those strong adjectives then made use of, sadly wanting in charity, which it would be undesirable and unnecessary to repeat here, but which I trust people on all sides may soon forget. But to return. Permit me to point out, my Lord, that an entire change has come over both the House of Lords and the House of Commons with regard to Papal Aggression. Many have altogether altered their judgment in reference to this particular question. Even the noble author of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, the legislative result of that wide-spread frenzy, confesses that it was a mistake. If, then, such a change of view can have taken place with regard to the wisdom of having passed such a bill, and of the Papal proceedings on which that bill was founded, may we not in the future find that our present dark prognostications of the momentous nature of the Vatican decree just gone forth have happily not been realised? Many such variations of sentiment have occurred on various occasions in the past—judged differently from a different point of view. For example, the Council of Trent as a reforming council is not now regarded by theologians of the present day as it was by theologians of the Caroline era. Men have largely and generally changed their opinion regarding the character of its decrees and creed. That is a matter of fact. Still further, I can hardly hold it to be charitable, or even reasonable, to sympathise with the assaults of worldly statesmen in Italy upon the Church there, when we ourselves are suffering, as we have done in many particulars, from what I may plainly call confiscation, and the presence of a new-fangled system of secular education—of which this Church and nation shall surely reap the bitter fruits in the future. That this, and such as this, should have been made a subject of rejoicing by any member of the Church of England, standing on this platform to discuss Papal concordats and infallibility, is to myself simply melancholy. Yet in one of the papers just read, a clergyman, if I mistake not, appeared to rejoice that the old influence of what we must all look upon at least as a sister Church had been curtailed, both as regards Christian education and State interference with the divine law of matrimony. Why, are not we ourselves sorely afflicted at the present time by the active operation of what seems to me to be a far greater curse than any irregular exercise of Papal powers, even the presence of one exercising high judicial functions, who pretends to dissolve marriages made in the Name of God? There are always many difficulties in forecasting the future; but there is one prophecy, and one prophecy only—I may be pardoned for alluding to it, and I allude to it with all possible reverence—relating to the Person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the great Head of the Church, which as yet is clearly unfulfilled, and, as far as I know, it is the only one. God, it is said, “shall give unto Him the throne of His father David.” Now, in many of the complications which exist, we may not be able to predicate how this result shall be attained. Yet may we humbly and charitably hold that the authority gradually conceded by ecclesiastical necessity to the bishop of Rome, and assumed by him with the consent of a large

portion of Christendom, may, nevertheless, in the future be deliberately laid aside. His temporal power has gone, I fear, never to rise again. In that future, dim and distant it may be, a new centre of Christendom other than Rome may yet be found needful for the well-being of the Church Universal—even the Holy City near which our dear Lord suffered. So that, if not in the person of the Son of David Himself, yet by an intermediary and by delegation, in the person of one who shall be generally recognised as the fair and impartial representative and ruler of the whole Christian family, may this marked and notable prophecy have its literal fulfilment. I know there are many difficulties existing, and divers entanglements to be unravelled. No one who looks simply at the existing state of things as regards the relation of one part of the Church to another, or to the dark social evils that are ever cropping up on all sides, can do otherwise than echo the eloquent words of Mr Archer Gurney. I know, too, that there are many difficulties on our own side as well as elsewhere. But without any disloyalty at home, surely we may hope that the future dawn of reunion may serve to fulfil the many glorious old prophecies as yet unfulfilled—to realise the hope of the faithful, and the fond desire of the saints. That dawn may be now a long distance off. Notwithstanding this, however, I trust that we may do nothing either here, at any time, or under any circumstances, to mar the work.

Even as in the southern sea, when the night is darkest, and the waves are wild, the storm-tossed mariner, watching for a guide, beholds above him the lustrous constellation of the Southern Cross, so in all our perplexing difficulties and hopeless hours, remembering the fact that the family of Christ, though externally divided, is inherently and organically one; and, resting our eyes on the consoling idea of corporate reunion, the brightest star of our hope in this vale of tears, may we long and pray for the time when the shadows shall flee away, and the morning of peace dawn, and we shall behold the haven of oneness, where alone concord and rest shall be found in perfection under the meridian noontide of the Church's final triumph, when God shall be all in all.

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### A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.

As your Lordship's old and faithful pupil, I rise now to invite the Congress to give effect to the paternal and wise advice contained in the paper with which you commenced this most interesting debate. I am glad I have come forward, because I find myself, to my regret, the first layman to rise upon this question, and am constrained to appeal to our lay friends to show their love to the Church by listening to their clergymen in church, and in return making their clergymen listen to them at the Congresses. Otherwise I should not have spoken but for the fact that only six weeks ago I had the privilege of having two long and interesting interviews with one whose name has been in the mouth of almost every speaker to-day—I mean the eminent professor, Von Döllinger; and from the conversations I had with him, touching, as they naturally would do, on the great question of the day, I can assure you that the sympathy of England, and of the English Church, is of real importance to that body of earnest and courageous men who are standing out against what, I hope your Lordship will permit me to say without a breach of charity, is the growing Buddhism of the Roman Church. Professor Von Döllinger is himself a most accomplished English scholar. He knows what is passing in our Church, and I will give you an instance of it. I happened to mention to him who had been recently appointed Dean of St Paul's. He referred at once to the volumes of essays which that eminent writer published a few years ago. So it is not a question of mere ignorant admiration; we are dealing with men who know what we are, who look into what we are, and to whom our sympathy is most valuable. And here, with reference to the points on which English Churchmen differ with the Old Catholics, as followers of that

Reformation which began with Cranmer and ended with Cosin, and of which I hold myself to be the faithful liegeman, it is the plain rule of Christian charity to dwell rather upon the things on which we agree than upon those about which we differ. We are not called upon to join the Old Catholics. The question of intercommunion is in the future. Then, in Heaven's name, why throw a stumbling-block in the way, by looking out for the matters on which we differ with them, rather than those in which we do not? We do agree in such vital questions as the combination of liberty and church order. We say, as they do, that the Church of God is founded on the apostles, and not on the See of Rome. We, like them, hold a sacramental system as the complement of apostolic orders. We hold a fixed liturgy. We look on all baptized Christian men as the flock of Christ. Then, I say, show them that sympathy which they so eagerly crave, and reciprocate the spirit in which they themselves came forward, at their late meeting, to intimate the possibility and the hope of future union with the Churches of the East, and of England and America, as well as with the Protestant Churches of Europe. Another thing which shows how Professor Von Döllinger has watched the progress of events in England is this: he called attention to the fact that this question of Papal infallibility checked the course of conversion to the Church of Rome from England. He referred to it, and recognised it as a fact; and when that fact is recognised, we know that we are dealing with men who will not try to catch us one by one, and lead us off. The dread of such attempts has always stood in the way of free discussion with members of the Roman Church, whose conduct has contrasted unfavourably with that of the Eastern Church in this respect. That large-hearted man the Archbishop of Syros spoke to me with indignation in reference to attempts at the individual perversion of members of the Church of England, not sparing those persons of the Russian Church who commit themselves to that policy. It was to corporate understanding that he looked for future intercommunion, and such must, by the drift of events, be the attitude towards us of the Old Catholic party. They are stronger in their formal attitude than you may at the first glance recognise. One prelate after another of the Vatican minority may fall off to Rome, but there is still the old independent Church of Utrecht in Holland, ready and able to continue their ministry, and thus in God's inscrutable providence showing itself, when it seemed most weak and ready to perish, really preserved to effect, in the time to come, a great work for the Universal Church. What will that work be? I will conclude with what came to me as a prophecy, written on the last day of the year 1869—the last day of the year in which infallibility was not the dogma of the Vatican, in a letter to myself:—"Temporal despotism has faded away in a most unexpected manner." That was written in the short, hopeful interval of the Olivier ministry—"Temporal despotism has faded away in a most unexpected manner, and I sincerely hope spiritual despotism will follow sooner or later?" These were words written to myself, on his death-bed, by Count de Montalembert; and in the spirit of that great man I conclude:—"When shall we see the end of the spiritual despotism?" If that spiritual despotism does not end, it will not be the triumph of the Church of Rome, it will not be the triumph of antagonistic Protestantism, it will not be the triumph of any Christian principle, but it will be an internecine war between the Vatican and the false science of infidelity. It is for us to check that evil consummation. The depths are already being stirred. The society in which your Lordship has taken so active a part—"The Anglo-Continental Society"—has done much, so has the "Eastern Church Association;" many private persons have been active; and I only ask for sympathy with all those who strive for the union of Christendom here and on the Continent. That is the best defence—the best and the only armour with which we can arm ourselves against the double danger of superstition and infidelity.

Rev. E. HOARE, M.A.

It was impossible, my Lord, not to hear with very great interest the allusion you made in your opening address to the remarkable coincidence of date between the promulgation of the decree of Papal infallibility, and the declaration of war with Prussia. May I for one moment draw attention to what I imagine to have been your Lordship's meaning when you mentioned that date—viz., this—that there was the mighty providence of God watching over the nations, and that it was an invisible hand which so directed the minds of men in such a way that that great crash and ruin of France—which was to result in the overthrow of the temporal power of the Papacy—followed immediately as a stroke from God, the very day after the going forth of the infallibility decree?

There are one or two other dates that I may perhaps be allowed to refer to in confirmation of your Lordship's position. On the 13th of July 1870, the decree of infallibility was informally passed. On the 15th July—two days afterwards—Napoleon's Government announced war in the National Assembly of Paris. On the 18th July the bishops—very nearly approaching to that mysterious number of 666—assembled in the Vatican. And then you remember deep darkness filled the house, and just as the light was produced, in order that the Pope might be enabled to read the decree, crash came that peal of thunder that made not only the bishops tremble, but even the very stones of St Peter's. And then what happened next? On the 19th—the day following—war was declared in Prussia. Was there no connection between the two things? And then again, your Lordship alluded to another date, and I may perhaps be permitted for one moment to remind you of a parallel fact. It was on the 20th of September that the Italian troops entered Rome, and if you turn to the file of the *Times* you will find that it was on the 20th of September—pretty well at the self-same time—that the King of Prussia telegraphed to Berlin that then the investment of Paris was complete. (Question.) I am speaking exactly to the question. My point is this—and I will show you that it is to the question—my object is to connect the decree of infallibility with the fall of the temporal power; and I am showing by the coincidence of date how France and Rome were blended together; how the temporal power of Rome just rested on the military power of France, like a statue upon a column; and so, when it was God's purpose to throw the statue to the dust, He broke the column, and crushed France. But I have other practical results before me respecting the consequences of the abolition of the concordats and the decree of infallibility. In many respects Rome has been inconsistent, and in many respects Rome has been perfectly consistent. It has been consistent in this,—that wherever it has had the power, either by concordat or any other means, it has kept out the Scriptures. And now I want to trace the connection between the circulation of Scripture and the abolition of the concordats. There used to be a concordat with Austria, and we could not therefore get the Word of God into Austria. In 1867 the concordat with Austria was brought to an end, and, thanks be to God, the British and Foreign Bible Society alone has sold in Austria more than six hundred thousand copies of the Scriptures. There used to be a concordat with Spain, and no man might possess a Bible or study it in private. If I recollect aright, it is not ten years ago since Matamoras was in prison in Spain for the simple reason that he was found in possession of the Scriptures. But in 1868 that concordat came to an end, and, thanks be to God, the barrier is broken down, and year after year the British and Foreign Bible Society is selling in Spain more than eighty thousand copies of God's Word. At length Rome was the only state in civilised Europe from which the Bible was excluded, and those who aim at union with Rome may remember that the dear old Church of England was not allowed to have its place of worship within her walls. The Church of England rests her teaching on the Bible. The Church of England is a Scriptural Church, and therefore the Bible and the Church were both kept outside the walls of Rome. But there came a time when the temporal power was broken down. And what was the result? When the Italian troops



entered Rome, six colporteurs of the Bible Society entered with them ; and now, at the present time, there is a depôt of the Bible Society in the heart of the city, and God's Word is freely sold, without let or hindrance, in the Corso of Rome. Every barrier being broken down, the way is open for the triumph of God's truth. Instead of the fallacy of man we have now in the city the infallibility of God ; instead of the lie we have the truth ; instead of the whole tissue of Romish fictions we have in the heart of Rome itself the pure Word of the living God freely offered to an inquiring people.

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### The Right Hon. the EARL OF HARROWBY.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN, the call of your president, and the reproaches of a brother layman, have stimulated me to rouse myself to offer you a very few words. I wish I had, like some of those who have preceded me, confidences to reveal from the great leaders of this movement in Germany. I am sorry to say that I have not. I can only recall, in that respect, what I read, I think five or six years ago, in the published correspondence of a Roman Catholic, who was one of the German diplomatic agents at Rome. It was published after his death by some of his friends—I believe against the wishes of others of his friends—and it was extremely curious in this respect. It gives you from day to day a record of the proceedings between this agent and a part of the German Church in Rome, and of his proceedings with the authorities of Rome ; and after expressing disgust from time to time at what he had seen and witnessed, a remarkable expression falls from him ;—he says at last, “ If we cannot breathe a little of our German sincerity and honesty into this Church, it must fall.” That shows, at any rate, how the feeling of the German Roman Catholics—even before this time—was revolting against many circumstances of their present relation to the Church at Rome. Now, some of the speakers who have addressed you, have indulged in prophecy as to what will be the result of all this ; but after the experience of many years, I have very little taste for such indulgence.

I know how apparently the most reasonable conclusions are defeated by unexpected events, and looking back to history, I cannot but think that it will be extremely difficult for these Germans to make a reform within the Church of Rome, without parting more from the Pope than they are prepared to do at present. Looking back to the great struggle of the Gallican Church, which was supported by Bossuet and Bourdaloue, supported also by the authority of the most powerful monarch of the time, by the universities, and by the Sorbonne, and with all the colleges of learning on its side, I ask, What was the result? Why, I believe there was not one of the bishops who took part in that movement—not even Bossuet himself—who had not either before, or upon his deathbed, to recant before he could receive the last sacraments. You cannot escape from those meshes. As we have been told to-day, it is all one system, and that system is so intricately interwoven with the present doctrine, that although it is a new doctrine in dogmatic theology, yet it has been too long the doctrine instilled into the feelings and affections and habits of the Roman Catholics to have that startling effect upon the people generally that it has upon the learned and upon us. Still I think we ought to receive with every kindness and encouragement those who offer resistance to this power ; we ought to feel ourselves under a responsibility in this matter, as the Church of England did in regard to the Jansenist Gallican movements. Were Pascal and all the Port Royalists prepared to throw off allegiance to Rome? Not at all ; they differed from the Church of Rome, and rejected partially one of its decisions. We sympathised with them and had a right to sympathise with them, and ever since that time we have held in honour the memories of those men who raised up, even for a moment, an independent standard against the oppression and the tyranny of Rome.

But at the same time, I also warn you that unless men are prepared to break with Rome altogether, the movement will be but transient.

Where are the Jansenists now? Where are those great men who were the honour of France, intellectually and morally? They have dwindled away and disappeared. They still professed that allegiance to Rome which compelled them to shrink into nothing, and swept them from the face of the earth. That very class of feeling which they so very honourably represented, is a warning to us for the future; and I do not think we can encourage ourselves, from the experience of the past, to hope or expect any reform within the Church of Rome, except by the absolute abandonment of all connection with it.

### The PRESIDENT.

I AM sorry we cannot proceed further; we are now five minutes late. There are two speakers who have sent in their cards, and they request me to explain that they waive their right to speak, and that they, as I do, congratulate this Church Congress on the very successful meeting we have had, and the very interesting debates we have listened to. This is the wish of my reverend friends, and I am their interpreter. I am desirous, before the meeting is closed, that we should congratulate each other on the position that has been taken up with respect to the old Catholics in Germany. Those who are versed in ecclesiastical history will remember that one of my predecessors in the see of Lincoln, who became afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury—I refer to Archbishop Wake—entered into a friendly and confidential correspondence with one of the ablest scholars of the Sorbonne—Dupin,—and that that correspondence elicited a large amount of Catholic truth and love. That correspondence shadowed forth something like the programme now issued from Munich. It is perfectly true that the Old Catholics recognise the creed of Pope Pius IV.,—but recollect that begins with the creed of Nicæa. The additions made to that creed are all modern, and contrary to the principle adopted by the Old Catholics, and we are quite prepared to meet them on the basis of the creed of Nicæa. I hope that the time will come when those additions will be removed, and we can join with them in the adoption of the creed of Nicæa of the fourth century. Let us not be so uncharitable or so ungenerous as to criticise harshly the errors to which the Old Catholics still adhere. For myself, I rejoice and thank God for the spiritual truths which these men are resolved to maintain. It is fervently to be hoped that the prophecy of an eminent Roman Catholic layman, Count De Maistre, may be realised, and that the Church of England may be a mediatorial and conciliatory instrument, so to speak—in the hands of the one great Mediator between God and man, and that by pure Catholicity on the one side, and Protestantism on the other, she may attract all Old Catholics who are rejoiced to hold firm old Catholic truth, and that she may likewise reconcile with them and with herself our Protestant dissenting brethren, so that they may all be united in one fold, under one Shepherd—our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then, as I began, so I must end with paying a tribute of thankfulness to that eminent Nonconformist who placed in my hands this letter, which was written to him by one of the leaders of this movement. It is dated from Munich on the 4th of the present month, and it is greatly to the credit, to the generosity, and I may say to the self-abnegation and self-sacrifice of that eminent Nonconformist, that instead of calling upon his Nonconformist brethren to take the lead in this movement, he appealed to me as the bishop of this diocese. To him, therefore, be the honour of the initiation of this movement in this town of Nottingham; and let this be the presage and happy omen and augury of that which we trust will be the consummation of this consideration of the first principles upon which the Church of England is founded; and that we shall think a great deal more of those things upon which we agree, than of those things upon which

we differ, and that we may (I speak to my Nonconformist brethren, if there are any here present) cast all minor differences to the winds, and that we may unite as one man—in one Lord, one faith, and one baptism—against those two powerful enemies which are menacing Christendom and Society—I mean Ultramontaniam on the one side, and Communism and Infidelity on the other.

The meeting closed with the Benediction.

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*THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 12th OCTOBER.*

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The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.15.

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CLERICAL EDUCATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNIVERSITIES AND THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES. THE MEANS TO BE ADOPTED, BEFORE AND AFTER ORDINATION, FOR INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE CLERGY.

The Rev. B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., Canon of Peterborough, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, read the following paper:—

THE idea which we form of the best type of clerical education necessarily depends upon the view which we take of the clerical office. If the office were simply ministerial or priestly, it would be a sufficient external training for those to be admitted to it that they should be conversant with certain services, should have mastered certain formulas, should be prepared to fulfil with due reverence and dignity specific ordinances. But however highly we may estimate the divine grace conveyed through ordination to the Christian minister, no one of us would admit that his work is accomplished when he has discharged with the most sedulous care the routine functions which he is authorised to undertake. He is a prophet and a pastor as well as a priest. He has not only to use in definite ways a gift committed to him, but he has also to carry forward a progressive interpretation of all life, and to satisfy the wants of the individual soul. As a representative of the spiritual power he must make good his claim to deal with religion in its human no less than in its divine bearings. He is appointed to declare a message of wisdom as well as a message of love, to shape and co-ordinate the various elements of that which is relative in expression, as well as to maintain unchanged that which is absolute in essence. According to the circumstances in which he is placed, now one part of his office and now another will be predominant, but no part can be disregarded. His education must therefore, if it be satisfactory, include the means for an adequate preparation for the active exercise of all his duties. He will need an intellectual training, and he will need a pastoral training before he can fulfil his divine commission.

Of the pastoral training of candidates for holy orders I do not wish to speak now. I have endeavoured to show on another occasion that this

can be best conducted from cathedral centres, and that our present cathedral bodies, crippled as they have been, can still, with some little external help, undertake it. Leaving then this part of the subject for one who will come after me, I propose to indicate some essential points at which (in my opinion) we ought to aim in the intellectual training of our future clergy. This training belongs, at least in its great outlines, to the universities and not to the cathedrals. I desire therefore to show how the universities help us to secure the results which I regard as most desirable: how (1) the general character of their teaching is perfectly fitted to produce that breadth of mental sympathy on which all highest theology reposes; how (2) the special teaching in Divinity which they supply is designed to lay the firm foundation of a historic faith. The time at my disposal renders it impossible to develop these ideas in detail, but applications of the ideas will occur to every one if they are themselves fairly stated.

Briefly then it seems to me that the intellectual training of our clergy must be animated and ruled by two great principles which are included in the nature of their message. Christianity is the absolute religion, and therefore the Christian minister must apprehend clearly the relation in which Christian theology as a science stands to all other sciences. Christianity is a historical religion, and therefore he must be conversant with the laws of investigation into the past. He needs, above all men, largeness of view and critical discipline. It follows therefore that his training must be, if I may use the term, encyclopædic in spirit, and historical in method. Let me endeavour to bring out these two thoughts a little more distinctly.

1. The first condition of clerical education is, I say, that it should be encyclopædic in spirit. It is of course impossible that every candidate for holy orders should master even the rudiments of all other sciences, before he enters upon the special study of theology. But without attaining this range, he can, at least, gain an adequate acquaintance with the grouping of the sciences, with their subordination one to another, with their principles, with the processes by which they are pursued, with the foundations on which they rest. Past history has shown, with sufficient clearness, the disastrous results which follow from the attempt to investigate one domain of knowledge by the method which belongs to another. And the lesson has been so far fruitful, that no one now would attempt to construct a theory of the world, on general ideas, apart from experience. The limits between mental and physical science may not yet be perfectly adjusted, but at least a broad distinction has been made between results reducible to elementary facts which are inconceivable otherwise, and those reducible to elementary facts which are verifiable by observation. And when this distinction is once felt, we are prepared to understand that the facts of theology, as a science, are different in kind from both, and that they are established by a peculiar and independent authority. Until this truth is seen, fatal mistakes will be made in the development of theology, like those which long disturbed the progress of natural science. There is a legitimate office for deduction in physics, but the dominant facts of physics are not obtained or tested by deduction: there is a legitimate office for both deduction and induction in theology, but the dominant facts of theology are not obtained, or tested by these methods. Deduc-

tion is limited by man : induction is limited by man and the world of sense ; but theology claims to reach beyond the present order, to place us in connection with the eternal and the unseen, and Christian theology starts from the union of man with God.

It is impossible to pursue these thoughts further at present ; but what has been indicated will explain my meaning when I said, that the foundation of clerical education must be encyclopædic. It is of vital importance that the young student of theology should be habituated to regard the facts which arrange themselves round the three ultimate existences which consciousness reveals,—self, the world, and God,—as being supplied from different sources, tested by different proofs, dealt with by different methods. In this way he will be guarded from countless disappointments and discouragements : he will rejoice intelligently in every effort made to extend or complete each science according to its proper laws : he will know that his own science has characteristic truths which belong to it alone ; and he will know also, that these truths are illustrated and advanced by the progress of the simpler sciences which define their expression, and, in turn, receive from them a crown of living glory. The theologian who studies theology only, is really as liable to error, as unnaturally cramped, as imperfectly equipped for his work as a philologist would be who confined himself to the knowledge of a single language. It is his task to watch for the convergence of all the streams of truth, to gather every scattered ray of light, without hurry and without misgiving ; without hurry, for time is to him only “the shadow which his weakness shapes ;” without misgiving, for he knows, as no one else can know, that all truth, all light is one.

Now we shall all feel that this largeness of sympathy, this comprehensiveness of view, this patience of discrimination, must be gained before the student devotes himself to the special study of the master-science of his life. Theology, true theology, is inspired by such a spirit ; but the pursuit of theology alone will not produce it any more than the pursuit of physics or of philosophy. We shall feel also that this spirit is the natural product of the universities. No other intellectual discipline, besides that which they supply, can present to men with equal efficiency the manifoldness of knowledge, and at the same time show how all subserves in various ways to the same end. The combination of representative types of study in one course, as pure mathematics, and physics, and historical philology, must force every thoughtful student to consider the mutual relations of the different members of the hierarchy of sciences, and help the student of theology to apprehend the office of his own science (the science of revelation), in its proper grandeur. It is true that recent changes have tended more and more to specialise the branches of education even in the universities ; but at present the revolution is neither final nor fatal. All that is needed to co-ordinate studies which are separately vigorous, is that theology should claim their common service.

2. So far then nothing can be better than that the candidate for Holy Orders should, whenever it is possible, enter completely and heartily into the ordinary university course—that is, that he should approach his professional study through the avenue of the liberal studies ; that he should have at least the opportunity of seeing clearly the position which it holds with regard to the other branches of knowledge ; that he should learn once

for all that the truths which he has to teach, the method which he has to follow, are not antagonistic, but complementary, to the truths and methods of the metaphysician and the physicist. Even if the university did no more for him than this, he could not well dispense with the teaching which places him in a true position for future work. But the universities can do, and actually do (I speak with confidence of my own university) far more than this. They not only reveal to the theological student the general relations in which his science stands to the other sciences, but they help him to lay deeply and surely the foundations on which all later construction may repose. They enable him (that we may pass to our second principle), to seize the characteristics of the Christian revelation by directing him to the study of Holy Scripture and to the study of Church History. These subjects follow naturally on the purely liberal studies with which he has been hitherto busied. They offer scope for the exercise of all the powers which he has matured. Through these all the fulness of life is found to contribute to the interpretation of the gospel. Through these dogma and ritual first become really intelligible when they are seen to answer to, or rise out of, facts. Through these, if we dare not speak of *proof*, comes that conviction of the truth of Christianity on which the intellect, as well as the soul, of man is able to rest with absolute assurance.

It cannot be too often repeated that the sum of the Gospel is a Divine history. All that it concerned us to receive as to the visible presence of Christ, His being and His work, is contained in the apostolic writings. His invisible presence, through the Spirit, is made known in the annals of the universal Church. Thus we have primary documents in which we find the essentials of our faith; we have secondary documents in which we can observe how the faith has been apprehended, how it has been effective from age to age; and these documents must be tested, revised, interpreted, with thoroughness, candour, devotion, proportioned to the overwhelming importance of their contents. I am speaking now, it must be remembered, simply of the *intellectual* training of the Christian minister; and, in this respect, it seems to me to be nothing short of unfaithfulness not to prove all things by every means at our command—the Bible to which we appeal as the judge of our thoughts, the records of the life of the Church of which we are heirs.

It is not indeed possible that every candidate for Holy Orders should be an accomplished critic, but every one may be expected to know the circumstances under which the books of Holy Scripture were written; how and with what general varieties of form they have been handed down to us; in what different ways they have been regarded; when and by what authority they were collected together. It is not possible that every one should be a well read historian; but every one may be expected to gain some acquaintance with the original writers who describe the crises through which the Church has passed; to see through the eyes of those who witnessed in them the victories of faith; to study the history of dogma in the words of men, out of the depths of whose spiritual experience each formula was drawn.

The universities, I repeat, do even now present these subjects to students more efficiently than any other body could do. There is need, no doubt, of a more complete combination among teachers, of a more careful

co-ordination of successive examinations, of a more obvious progress in the course followed, of a more generous recognition by bishops of the results of university instruction ; but none the less the study of the Bible, and the study of Church history, are vital studies in the universities. Men can pursue them there, not as isolated fragments, but in their due relation to all literature and all life.

Such studies may seem, at first sight, secular or literary, outside the sacred field in which the minister of Christ is set to work. But they are not so. Nothing is more wanted, in order to extend and deepen the divine life amongst us, than the profound study of the Bible, and of the progress of the Christian society. In the Bible we have the inexhaustible, unchangeable springs of truth ; in the progress of the Christian society we trace the manifold developments of the vital principle of truth through conflict and failure. He who has examined, with the most unwearied diligence, the origin of the Scriptures, who has tried by every test the words which he receives, who trusts most absolutely to their exact interpretation, has preoccupied the vantage-ground of his adversary. He who does not shrink from looking upon the realities of Church history, who dares to acknowledge the dark chaos of the deep, as well as the movement of the Spirit of God upon its face, will retain hope in every season of distraction and doubt.

It follows then, if what I have said is true, that all who have the efficiency of our national clergy at heart, should support and stimulate the universities in the fulfilment of the two great services which they can render to the candidate for Holy Orders. They can render the services which I have described, and I fully believe that they are willing to render them. They can prepare him, by a grave and varied discipline, for large-minded research and patient criticism. They can encourage him to consider the position which theology holds as crowning all other knowledge, assimilating and transfiguring every treasure of thought and observation. They can guide him to a personal and intense realization of the life of Christ, heralded by the preparation of the law and the prophets, fulfilled now as in old time in the growth of His body, the Church. They can inspire him with a sense of the far-reaching dignity of his calling as the interpreter of the Divine counsels, as well as the minister of the Divine love, so that he will pass to the special preparation for his work, knowing that he is the inheritor of a life and not of a system, of a life which is the pledge of the unity of all that is seen and temporal with that which is unseen and eternal. We first come to feel that religion is the harmonious synthesis of all thought, all knowledge, all action, when we see how different methods correspond to the varieties of subject-matter which fall within our cognisance. We first come to feel that Christianity is inherently exempt from the law of decay when we see how it rests upon facts which are both real and infinite.

At no time could this view of the range of the ministerial work, this searching examination of the historic foundations of the Christian life which I have endeavoured to describe, rightly be dispensed with ; but at present our most confident hope of the future triumphs of faith lies in the return to what may seem to be its first elements. Every sign indicates that we are approaching an epoch when Christianity will take a new development. Once again the rule and power of the fresh growth must be sought in the Gospel

of the Resurrection; the mode and impulse in the past victories of the Church. It is obvious that the problems about which men are most deeply moved in England now are social and not individual; concrete and not abstract; questions of action and not of opinion. And if we look back we shall see that it is in this direction that we may expect our faith to assert its vitality. God, man, humanity; authority, individualism, solidarity; such seems to be the succession of idea and organisation. When the Roman empire was overthrown and a new sovereign power had to be fashioned, the energy of Christendom was concentrated for two centuries on the determination of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation. When the kingdoms of modern Europe were taking shape, and the treasures of Greek thought were again opened to the world, for a like space men were absorbed in the debates on personal freedom and justification. Now when the political life of peoples is more widely quickened, when physical inquiries have laid open some of the subtle bonds by which we are united to one another and to the material universe, our questionings take another turn. However carefully we guard all that we have received as duly established in regard to ecclesiastical order and individual liberty, all that we have received as duly defined in regard to the being of God and the nature of man, we still find that we inquire, as others about us are inquiring, whether Christianity has any authoritative teaching on the discipline of life, the organisation of society and of labour, the intercourse of nations; whether, that is, there is a social development of Christian doctrine, as there have been theological and anthropological developments. If we believe that the Word was made flesh, if we believe that Christ died and rose again, if we believe that in Him are summed up all things in heaven and earth, we cannot doubt what the answer must be, though we may long sadly wait for it.

Meanwhile, if the student of theology can be led to see at the university, at the outset of his course, what is the scientific position, what is the foundation, what is the life of his faith, he will be prepared in some degree for the new task of construction which lies before him. He will have still to learn, elsewhere, other lessons, lessons of spiritual power; but he will have learnt that lesson which will make all those that come after parts of a vital whole.

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The Very Rev. the DEAN OF CANTERBURY read the following paper:—

IN the limited space allotted to a paper, I think I cannot do better than at once enter upon my subject; and as one fresh from the University of Oxford, I propose to give an account of what has been done there within the last few years to promote the better education of the clergy.

I need scarcely in my sketch go back to the time when the University appointed no public examiners. Oxford produced, no doubt, even then, many eminent scholars; but they were the fruits of the rich endowments of its colleges, which enabled men who had a taste for study to devote themselves to whatever branch of literature best suited their powers. The colleges, as the foundation-statutes of most of them testify, were intended



not merely to be places of study, but to be the homes of theological learning—the homes *scholarium in sacra theologia studentium*; and they ever fulfilled this object more or less thoroughly. In ancient times, however, the University did much to foster learning by means of the exercises required for its degrees, and the studies prescribed afterwards. A degree has now become a mere badge, in token of a man having passed certain examinations. In old times it was the beginning and pledge of future studies; and the formula by which a degree is conferred still bears witness to this. The Vice-Chancellor confers upon the person admitted to a degree the right to commence the studies appropriate to the Faculty of Arts, or Medicine, or Law, or Theology, as the case may be. *Do tibi licentiam incipendi in facultate artium, legendi, disputandi et cetera omnia faciendi, quæ ad statum Magistri (vel Doctoris) pertinent.* And these lectures and disputations, following upon the degree in old times, were realities, and it was thus a proof that its bearer was devoting himself to a definite course of study.

And before the degree could be taken, certain exercises were required, by which a man's fitness for that branch of study was put to the test. But gradually they became mere empty forms; and thus, when I was first made Professor, a candidate for the degree of Doctor in Divinity was required by the statutes to dispute in the Divinity School for three hours against all comers, and the Professor was to sit as Moderator to decide upon his competency. But the disputation was to be in Latin, and men had long ceased to speak Latin; and so no one ever came; the professor absented himself with the rest; no notice even that disputations were to be held was given; and the candidate was simply locked in the Divinity School for three hours, with the *Times* newspaper perhaps, or some book of pleasant reading to beguile away the time. Happily this last relic of obsolete customs has passed away. A candidate for a Bachelor's Degree in Divinity has now to read dissertations on selected subjects; and for a Doctor's Degree, exegeses of portions of the Epistles of St Paul. As a usual rule, those which I have heard have been marked by no mean degree of scholarship and learning.

Now this form, which had survived to our own days, may be taken as a specimen of the manner in which the exercises for degrees, which were realities in the middle ages, had lost all vitality and become meaningless. The University, however, early in this century resumed its proper functions by appointing public examiners; and by arranging in separate classes the names of those who had distinguished themselves, it gave a great encouragement to all studious men to devote themselves heartily to learning.

But these examinations were for a long time confined to *literæ humaniores* and Mathematics. And this system was perfectly capable of defence. The University said, We do not profess to prepare you for any special profession; but we train and develop your mental powers, that you may become fit for any and all professions. You must acquire subsequently the special knowledge and peculiar aptitudes which are necessary for the profession, whatever it be, which you select. But as year by year the age at which men matriculated increased, this ground became in practice untenable. Now this increase in age was one of the many unexpected results of throwing open the prizes of the University to public competition. When Keble came up to Corpus a mere boy, it was upon a scholarship confined to a single county. No prudent father now, who has a promising son,

will risk him at the University till he has had a long training at school ; and the mass follows the leaders. What is the result ? When, about the year 1848, Archbishop Howley endeavoured to provide for the special study of Theology at Oxford, his scheme virtually involved a residence there of five years. But now that men matriculate at the age of nineteen or twenty, not only is such delay impossible, but the University has even been obliged to shorten the time of residence required for a degree. The longer the time at school, the shorter must that be at the University ; and thus three years form now the normal time spent at Oxford, though the University admits men to its honour-schools up to the end of their fourth and a half year.

Whatever, then, has to be done for the good of the large majority of men, must be done within these three years ; and the University has long since decided that it must give special as well as general education within this space of time. The present system is as follows :—Soon after matriculation a man must pass Responsions. This examination merely shows that a man is fit to profit by the studies of the University, and it would be a great improvement in our system if it had to be passed before matriculation. Afterwards, in the first term of his second year, a man ought to pass Moderations. Now, up to this time, the University gives a general education only in *literæ humaniores* and Mathematics. Finally, for the rest of his time, a man may devote himself to special subjects.

The first special schools established were one for Law and Modern History, and another for Natural Science. But Theology, the greatest of all the faculties, had no special school provided for it, owing to the scruples of some eminent men, who feared lest subjects of so sacred a kind should be treated with irreverence by men being crammed for an examination in them. They also did not like the idea of any one studying for the sake of honours that which ought to be studied for its own sake. But the practical result was, that Theology dropped entirely out of the curriculum of our studies ; and a young man intended for holy orders, but who had no aptitude for the old classical and mathematical schools, had to choose between Law and Natural Science. Naturally many valuable men were thus lost to the service of the Church. Driven to these studies at first against their will, they followed them afterwards for their own sakes—to say nothing about the tone in which these subjects are sometimes taught, and which, to say the least, is calculated to give a man a distaste for the profession of a clergyman. And thus the theological teaching of the University dwindled down to that small modicum required of all, unless they profess themselves to be *extra ecclesiam Anglicanam*. This homeopathic dose consists of an elementary knowledge of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek, the history contained in the Bible, the subjects of its various books, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Evidences of Religion. If a man wanted more than this, his *alma mater*, instead of bread, offered him Geology or Chemistry.

Practically, then, the refusal of a school of its own to the Faculty of Theology meant the exclusion of Theology from the studies of the University. It led to nothing. You might gain honours and ample emoluments by reading Blackstone, Lingard, Machiavelli, or by studying Chemistry, Physiology, Geology. And this was quite right. But it was not right to put under a ban the student of Chrysostom and Augustine,

of Hooker, Pearson, and Butler. No wonder that Bishops complained that fewer and fewer university men offered themselves for ordination ; no wonder that theological knowledge among Fellows of colleges and the clergy declined. It is not everybody that is able to swim against the stream.

At length, in 1868, a scheme was proposed for placing the Faculty of Theology upon a fairer basis. But while few, perhaps, objected to its having a school of its own, a great struggle arose as to what that school should be. While many of us wished that it should be a school to train men for the service of the Church, just as the schools of Law and Natural Science train men for the Bar and for Medicine, others wished it to be a school of Speculative Theology. Now already the school of *literæ humaniores* has become a speculative school. For a first-class, as the examination at present is conducted, a young man must have dabbled in the works of Spinoza, Hobbes, Hume, Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Lecky, Kant, Hegel, Comte. His study of these works has been slight and cursory, with no other object than to be able to answer questions, which men learn from their private tutors or from casual report are likely to be put. The probable effect of such studies you may learn from Mr Appleton's evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords upon University Tests. Now I do not think that men ought to be able to gain the highest honours in Theology without knowing something of the state of modern thought upon theological subjects, but I do object to the direct teaching of doubt. Most true it is that we must make our choice sooner or later between faith and unbelief ; but to force on this choice prematurely and to teach a scientific scepticism, would be to bring upon the University that woe pronounced upon those by whom offences come.

The three or four years spent by a young man at a university are years in which great advantages are counterbalanced by great risks. They are years in which the intellect begins to think and judge for itself, and inevitably it finds itself brought into close contact with that mighty wave of negative thought, which is sweeping over the whole educated world. It cannot be well and healthy for it first to learn how all old beliefs are being assayed in the crucible of doubt in those subjects, where it has been taught to believe that faith is a virtue and scepticism a sin. Larger knowledge should be acquired and training given, before the mind, cut loose from the old bands which had kept it at safe moorings, can be trusted to steer a course for itself on the trackless ocean of speculation. Even the most practised intellect may lose its right bearings if it venture out upon this sea, far from the old landmarks, which the experience of the past has set up : how much more the ardent, vigorous, but untrained intellect of the young.

It was this, then, which underlay the struggle about the manner in which the examiners should be appointed. The usual system at Oxford is that the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors nominate the examiners absolutely, each one in his turn, and Convocation then gives its formal approval to their choice. Such a method of appointment is in itself absolutely indefensible. It has of late worked pretty well, because it has been worked by reasonable and moderate men. As the wheel goes round, Oxford will have these offices held by extreme and party men ; and so honours being given for opinions, and not for industry and ability, will fall into contempt,

and the system be swept away by a strong reaction against its unfairness. There are two ways by which examiners should be appointed: either, first, by Boards of Studies, with the addition of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors; or, which seems to me the scientific way, by giving each Faculty once again a corporate existence, and letting the members of it decide what shall be the proper studies required for its degrees, and of course intrusting to each Faculty—to Arts, Law, Medicine, and Theology—the entire regulation of its own school. Something has been done towards this end in the case of the Theological School. It has a Board of Studies, and its examiners are not appointed at haphazard, but by a second board.

The studies of the school are prescribed by the three examiners and the six theological professors, namely, the Regius and Margaret Professors of Divinity, the Professors of Hebrew, Pastoral Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture. These professors also choose three of their own body, who, with the Vice-Chancellor and the two Proctors, form the board by which the examiners are appointed. The board is thus not exclusively theological; half its members are so, but the other half consists of the chief magistrates of the University for the time being. In this way the risk inseparable from appointments by a single individual is avoided.

Besides the rudiments of religion enumerated above, six subjects are prescribed by the University as those in which men are to be examined, namely, first, the Scriptures, with the New Testament, of course, in Greek, but with Hebrew and a knowledge of the Septuagint left optional. Next the Creeds and Articles; then Ecclesiastical History and the Fathers; then Evidences; in the fifth place Liturgies; and lastly, Criticism. The first two are indispensable for high honours, and, for a first-class, a man must select two more. For a fourth-class a man must pass a good examination in St Paul's Epistles, and in one other subject (except Criticism), or in Hebrew. This acts as a great encouragement to the study of this sacred language. For a third, the examiners have suggested what would be a most useful training for a clergyman, namely, the Bible, Pearson, Butler, the Book of Common Prayer, Hooker (Book v.) with three books of Eusebius, the last requirement, however, being optional. I cannot but hope that a valuable body of men will be trained by this course of reading for the Church's service.

Lastly, I must add that our school is distinctively an honour-school. A first-class in it will, I trust, always be a difficult achievement, requiring as much patient industry and as large natural powers as a first in the school of *literæ humaniores*. By resolutely maintaining a high standard, its class list will gain in value, and its honours pave the way to Fellowships. And thus we may hope to raise the standard of theological acquirements both at Oxford and in the Church generally. If every year we can imbue a number of young active minds with a love for these studies, and send them out into life with a competent knowledge at least of the foundation-lines of theology, we may hope, in due time, to see many of them become themselves master-builders, and the whole body of our clergy and laity feel their influence for good.

An honour-school involves something more. An idle or very dull man must go elsewhere. Its degrees must always rank above an ordinary

degree. And thus I must venture to point out to our right reverend Fathers that they can never require it as a *sine qua non* to holy orders. There is plenty of room in the ministry of the Church for men of ordinary powers; nay, such men may often have moral excellences of a high order. But even a fourth-class in this school is intended to be the proof of more than ordinary acquirements. It need not denote great abilities, but at the least it should show that its bearer has devoted two or three years at Oxford to the definite study of the highest subjects which can occupy the mind of man.

Men so often speak as if at Oxford a man's sole choice lay between the Scylla of Rationalism and the Charybdis of Ritualism, that I have been anxious to show that parents may still send their sons there to study the writings of those men who have ever been regarded as the best exponents of the teaching of the Church of England. Oxford has been advancing boldly during the last few years in the van of improvement. It has undertaken the examination of middle-class schools—it has provided a way, by the admission of students not attached to any college, whereby men for £50 or £60 a year may have the benefit of its teaching, and attain to its degrees. It has been providing special education upon most of the great branches of human knowledge. And now it also provides a special education suitable for the clergy of the national church.

I cannot but hope that this school will prove highly useful. An increasing number of men are reading for it; and as it becomes known, and its honours acquire a real value, more men will devote themselves to theological study. Its establishment has filled a blank in our University course. For it was monstrous that Oxford—ever anxious to promote the education of country gentlemen, lawyers, physicians, and surgeons—should refuse all special education to the clergy. It no longer does refuse it; and I pray that God may grant the school His blessing, and make it the means of diffusing among both clergy and laity sound religious learning and increased knowledge of His most holy will.

I append the list of books recommended by the professors for more exact study during the next three years.

### SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

THE DIVINITY PROFESSORS AND EXAMINERS IN THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY, appointed according to the Statute of May 1869, have named the following books as those “*acuratissima diligentia tractandos*” by such Members of the University as intend to offer themselves for Examination in 1872, 1873, and 1874 (see Stat. Tit. VI. (IX.) Sect. II. § 8. cl. 28):—

#### I. BIBLIA SACRA.

The subject-matter of Genesis, 1872. The subject-matter of Exodus, 1873, 1874. The subject-matter of the two Books of Kings, 1872, 1873. The subject-matter of Jeremiah, 1874. \* The subject-matter of Isaiah. The Gospel according to St John, 1872, 1873. The Gospel according to St Matthew, 1874. The Epistles of St Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, 1872. The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1873, 1874.

#### OPTIONAL SUBJECTS.

*Hebrew.*—\* Genesis I—XXIV. \* Psalms I—LXXII. \* Isaiah XL—LXVI. *Septuagint.*—Genesis, 1872. Exodus, 1873, 1874. Psalms I—LXXII, 1872, 1873, 1874.

#### II. THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA ATQUE SYMBOLICA.

\* Pearson on the Creed. De Fide et Symbolo, edidit C. A. Heurtley, S.T.P., 1872. Cyrilli Hierosol. Catecheses, 1873, 1874. Hardwick's History of the XXXIX Articles, 1872. Bull's Defensio Fidei Nicaenæ, Books I and II, 1873, 1874.

## III. HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA ET PATRISTICA.

- (1) Eusebii Hist. Eccl. II—IV, 1872, 1873. Eusebii Hist. Eccl. V—VII, 1874. Socratis Hist. Eccl. I, II, 1872. Socratis Hist. Eccl. III, IV, 1873, 1874. \* Canons of four first General Councils. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, 1872. Haddan and Stubbs' Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, Part III, 1873, 1874.
- (2) Patres Apostolici, edidit G. Jacobson, S.T.P., 1872. S. Irenæi adv. Hæreses, Lib. III, 1873, 1874. Epistola ad Diognetum, 1873, 1874. S. Augustini Confessiones, 1872, 1873. S. Augustini de Catechizandis rudibus, 1874. S. Augustini de Fide rerum quæ non videntur, 1874.

## IV. APOLOGETICA.

- \* Butler's Analogy. Tertulliani Apologia, 1872, 1873, 1874. Hooker, Book I, 1872, 1873.

## V. LITURGICA.

- The ancient Liturgies, 1872, 1873, 1874. \* The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, &c., with special reference to its sources and to its successive modifications.  
Hooker, Book V, 1872, 1873, 1874.

## VI. CRITICA SACRA.

- Westcott on the Canon of the New Testament, 1872, 1873, 1874. Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, 1872, 1873, 1874. Tregelles, Canon Muratorianus, 1872, 1873, 1874. The Gospel according to St John, exact criticism of Chapters I—X, 1872, 1873. The Gospel according to St Mark, exact criticism of, 1874.

H. G. LIDDELL,  
*Vice-Chancellor.*

DELEGATES ROOM, June 8, 1871.

The Examiners wish to point out that the Statute renders a knowledge of all St Paul's Epistles obligatory, as also of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the original Greek; and that the "Rudimenta Religionis" involve a general knowledge of the contents of the Bible. The specification of a book or books for especial study is not intended to limit the examination to that book or books.

The Examiners further give notice that, except for those seeking the higher honours, they will be willing to examine Candidates who offer Biblia Sacra, Pearson on the Creed, Butler's Analogy, The Book of Common Prayer, and Hooker, Book V; but they would recommend the addition to this list of three Books of Eusebius.

Books marked with an asterisk may be considered as practically permanent.

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The Rev. E. W. BENSON, D.D., Master of Wellington College,  
read the following paper :—

THE present is a time of reconstructions. It is difficult to imagine a living Church living in more disintegration and individualism than our own at a period not remote. Hence the movements characteristic of late years are not doctrinal agitations or missionary enterprises, but organic combinations. Within twenty-five years, what growth in *system* has been made under these isolated heads:—Confirmation, and the preparation for it; liturgical propriety; home missions; church extension; ruri-decanal chapters; church congresses; synods; conferences. The revision of our Version will be the result of a similar exertion of this organising power; the creation of an ecclesiastical inspection of schools another. We see tendencies to a restoration of cathedrals to active life; and probably some great movement toward the union of societies for systematic administration of charity is not far distant. All these, however, are simple combinations. The greatest problems are still before us; and the most attractive to the historical eye, and to the mind that is guided by Christ's

promises, are such as require the previous solution of other problems of organisation.

The evangelisation of the masses, the comprehension of dissentients, the reconciliation with other Churches, seem to be problems about which the Church is full of movement, yet which we are not nearly in a condition to approach. The Church and the nation are alike interested in the issue of them ; but practical effort with regard to them necessitates previous new combinations, new institutions, for they demand three things :—

1. A scientific knowledge of dogmatic truth.
2. A dialectic skill in enforcing that truth.
3. Familiarity with the habitual disposition and mental attitude of—  
(1.) Anti-church ranks ; (2.) Non-Christian ranks ; three things which at present, we must confess, enter in the minutest measure into the acquirements and education of our Anglican clergy. Yet they must be had copiously and diffusively before we can grapple with the problems which are perhaps nearer to Churchmen's hearts than any.

Scientific theology, and the art of handling those questions in it which mark the differences between other Churches and our own, our Church and our dissentients, require skilled instruction, educated students, time at command.

Familiarity with the tempers and habits of social ranks is scarcely ever acquired in such force as to be inoffensive to them without constant association on equal, or nearly equal terms.

The prior problems then are seen to be—

1. Training in doctrinal theology.
2. The enlistment of clerical or semi-clerical agency of orders socially less refined than our present clerics.

I say clerical or semi-clerical, because it is possible that such workers might be either wholly devoted to liturgical assistance, and house-to-house ministration, or combine with this some secular occupation. It is only an innovation of the Church of Rome which, late in Church history, made the subdiaconate an exclusively clerical function. The order of Readers may be said to be reappearing.

I cannot call them missionaries, because their work would be in reality no more mission-like than is the present work of the clergy ; but they would deal with classes upon whom few clergymen have taken effect, and who at the same time are not impervious to the "City missionary," the Scripture-reader, the "Mission-woman." Again, this order is one which belongs to the organisation of a settled and permanent Church, while the missionary order belongs to the foundation of Churches.

For these, some instruction in doctrine, properly so-called, would be essential ; because they would have to combat the inducements of the Romanist, the terrors and confidences of Calvinism, the arguments and misapplied texts which lead to the postponement of Baptism, the theoretical mistakes which withhold the uninformed Church-people from Holy Communion.

However, the necessity for a definite education in the grounds of our faith, and in the theory of which our life and practice is the issue, or ought to be, is not limited either by the prospects of the creation of an order of readers or subdeacons, or by the duty of entering upon a con-

sideration of relations with other bodies of Christian men. Such threads will each in their turn be woven in. But it is imperatively demanded *now* for the sake of our *present* candidates for holy orders, and for the sake of those who, after the usually most brief and superficial preparations of those candidates, are subjected to their ministries.

Not only the tendencies of particular schools of thought, but the whole plan of education, has already made teaching from boyhood upward take so practical and material a course, that the very existence of a science of theology is being forgotten and almost denied. Yet it *is* a science, in the most technical sense of the word—the most difficult, the most comprehensive of all. And though it does not rest on the basis of *observation*, yet it rests on a basis which Christians at least cannot believe to be less secure, and on methods as precise as the intellect can construct. But special doctrinal teaching must disappear from our universities. The admission of Dissenters to theological degrees is held to be inevitable. Honours in the Theological Tripos and Class-Lists are already open to them. The basis of examination and professorial teaching will therefore have to be common. Biblical Criticism and History, New Testament Criticism, Church History, and History of Doctrine, omitting altogether the Interpretation of Doctrine, will become the subject-matters. In proportion as direct connection with a national establishment is repudiated on the part of universities, the impossibility of maintaining a Theological Faculty for the support of a distinctive symbol becomes apparent, and this just at the era in which the Church of England requires it most for her own sake, for the sake of the Catholic Church and Christianity itself. The duty was once an ecclesiastical duty. Then it was assumed by universities and partly discharged. It becomes once more in our time an ecclesiastical duty, and we shall surely rise to it.

So much for the necessity of making provision for the instruction of the higher and more intellectual class of students.

For workers of more undefined social grade, who still are to prove *ingenui pastores*, their labour will be to broaden the substantial views of truth, and, if possible, to endear the offices of the Church to minds which are made more acute, at the same time that they are narrowed by the counter and hardened by machinery. For this our pastorate needs an annex of spirits that know the inside and the outside of the workroom and the shop, and their life and conversation has to be formed by discipline, and their minds to be stored with arguments of a special kind.

Now, for want of early refined literary culture, they will not be susceptible, unless exceptionally, of the highest university influences. Again, average university habits are, in respect of ease, application of time, expensiveness, emphatically not those which we want.

This clergy of that Third Estate (which the ministry of England has never yet won, nor can, except by special means) will want a distinct curriculum of study, distinct discipline, new institutions, and new teachers. In so far as it has been hitherto endeavoured to cross the boundary of this province, the main operations, so far as they have permanence, are worked with small stipends indeed, and great love, but with little generalship, little confederation. Cultivated men serve an apprenticeship so, but they pass on. And the multiplication of such work makes the once so salutary understanding that the ordination of non-university



men should be exceptional, like the breasting of an advancing tide. The needs of parishes are so increased and increasing, that the stipulation for a degree becomes a losing strife, and a non-university staff must be organised, or else the streets or lanes must be delivered over to separatism. Unless there exist a divinity training, uncostly, thorough so far as it is carried, simple in habits, and ecclesiastical in tone, self-sent ministries will multiply rather than diminish.

The institution, then, of which we speak, must definitely, if it is to meet real demands, have a *double object* before it. Whether a single college could certainly attain both objects is not to me clear; but ideally I believe that it would be desirable to attempt it. The social difference is the only difficulty apparent, and this is one—being one of the facts of society—which ought rather to be worked into a serviceable fact. The graduates would be older, would probably take a higher collegiate rank within the walls, and by arrangements not unknown to universities should have special duties assigned to them. Whether this be essayed or not, we must necessarily contemplate two different classes of students, differing, as we desire, in rank, and means, and previous culture,—to be differenced; also, in the comprehensiveness of the course to be set before them, and the subjects to be included.

I. The second class must necessarily have some tincture of letters introduced into their education. Beyond the study of divinity in its several divisions, they must also to some extent read classical authors in Greek, Latin, and English, and have some general instruction in matters physical. We are just now on the eve of a period in which greater previous education will render minds more susceptible, since, with the multiplication of middle class and other schools, young men who may be enlisted in the cause will throughout the country possess elementary advantages hitherto in most parts of it denied to persons of their position. The Church has to find her gain in that.

I would dedicate full half of their college work-time to divinity—half of it to other subjects, without which they would shortly find themselves inferior in knowledge to, or at the mercy of, crude assertions and popular arguments advanced by those whom they should influence.

That a real training may be in this manner imparted, I believe that not less than a four years' course would be required. Roman Seminaries and Dissenting Colleges find less than four will not suffice, and their experience cannot well be rejected. And though the living and habits be made through careful organisation and discipline as simple as possible, yet it is evident that much assistance will be required. We must, I think, consider that such students would rarely be able to advance for their own education and maintenance more than £40 a year upon an average. The supplement would have to be otherwise provided. I am, of course, alive to the difficulty here involved. But I have conceived it to be our business to state fairly what appears, after much observation and thought, to be our need. English munificence has often done far more than will be required for many such colleges, and, if the time for them is come, will repeat its work.

II. To provide instruction in theology, and pastoral care for those whose circumstances have permitted more liberal preliminaries, is a more simple matter.

For them we have to supplement the university course in those departments. The offices, as I believe, already exist which were constitutionally intended and are adapted to supply the necessary teaching. They have to be set free from the trammels, or indulgences, which in other ways besides are prejudicial to us as a Church, in order to enable such instruction to be systematically afforded.

To the question of the working staff, however, I will return. As to the curriculum, I believe it need extend over not more than twelve months, and of this twelve months I believe half, at least, would be profitably spent in a mixture of reading with practical work, thus :—

There are up and down a diocese many parish priests admirably qualified by character and attainments in divinity to be guides, both practically and theoretically, of men preparing for holy orders.

I would require the first three months of the year to be spent in residence at the college, in regular attendance on lectures and in close study. For the next six months I would wish students to go out by two and two to the parishes of such pastors as I have mentioned, with certain fixed subjects to be prepared from books by private study. In the middle and at the end of the six months, I would have them present themselves for careful examination in the books. But I would have them read, as I say, not in residence at the college, but in the selected parish. The morning they would spend in study, but the afternoon and the chief part of their Sundays in parochial visiting, school-teaching, and cottage-lecturing, or else initial pastoral works, just as so many men did lately in a northern town, under the direction of one whom I must mention *honoris causa* as having practically shown how this could be effected. One early morning hour he devoted, I believe, to reading with those who gathered round him to see and to learn his method of work; and this part of the plan would be essential to its success. The last three months would be spent at the discretion of college authority, either at college or in parish, the promotion of skill in divinity being ever the principal aim. For it must not be forgotten that a better acquaintance with *divinity proper* is to be the aim of a divinity college—more knowledge, more aptitude in representing the truth. It is *the* necessity of a time in which every man fancies that divinity subjects are those in which he can give a solid opinion by the light of his nature; and in which every test we do apply—or any attention to what issues from a confident press—shows us to be greatly ignorant.

This is the outline upon which I should wish to see pastoral study conducted or begun for those who have enjoyed a liberal education; whether for other students any—or what—part of their proposed course might similarly be spent in parishes, must vary with the individual. Such students can scarcely be prescribed for in mass. In city parishes there could be no difficulty if their aid would be acceptable; and, while it appears to me that it ought to be so valuable as to be certainly acceptable, I have been almost surprised to find what a welcome has been given to the idea by parish priests, who are theologians as well as pastors.

III. Pressing as I conceive to be the necessity for the better education of candidates, gratefully as we may accept any preparation for that illumination which the Lord of the Church alone can give, I believe that there is

one check to be kept in view, without which no substantial, no enduring success could be achieved.

The organisation of the Church is one; nothing should be in it which is not of solid, compact structure with the rest. The ministers to be prepared are public ministers. Their training should be *public*. It should rest upon, be established by, and conducted under, competent public ecclesiastical authority. Such authority belongs to the only unit which is known to Church history—it belongs to the diocese—to the see—to the Bishop and his cathedral church, sadly as these churches have fallen from their original essential duty of constituting the *Concilium Episcopi*—now assembled in full chapter, now contracting themselves to the resident members, now expanding into the Synod of all the clergy of the diocese. This best and highest function of theirs is, doubtless, in abeyance. They may have ignorantly set their own seal to an abdication; but still, considering their second or parallel function—as it once was—of educating in all ecclesiastical learning, they are the only establishments which can be recognised by any student of the canon law of the Church as historically and constitutionally appropriate to the purposes either of cultivating the knowledge of doctrine, or of enlisting new forces in the Church's warfare.

In the Old English Foundations, the Chancellor—in corresponding foreign foundations, the chancellor or scholaster—was bound to lecture himself, and to appoint other lecturers, constantly to profess and read divinity in the cathedral and chapter-house. In our New foundations, the function was not so strictly limited, but was committed to all. Abroad, immediately after our own Reformation and the constitution of our New foundations, the Council of Trent provided that in every cathedral-church should be constituted a *Theologus*, whose office should be to lecture and teach divinity.

Thus every active age in our own and in other Churches has recognised the necessity of *public* teaching; and while, out of the circumstances of our own time, we seem to arrive at the necessity of a double constitution for the adequate fulfilment of our needs, it is interesting to remark, that there probably has never been a time when the same necessity has not existed.

Thus we find instituted all over the Continent such a double system. In every cathedral and in many collegiate churches we have—

1. The *Scholæ Theologicæ*, in which the chancellor or corresponding officer delivers professorial lectures. And,
2. The *Seminarium*, in which there is a course of training for the ministry, extending over several years.

The *Scholæ Theologicæ* were free to the clergy of the diocese, and to any poor scholars, were open to the public, and adapted to the studies of advanced theologians, as at Lincoln and elsewhere the Canons were ordered by statute to attend them, and as graduates frequent professors' lectures at Cambridge.

In another point, too, these foreign schools (which although in far too narrow modes, through the want of confidence in the universities, conduct the education of nearly all the clergy) resemble what we should have to constitute. They were originally maintained by a uniform taxation upon all kinds of ecclesiastical receipts, but since the confiscation of

ecclesiastical property, the seminaries are maintained by private gifts and subscriptions.

For education, as one of their main purposes, our cathedrals were instituted; from them the universities themselves borrowed titles, offices, and forms. This, as one of the chief needs of our time, we should again require of them, consulting at once their dignity and their usefulness. It is impossible that they can hold to the "bede-house theory" of their existence, as Bishop Ellicott has called it: they are neither adequate to it in means, nor it to them in nobleness. It is impossible that the system called "residence"—*i.e.*, an arrangement for the non-residence of residentiaries—can endure the healthy demand for a *raison d'être*.

An act to call Canons into residence without pluralities, like that which has already enjoined the residence of Deans, is all that is wanted to create a body with capabilities far beyond and inclusive of the noblest clerical education. Most in accordance at once with ancient precedent and with modern requirement is the scheme already proposed in more than one cathedral, of attaching a canonry to the headship of the divinity college of the cathedral, and re-endowing at first two, and by degrees more, of the ancient prebendal stalls to conduct the tuition. This is a procedure intelligent of the primitive and the English diocese. This is acting upon our title to belong to the Church that grows not old. This draws the student close to the heart of the Mother-Church, and brings him up under the eye of the church-fathers. This grafts him upon an ancestry, and gives him an escutcheon.

Let us add, this belongs to the ancient and yet maintained liberties of the *English* Church. For whereas, the cathedral was anciently charged with this great work, so it was part of the outline of our Reformation for which "Cranmer laboured with the King, that in these New foundations there should be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and students trained up in religion and learning, from whence, as from a nursery, the Bishops should supply their dioceses with honest and able ministers; and so every Bishop should have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits;" and says Bishop Gibson, "It appears from 31 Hen. VIII., c. 9, that *the great design* was to make cathedrals nurseries of young divines for the service of the Church, trained in the study of divinity, under the immediate inspection of the bishops, deans, and chapters." And while the *theory* of Rome herself was and is that there should be governing bodies of her colleges, selected in pairs from the cathedral and the parochial clergy, the modern *practice* of Rome has been to make the Bishops mere nominees of the Papal Court, and then to place the colleges entirely in the single hand of the Bishop. For them Caligula's wish has been fulfilled, and all the necks of the people are but one neck.

IV. The service which the divinity college of the see may contribute to the welfare of the diocese would be but half rendered if it cared for its members only up to the time of their holy orders. For that is the time (as council after council lamented\* in the fourteenth century, in terms that express the experience of to-day), when the greatest temptation the young priest has is to withdraw from his undertaken science, when, as an old Canon quaintly says, "His science is as yet at least not perfect."

\* Conc. Auch, Paris, Bordeaux, Bourges.

Annual gatherings were then appointed for five or six years after priesthood, with questionings on various branches of divinity, among which figured also some legal knowledge, and views on the temporal administration of parishes. The results of those examinations were made formally known to the Bishop, and thus Cranmer's views were older than Cranmer.

It is obvious that, even with us, if lines of voluntary study could be recommended and pursued with the aid of the college, many a country curacy would be a different life from what it is, and the skill and the influence of the clergy would be immeasurably increased.

As to the inner well-being of the college, the maintaining of such intercourse—and, we may add, the spiritual use which might be made of such gatherings—would, above all, help to foster unity, and yet react against the spirit of clique—would encourage the proud gratefulness and the immediate responsibility which the public character and cathedral associations of the college should first create in its members.

In the most practically useful of such institutions (however efficient it might become), still, if it had but a private character, we could not overcome the natural, observed, deplored tendency to ignore it and its fellow-students in after life. Were our divinity schools not really bound up with national ecclesiastical institutions, no ordinary administration or instruction could create that historical enthusiasm which—by God's good working—is of all secondary motives the most forcible in inspiring patient labour with personal hope, with confidence in the means employed, with the sense of support, or assurance of success, with the army-like feeling with which the clergy must move to the reconquest of the lost.

These, then (if I may venture briefly to recapitulate), are what appear to be the essentials of a divinity school and clergy college:—

1. That it should provide for graduates a scientific doctrinal training, and the rudiments of the practice of pastoral theology.

2. That to non-graduates it should offer a longer course, embracing Historical and Biblical Divinity, with necessary literary cultivation.

3. That it should rest upon and be subject to the public ecclesiastical authority of the diocese.

4. That its life and government should be in close connection with the Mother-Church, and the head of it be constitutionally the chancellor, or some one canon, and its teachers honorary canons or prebendaries, or minor canons, but that in any council formed to govern it there should be a parochial element. That the Bishop should be the 'principale caput,' its visitor, the head of its council (with veto), and the appointer of its exercises and examiners. It must be an integral part of our Church-system, and not an excrescence.

5. That it should maintain a close connection with all former alumni, by every means, for devotional, intellectual, and spiritual purposes.

6. That its life and habits should be of the simplest and plainest, and the disciplinary rule in all respects have relation to study, and prayer, and parochial training.

Lastly, Were I asked whether I am sanguine enough to expect two things—

(1.) That the material means, and (2.) That the organising and teaching

power are likely to be available for such institutions, I should venture diffidently to say why I think there are reasons to expect both.

First, I do not look upon the work which they would do as final, but as instrumental.

I cannot see how Churches are to be reconciled, or irreligious populations recovered, but by the sounder knowledge of doctrine, and more numerous and more adaptable labourers.

But I do not believe the Church will cease to desire the ends, therefore I believe she will evoke the science and the men; and that, therefore, she will create the institutions.

And as to the second question, I am not so unhistorical to think that all the teachers will rise at once, nor do I hope it. But we are, I trust, capable of being wrought into teachers by degrees. Such institutions seem to ripple out from great centres. There rises one great house, or one great master, and then the inspiration spreads.

So again and again have communities and establishments, even the grandest, radiated from some centre, which first enterprised that which many were desiring.

Even in a material age, even in a day of small things, ideals well reflected on realise themselves grandly at last. If the ends be good and great, and the means properly conceived of, those means will at last begin to be.

#### ADDRESS.

The Rev. CANON KING, Principal of Cuddesden.

I MUST spend one of the few minutes allotted to me in thanking you for allowing me to take part in such an assembly as this: it would be indeed a privilege under any circumstances, but much more so under the presidency of one who has rendered such signal service to the Church by his faithful and loving labours in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and now lately added to his benefactions to the Church by restoring to us with its ancient proprieties a true Church Synod. But now to the work. It may be once for all admitted that any idea of rivalry between the Theological College and the great Universities in intellectual matters must be simply ridiculous. The single fact of the ancient libraries possessed by the Universities, must put them in a position of advantage regarding all matters of deep learning which modern colleges cannot possibly hope to reach, with these again are the staff of learned Professors, such as we see here in Professor Westcott, to whom so many of us owe a debt of gratitude for his many and learned works, a staff that can never be equalled except in the great centres of learning. There can be no reasonable doubt that in matters of pure intelligence, the universities are, and ought to be, the schools of learning; and yet I am anxious to suggest, if I may without offence, the question whether the professors themselves would not be injured by the retaining in the universities all the candidates for holy orders. There they might provide lecturers and tutors to assist them in their work; but as it is, I have thought it at least open to question whether the higher work of the professor would not be endangered by the great increase of tutorial work if all candidates for holy orders are to be prepared in the universities. A popular professor would seem almost to be a contradiction; there are indeed everywhere men who have the higher professorial gifts, and also gifts of teaching, and teaching so as to be popular. Such men as Dr Bright and Dr Liddon come evidently to one's mind; and here, my Lord, I may mention a

scene I was permitted to see the other day in our college at Cuddesden. We were sitting, students and teachers, in the lecture-room in our college, Dr Bright, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oxford, was lecturing with his usual brilliancy and learning, and listening with us in admiring attention was our Visitor, our Father and Bishop. My Lord, it was a lovely and valuable picture, witnessing to the possible unity between the University, the Diocesan College, and the Bishop. But while I grant freely the advantage of the universities as places for intellectual training, and while I desire with all my heart that all who enter the universities should, if possible, derive the highest advantages of scientific learning in the universities, studying the sciences under their several professors, and studying them also in their relations, and interlacing one with the other—yet, I believe theological colleges have their special work to do. I speak of colleges such as those at Chichester, Wells, Salisbury, Cuddesden, and elsewhere: for it should be remembered that these colleges are founded for graduates after their university training is over, the Bishop indeed having the power to admit non-graduates if he sees special reason for so doing. In our own college at Cuddesden, of the last hundred students only two have been admitted without the university degree. Our position is, then, that the students who come to us have enjoyed the highest intellectual advantages of which they were capable at the universities, and then our special work begins. It has been said that the utmost that criticism can do is to prepare a correct text for the reading of the spiritual eye. We have a special and spiritual work to do, not separated from intellectual, but a work no less real and no less important; for what is the object of this ministry for which candidates for holy orders are to be trained? Surely it is for the winning of souls, for the seeking of the wandering and lost, for reuniting each single sinner in living union with Christ. But to do this men must be prepared, among other acts of self-denial, to deny themselves many of the pleasures, and distinctions, and advantages of an intellectual life. I repeat it, those who would devote themselves and be the shepherds of the poor, must be prepared to spend the best hours of the day and the best days in their life, not so much in the engagement of theological learning, as in the laborious but blessed work of disentangling separate souls from the entanglement of a sinful world. I do not mean that the clergy should not continue to read—it is essential—but it must be under difficulties and with a conscious disadvantage. Now to prepare themselves for this, I believe they need a special time of spiritual preparation, a time to consider what the ministry will cost them, to study, above all, in prayerful meditation, the example of their Divine Master, to see the pattern of His life in seeking and saving souls. And here I must say with gratitude, that I believe we are advancing to better things. We know how in other sciences than theology, while they are little known, one man will teach the whole in all its branches; but as sciences are better known, so they for their students practically divide. And so in our work, too, there is a special work for the ministry to do; there are spiritual victories yet to be won which need a special knowledge and special training. I know the difficulties of this too well to speak with any narrow feelings of jealousy; if this spiritual preparation, this real practical contemplation of the Divine Master, can be done in the universities or in the parsonage-house, let it be; I only desire to say gratefully that I have seen it done by God's mercy in theological colleges, and beg that it may be done somewhere; that those who give themselves to the ministry should first give themselves to Christ, should be learned in the Scriptures, learned in the Church's interpretation of the Scriptures; and for the sake of the poor, that they should be men practised in gentleness, kindness, tenderness, love—for the sake of the poor, let me repeat, that they should be men who have a real experimental knowledge of the spiritual life.

The Rev. Dr BOULTBEE read the following :—

ONE who volunteers to address an important meeting on an important subject is expected to have something new, or at least something which he feels desirous to communicate. One who has been invited to undertake that duty may feel that he is simply expected to give some results of his own experience and observation. It is no doubt for this reason (considering the wording of the subject) that I was requested to take some share in dealing with it, representing, as I do, the youngest, but the second in point of number of students, among the theological colleges.

I must at once announce that I have no interesting theory to propound. Theories are for the most part like novels. The writer makes his own characters and his own world, and he can, of course, fit the events that happen to the characters with whom he is playing. So theories require some Utopia, some island apart, where the theorist may start afresh, and give full scope to his notions. But if this Britain of ours is an island, it is no Atlantis, open to the working and development of new systems. It is a very jungle of entanglement when we try to leave the well beaten paths. Church and Dissent, High Church and Low Church, to say nothing of Broad Church, have been growing out of each other and into each other these many years with prolific luxuriance. And he who tries to hack a new way through it all will have, to say the least, a most thorny experience, and needs integuments of the toughest. Besides, we have Englishmen to deal with, and though better material is not to be found, and though when an Englishman sees his work he will generally, at least, try to do it, instead of folding his arms and crying on some one else to take his place and his duty, yet your Englishman is not a person easily persuaded, or forced, or jostled into a place in a new or theoretical system which he has not tried. In short, it is not a very difficult thing to describe a model clergyman, according to our own notions of what a clergyman should be; and then it follows that it would not be a very difficult thing to sketch the influences, educational and other, which should be brought to bear on him to make him, as far as may be, what we desire. But I, at least, who have to deal with candidates for the ministry every day of my life, have long ago abandoned such ideas as these. It is easy to say this or that *ought* to be done. "*Ought*" in this world is a relative term. Its correlative is *possibility*. Here are the men to be prepared—there is the examination they have to pass—beyond that lies the curate's work they have to do. Believe me, it is an anxious business—the painstaking effort to fit these three fairly and workmanlike together. First of all, you do not form your candidate. You do not receive some Samuel, a theological neophyte, nursed in the sanctuary from his infancy. But you receive a young Englishman. Probably he has followed the ordinary English groove, and so he has been conducted by the well-worn track of school and university to the age of twenty-two or thereabout. What a slice out of human life! And yet he has barely reached the threshold of real work. Now comes the question, What can be done for him? But the question, What may be done to improve the preparation of the average university candidate for orders, I have not felt it desirable for me to enter upon. Preceded by men of high standing, who emphatically represent the university side, I have felt that something with regard to the condition of non-university men will best come from me.

Let me first remind this meeting of the proportion which these bear to graduates. Putting degrees of all sorts together, Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, London, Durham, Lampeter, Glasgow, it seems that about 412 graduates were ordained in 1870, and about 135 non-graduates. In other words, one clergyman in four now ordained for our church is a non-graduate. And I believe that this proportion has prevailed for many years past. Now, I venture to submit that if this be so, the preparation of one-fourth of our clergy is of the highest importance. And also that it is full time that distinctions and comments unfavourable to so large a section should cease. It is not good policy, to say the least, to leave the impression on the minds of the people that a considerable proportion of our



clergy is of an inferior description. This sort of comment should cease; the time has gone by for it, and, moreover, I am confident it is not true. It is nearer the mark to say that fair specimens of our graduate and non-graduate clergy have each their characteristic excellences. It is idle to compare the inferior specimens of either. There are, doubtless, *very* inferior specimens of both, and stone-throwing is awkward work when there is much glass about. This advantage I believe the theological colleges have, if they will but use it, and few things can improve candidates more. They can exercise the power of selection, which is simply impossible in a university. But a theological college is not bound to receive every man who comes with a decent character, and able to construe a bit of Greek and Latin.

A theological college may, if it will, investigate whether a man possesses *prima facie* fitness for the office he seeks. He may not be much of a scholar in an academical sense of the word; but if it is clear that the man has read and valued his Bible; if he has given of his scanty leisure to good works, has dealt with the hearts and minds of his fellowmen, whether in schools or classes or mission rooms or other of our varied agencies; if he has enough of the bearing and address which become the office, surely these things may be examined into and known. And such a process corresponds far more closely to what St Paul said to Timothy and Titus about selecting bishops and deacons than that miserable "choosing a profession," which is the defective side of the University road into holy orders. There will be mistakes when we have done our best. Some will prove less zealous, less active, less able, less fitted every way, than we thought. Some will be entire failures and disappointments. But with prayer, and the anxious exercise of our best judgment with careful inquiry, I know that we may draw much nearer to absolute success than some may think possible. Careful selection, then, I hold to be one of the greatest means for improvement in this class of clergy. And let it be observed, that it is a principle which is essentially reproductive. Let the public feel that this is your mode of proceeding, and they will place confidence. Let the many zealous and pious young men who possess ministerial gifts feel that this is so, and that there is a recognised place and honour for them, and they will hold back less than they do. I should not, for instance, have to report that last year more than a hundred applications for curates failed to be supplied by ourselves only.

Then, when we have selected the men to the best of our judgment, what can we do? With such material, with sympathy and heart and mutual prayer we can do much. But in most cases we want time. Two years will not effect all that is needed. Let the time, as far as possible, be extended to three years. The Independents take four, if I am not mistaken, and so do several other dissenting bodies, at least in some of their colleges. I am afraid to say how many years the Scotch require. I ask, then, for three years instead of two in ordinary cases, as the next improvement. I beg to give an assurance that we can then in any case of fair ability and industry get rid of cram in its offensive sense, and that the candidate for the ministry shall be competent to handle his Greek Testament in a sensible and fairly scholar-like manner, and shall also have made such a commencement with his Hebrew Bible that he may follow it up with real advantage afterwards. The next point is this. There are two pillars on which theology must be based. I do not compare them, but they are two in number, holy Scripture and history. These two may have much more done for them than has been done. I have not time to describe how; but the student may be taught what few know, how to read, to search, to know, that Bible which we trust he loves. And for the other, be it remembered how the interpretation of prophecy is history; how the ancient Scripture is inwoven with history; how every controversy, every doctrine, every corruption belongs to history; how our own Church, with its excellences and defects, is all a growth belonging to history; and then it may speedily be seen how it is that many are poor theologians and ill reasoners on facts, because they are no historians. My next point shall be this. Unquestionably the dissenting colleges throw a large part of their energy into preparing their men for the pulpit. Without saying that we should closely follow them in this, I

think the experience of many of our brethren will say that we might with advantage to our people and to the Church do something more in this direction.

If we are awake to the fact that there is much to be learned from German experience in remodelling our army, and yet feel that we must not and cannot Germanise it, but just adapt what is good and needful to our British aptitudes and needs, may we not suggest that there have been growing up, unnoticed and unknown, alongside of us, systems of training and education for the ministry of other communions than our own, which are producing every year a large number of men, many of them possessing considerable learning, and upon the whole able to hold their own, and exercise a great influence on their countrymen. Meanwhile we are contented to run in our old grooves, and learn nothing from what passes under our eyes, but which we will not even look at. I am well assured that for some very necessary purposes for our age we might learn much by inquiring what our dissenting brethren are doing in this matter, and how they do it, and how far we could either adopt or adapt some of their measures. In particular, how they attract so many young men possessing at least decided gifts in influencing through the pulpit their hearers; how they maintain them by the very exercise of those gifts during their college course of some three or four years. These matters must be highly suggestive.

Lastly, there is a need of some bond of union between the various colleges and the examining chaplains. We are anxious, thirsting for improvement. But we can scarcely ever learn our faults or our virtues. The University man is accepted as a matter of course, or nearly so. We are too often looked upon askance. But be he the one or the other, the man is examined, ordained, and disappears into the void; but we receive no advice, no suggestions. In a word, there is no system, and there is no sympathy. Without these, I scarcely see how real improvements can be made.

Time fails. As to what follows ordination, I will only say this. A young man needs sympathy and active interest in what he does. He naturally thinks a great deal of his first efforts. Sometimes he shows it perhaps a little obtrusively. What then? He should not be snubbed into carelessness. He will listen to a wise and sympathetic vicar. If there is in him the Spirit of God, there will be that which responds to the right touch, and kindness and sympathy will be the most improving influence—yes, far above all systems and routines in the world.

But I must pause. It can scarcely be needful to add, but I wish to add it. There is only one truly improving influence, and that is God's Holy Spirit. But it seems to be my subject to consider the human means. To these, therefore, I have limited my observations.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. A. BARRY, D.D., Principal of King's College, London.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—After the full exposition of the theory of this matter to which you have listened in the very able papers laid before you, I think I should do wrong in occupying the few minutes assigned to me by endeavouring to go again over the ground which has thus been already so thoroughly occupied. But I am forced to look at this matter practically. As an examining chaplain, I have to see what requirements may be insisted on; and, as the head of a theological college, I am bound to try how far those requirements can be met. Therefore, the remarks that I shall have the honour of laying before the Congress will be, I hope, based upon some practical knowledge, derived from that experience which these offices have forced upon me.

The question of clerical education is only part of a very much larger subject—the relation of general or liberal to technical or professional education—which is at this time being brought very forcibly before the mind of the country. Moreover, the subject itself is not simple; we have to consider first the general education of clergy, which belongs to them, not as ministers of the gospel, but as members of the Church of Christ; next we have to allow for a technically theological element; and lastly, to provide for some practical preparation and training in the pastoral work. It is perfectly obvious that the best method of carrying out one of these branches of education, considered alone, may not be exactly the same as that which is demanded by the concurrent requirements of others.

Now, with regard to general education, I desire to express the strongest possible hope that the mass of our clergy will always receive their training at our Universities. I value very greatly the work of the theological colleges which have risen up of late; but it is certain that one reason which gives our clergy a power such as, in some respects, is possessed by no other in Christendom, is the fact that they are educated side by side with their brethren of the laity; that they are in no degree a close profession or caste; that they have at least some means of knowing and sympathising with the great currents of thought and feeling in the mind of the country. I fear that we shall lose this priceless advantage, if at any time the mass of our clergy are trained otherwise than by the Universities, or bodies that nearly correspond thereto. Under present circumstances, I agree with my friend Dr Boulton, that we must have some provision for training those who are non-graduates. But I trust I shall not be supposed to be speaking as an advocate of my own particular college when I say that, on this account, we find it a great help to our work that our theological college is part of a very much larger system, in which the various departments constituting the whole (some general and some technical) are able to act upon one another. It is not merely that this enables us to bring into connection with our theological study other branches of knowledge—that, for example, we may borrow from our medical science some slight elementary instruction on the subject of public health, which I fancy is of great importance to our country clergymen—or that from another department of our college we are able to borrow lectures on moral and metaphysical philosophy, of which (if I may judge from the sermons we sometimes hear) some even well-read theologians have hardly mastered the rudiments; but it is that we gain a certain interpenetration and mutual action on the various branches of study on one another; and so we follow—“*longo proximi intervallo*”—the wide and liberal spirit of a university. From this experience, I am confirmed in the belief that theological colleges should be ingrafted on a greater system, rather than exist in isolation. Next, with regard to directly theological education—and I speak with reference to intellectual training—I feel convinced that, if ever there was a time when theology required to be studied, that time is the present. I confess to some impatience at the way in which many persons, who in this age value science in relation to every other form of thought, constantly, and as though it were of set purpose, delight to depreciate it in that branch which essentially belongs to religious profession. I venture even sometimes to protest against that frequent antithesis, which I heard not long ago most eloquently expressed, between “creeds, catechisms, and formularies,” and the vital power of Christian truth; for I believe they are not in any sense antithetical, but simply complementary one to another. Certain it is that we shall have to study theology, not only in history and exegesis, but in the old dogmatic and systematic form. For such study we must always find a place; and greatly is it to be wished that as much as possible of this should be done at the Universities, partly for the reasons with which I have already dealt, and also for this other reason, that, when you have to do it all in a small theological college, you have, by the very nature of the case, to call upon one or two men for instruction in all the various branches of theology, and their teaching cannot be as vivid and definite as is the case at the University, where each man has a specialty, and to that specialty devotes the greater part of his life.

Hoping that this may still rest with our Universities, I listened with great delight to the clear account which the late Regius Professor of the University of Oxford gave us of the excellent work now being done there; but wherever it is done, it must be done systematically. On one other point I would dwell, and it is this: One great want which we as theological tutors feel is, that our theology does not sufficiently bear the impress of modern thought and modern knowledge. I value as much as any man can do the grand old theology which is the glory of our English Church; but there are parts of it which are simply and necessarily out of date now. Who can value too highly Bishop Pearson on the Creed? Yet to attempt, for example, to deal with the present speculations on the Antiquity of Man by such considerations and arguments as those suggested by him, seems to me very like taking a bow and arrow and proceeding with these to fight against an Armstrong gun. We do want some solid theological writing; not only original writing, but, what I should value still more, new editions of our great theological works, and these supplemented and brought down to the knowledge of our own time. Nor is it less necessary that our theological study should not be too apologetic or too polemical. It is desirable that it should make use of that increased knowledge and conception of the Holy Scripture, as an organic whole, which has been given to us in the last generation, instead of culling from it texts haphazard, and using all as of equal meaning and authority, counting testimonies instead of weighing them. Some even of our text-books are apt to show the strong points, and refuse to recognise the weak points of our positions, and to deal with Holy Scripture as though it were so literally one book, that the true relation and proportion of its parts may be neglected. Is it not certain that the theology of our day needs to be freed from those two defects? And (I say it in the presence of those learned University professors of theology who have the power and time for this work, which are denied to many of us) it is to the Universities that we must look for some real and substantial aid in this most important part of our work. One word on the last subject—for my time is now drawing to a close—with regard to what is called pastoral training and practical preparation for the work of the ministry. There is no doubt some practical training to be given and work to be done in the theological colleges. Dr Boulton has referred to training for the pulpit. May I speak of another part of the training—of preparation for reading the services of the Church? I fear that our reading in the Church of England, though better than it was some time ago, is far from what it ought to be; and I am afraid the frequent practice of intoning has something to do with making it worse than it otherwise would be. (Cheers and cries of "No, no.") I beg to say that I have expressed no opinion against intoning. (Laughter.) I often intone myself; but I believe that what I have said is a matter of fact. Good reading requires some special preparation; and I would appeal respectfully to our bishops and examining chaplains to aid the teaching of theological colleges in this respect, by making examination in reading before ordination something more of a reality and less of a form. But I do not believe that, in the ordinary position of our theological colleges, much can be done in the way of real pastoral training, especially if they are placed in cathedral towns, where very often there is not much work to do, where the parishes are mostly small, and the number of the clergy large, and where consequently students are inclined to feel that they are playing at work, instead of doing it really. I believe that most can be done in this direction by the gathering together bodies of the clergy, and those preparing for ordination, in our great towns, as was done so well at Doncaster, and in another way not less effectively under the shadow of the great parish church at Leeds. Should the bishops require a certain amount of work before ordination in such parishes as those, and should they occasionally take the step (if I might be pardoned for making so bold a suggestion) of making the license to deacons to preach an exception, instead of a rule, so as to leave them at leisure for humbler yet not less useful duty, then a very large amount of work might be done, which would not only be the greatest possible blessing to the workers, but would do more than anything could do to solve the problem of meeting the spiritual destitution of our great towns.

The Rev. T. D. BERNARD, M.A., Canon of Wells, Rector of  
Walcot, Bath.

MY LORD,—I did not send in my card because I wished to make a speech, but because I wanted something said which I did not feel sure any one else would say. What I want to speak of is something that takes place almost at the moment of ordination. We cannot give the spirit with which we desire that men should enter upon that holy office, but we can provide the means and occasions. We can place men in those positions in which suggestions, admonitions, reflections, and impressions may work in upon the mind; and it is my own feeling that we do not sufficiently provide these things. I speak of the moment at which a man comes to the very threshold of Orders. He comes up from some part of the country—probably he arrives on the Wednesday or Thursday. He then has his examination to go through. His mind is filled with that; his time is occupied with that, and he is under doubts and uncertainties as to the result of the examination itself. Now, I think if there is a moment in a man's life in which solemn impressions would descend into the heart—in which the heart would be tender and the conscience would be alive—in which the soul would be prostrate before God in the sense of its own insufficiency, in prospect of the great responsibility about to be assumed—it is at that moment when a man stands on the threshold of the sanctuary; and I do feel that our present system is wanting in this matter. Let me only suggest—for I must speak shortly—that a man should come up a month or six weeks sooner. I wish the examination, and all the feelings that belong to examination, should be got over, and then for that time he should remain under the fatherly counsels of the bishop; and I will say (as representing a cathedral), under those influences which I hope will be cultivated and exercised there, for the purposes not only of the guidance of study, but also something of a devotional retreat. There may be less of genial hospitality, but something more in the spirit of the text—"They fasted and prayed." And further—"And laid their hands on them and sent them away." I would just fall in with what has been said by Dr Barry about the step that follows. The diaconate in England is not what it should be. I feel it ought to be made an apprenticeship, in a very definite shape, for the work that is to follow; that there should be first the learning of pastoral work, then the learning to preach, and besides these much other learning should be actively going on; and if our bishops would decree that no deacon should preach in a church more than once in a week, and if they would exclude from the power of having deacons for curates those incumbents who are aged and infirm, and would employ them as their own substitutes, and if they would encourage those who can educate, form, and assist such candidates, to take them in larger numbers as apprentices to their calling, I think very much would be done. Then, if these three things are done—that greater education of which we have heard, this solemn pause at the entrance, and this very real apprenticeship—you will have constructed more worthy steps of approach to the sanctuary, and a grave and deliberate entrance upon a consecrated life.

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Rev. W. A. WHITWORTH, M.A.

As a young man who has had time to discover, but not time enough to remedy or to forget the defects of his own education in its bearing on his holy office, I may properly stand in the presence of my seniors to give evidence of deficiencies which I have to deplore, and to record the reflections which those deficiencies press home to my heart.

As I know there is one, so I have good reason to believe there are hundreds of us, who, after obtaining university honours and distinctions, find ourselves in our efficiency

as parish priests utterly outstripped by college friends who had difficulty in passing their little-go, or we find ourselves humbly and thankfully accepting counsel in the management of our parishes from younger men whom perhaps we taught in school, or examined in college.

And I do not think that this state of things is to be attributed (in most cases) to any special or personal disqualifications.

But whilst we enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education (with our ultimate profession, indeed, always in view), we did not receive any technical training in what may be called the holy arts of our craft. Then we rushed into the midst of our work like a builder trying to erect a solid building, versed in all the laws of force, acquainted with the whole theory of mechanics, but utterly ignorant of those essential data and results which experiment alone can supply. And the men to whom we have now to look up to with wondering respect and loving admiration, are mostly those who have supplemented a possibly meagre collegiate course by more special training at Cuddesden, or Wells, or Lichfield, or else have enjoyed the advantage of the personal guidance and preparation of some parish priest, whose long experience, crowned by a marked success, has fitted him to impart to his younger brethren that which the contemplative life of the cloister could never teach.

I will only venture to lay down one principle, and to make one suggestion. The principle is briefly this:—

That theology ought to be studied in the light of its power over evil, and to this end a man ought to be coming into daily contact with the mass of humanity, at the same time that he is learning the doctrines of the Church, and considering the theory of their application. His theological studies ought to go on simultaneously with his practical initiation into parish work.

The suggestion is this: That while young men should be encouraged as much as possible to give up the year before ordination to the study of theology combined with parochial work, under the direction of an experienced clergyman, facilities should also be afforded to the newly-ordained deacon to make the period of his diaconate more distinctly a period of *preparation*. Sometimes a deacon specially chooses a small country parish, in order that he may have time for reading; but in doing this he loses much opportunity of parochial experience, and is apt to contract habits which would unfit him for heavy town work afterwards. I would rather advise him to choose a parish where the work is heavy, but to arrange that for his first year a fair proportion of his time be given to reading under wise direction, and that much of his visiting be done with constant reference to the incumbent for advice as to special cases. I know that it would have been a great advantage to myself if, during the year of my diaconate, I had preached half as many sermons as I did, and submitted those which I preached to the loving correction of a wise and experienced father in the Church; and if, instead of visiting in my own way, I had constantly reported to the incumbent the difficulties which too often led to failure, and had sometimes accompanied him in his own visiting, and learned from his own lips the “why” and the “wherefore” of the different tones adopted in different cases.

By such a course as this, as well as by other means, I think the Church of England may foster the production of a body of clergy who shall be not only fair scholars, but also wise pastors and (in the good and true sense of the word) good casuists.

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Rev. J. H. TITCOMB, M.A.

So much has been said upon scholastic and theological preparation for young men entering the ministry, that in the few remarks I make, I shall limit my observations to the practical department of it. It fell to my lot, in the providence of God, to hold a church in one of the parishes of the university town of Cambridge for thirteen years; during

which time, of course, many students ran through the curriculum of their studies in preparation for holy orders. My Lord, one solution of the great difficulty which stares us in the face when we consider a subject like this, was partly solved in the situation in which I was then placed. One school was well worked by undergraduates—a Sunday-school, consisting of from sixty to seventy gownsmen,—the experience gained in which, both by teaching the Word of God, and by dealing with human hearts, rendered them invaluable service in their subsequent duty in the ministry. At that time we held monthly missionary meetings, for the purpose of creating a platform for such young men as desired to undertake the task of familiarising themselves with extempore speaking. Those missionary meetings formed a platform on which numbers came forward and learned their art—the art of speaking and grappling with missionary thought. The experience has stood them in good service throughout their career, and many of them are now in the mission field itself.

Nothing has been said on that part of the subject which concerns the improvement of young men “after ordination.” My Lord, I would suggest briefly, in the very limited time I have, three thoughts. I would say to my brethren round about me, who are rectors and vicars of parishes—*trust* them, *lead* them, *guide* them. First, *trust* them. It is a melancholy fact that while some young men—like that gentleman who just spoke—have to lament that they are called upon to preach too often during their diaconate, there are others who have to lament that they preach too seldom. There are rectors and vicars and incumbents to be found of all kinds, who, through love of preaching themselves, or from jealousy, monopolise the pulpit to such an extent, that they leave little opportunity for the young men to learn their art. Again, should there not be a similar trust extended to them in parochial management. Young men have frequently complained to me, that when they have brought forward plans for parochial organisation, because the initial idea has been started by themselves, it has been put on one side. God forbid that I should appear to be ungenerous to men of my own age; but, my Lord, we are none of us perfect. In the interest of the younger men of our Church, I say, (1.) Let them be trusted when ordained, otherwise they will never rise to the position which they ought to sustain as Christian men, doing the work of evangelists right and well. (2.) Let them *be loved*. That may seem strange; but I have heard of incumbents, of whom it has been said by their curates, “We were with them for years, and yet scarcely had a meal in their house.” (3.) Let us *guide* them. Guide them, my dear friends, in that best guidance—the guidance of personal example—by a holy walk in our own individual lives, by the impress of our souls upon their souls in the love of Christ.

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### C. H. BURBIDGE HAMBLEY, Esq.

It may be thought a presumptuous thing for a layman to come forward and speak upon the subject of clerical education; but inasmuch as we laymen have often painfully to feel the defects of clerical education, perhaps our opinion may not be without its value.

That which I am anxious to recommend is the cultivation of habits of greater clearness of thought and definition.

In those days of hazy doctrinal notions, when everybody considers it a very liberal thing never to appear to know what he himself believes, or at any rate never to express any certainty of belief, I think it is a most important point that our clerical teachers should themselves be clearly taught, and then they may be able to pour forth that teaching with no uncertain sound.

My Lord, we are taught by our Government that we possess a rational soul, and that all that is necessary is to teach that rational soul, and I am afraid that many of our clergy, in their preaching, act upon that idea; but they forget that we have spirits as well as souls, and that the teaching that will educate the soul will not educate the

spirit. Why is it that our poorer classes—our working-men, whose rational souls are in many cases hardly educated at all—turn away from our churches? and why is it that they go to the meeting-house? The best of them go to the meeting-house, and not to the church. I speak of facts.

They come to our churches sometimes, and in many cases they go away, saying, "We can get no good there"—not because the clergyman is not anxious to do them good, but because, in my opinion, he does not go the right way about it. He speaks to them as he would to the so-called *respectable* classes (that word which has been the bane of the Church of England); and he speaks to them in a manner which they do not understand, and in consequence they have been left for the most part untaught.

If we want to teach them, I believe that we must teach them, not so much through their reason—through their rational souls—as through their spirits. Let a man get up and speak to the people as if he himself believed what he said, as if what he taught them was of vital importance, then he will have some effect upon them. I know it is considered vulgar to use any emotion in the pulpit of the Church of England; and so long as that is thought to be the case—in my opinion, however pure, however excellent, however admirable may be the service, you will not teach the majority of the working classes. If you can touch their spirits, you can teach them through that medium, and you will by that means gradually act upon them; but I am certain that the present method of teaching, which we see adopted in the majority of our country parishes, may be admirably adapted for the squire—it may be admirably adapted for the respectable middle classes, but it is utterly unsuited to the working classes, who must be the strength of the Church of England if the Church of England is ever to continue to stand.

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The Rev. W. R. FREMANTLE, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christchurch,  
Oxford, Rector of Middle Clayton, Bucks.

MY LORD,—having occupied the position—the not very popular one—of a pluralist between thirty and forty years—having had the care of three parishes—I have had a great deal to do with curates and young men entering the holy office of the ministry, and I have been asked just to bear my testimony as to what my experience has been in this matter. I will only occupy the time of the meeting a very few minutes. The first question that has occurred to my own mind, during the interesting discussion which has been carried on to-day, is this, the determination of the first point with reference to the profession of a minister of the gospel. It is peculiar, it is emphatic, it is nothing more nor less than the call of the Holy Ghost to his office and ministry; and upon the determination of that point, as it seems to me, the efficiency and success of the ministry depends. What can be more solemn or awful than to see a young man launched into the profession of the ministry of the gospel, who, after the first year or two of his experience, finds out either that he is unfitted for it, or that he has no liking or taste for it, and therefore he is, with the burden of his office upon him, altogether a cypher in his work?

Again, I would say with reference to this, that while the laity have a good deal to do with reference to the placing of young men in the profession of the ministry, the determination of that point, and the most solemn part, as it seems to me, of his great and holy office, lies with the bishop of the diocese. He it is who has to decide whether this young man shall be admitted to the office of the ministry or not; and therefore it is that I hailed with much delight the words which fell from Canon Bernard when he said that it should not depend upon the crisis of the examination,—there should be previous intercourse between the bishop and the candidate, and sufficient opportunity afforded for full inquiry, investigation, and personal examination as to the piety and experience of, and the power of the gospel upon, the individual man. But, my Lord,



one word more. May I be allowed, with great deference, to say to the laity that they have a great deal to do with the position of young men in the ministry.

Parents are too often apt to overlook this point which I have laid down, and to suppose that if there is a living under their patronage, or some way open for providing hereafter for a son, then, without reference to the spiritual attainments of the lad, he is destined to the ministry and trained for it. But, oh! how often does it turn out to be a failure! And I would say, if there is one thing more important than another, it is in the matter of testimonials that are given to young men as to their fitness for the ministry; and, moreover, that they are silent when the "Si quis" is read out in the congregation. Laymen often complain that young men are launched into the ministry who are unfit for it. Therefore, I say, why don't they object when the time comes. Let them lift up their hands in public, if necessary; and if not in public, at all events in private: let them inform the bishop as to what is the character of the individual. And then, when he comes out into his work, let the incumbent teach his young curate the way to deal with his people; let him teach that young man that his work is not to preach to thousands and thousands, and thus create a sort of Spurgeon influence all over the parish, but the reverse; and I honestly say this before this great meeting—I take it to be a great privilege to have the opportunity of saying it—that the individual salvation of souls is the most important part of our work; and, I would say, if a young man is not able to preach to ten souls, or to five souls, in a cottage, he is not fit to preach to five thousand elsewhere.

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### The Ven. ARCHDEACON EMERY.

MY LORD,—I think we must all acknowledge, that whatever faults we may be inclined to find in the ministry of the present day, if we compare its efficiency with what it was twenty years ago, the Church may congratulate itself on having a more efficient body of ministers. There can be no doubt that the public ministrations of our clergy have greatly advanced in efficiency. It has been said that we do not yet lay hold of working-men, and that they go to the Nonconformist chapels. Lord Shaftesbury has said, and it has been repeated over and over again, and I fear there is a great deal in what he has said, that only two per cent. of the working classes go anywhere; and therefore, my Lord, although that seems a very extreme statement, I think the Church has still a grand opportunity before her, if she puts forth her strength to lay hold of the working classes; for, however indifferent they may be at present, unhappily, in attending our public services, it is quite evident that they—I am almost sorry to say it—have no liking for attending the chapels; and, therefore, it is for us to think what we can do to go on improving our ministry. When I began in the university, it seemed almost a rule for the clergyman to preach as if he was made of stone. He was not to look about him, and he preached very often as if he had not written the sermon himself. Now, my Lord, things are different.

The CHAIRMAN.—I hope they are.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON EMERY.—I trust they are, at any rate, my Lord. If they are not, it certainly rests with the bishops to alter that state of affairs; and that brings me to the practical point, that our young men before they are permitted to enter the ministry, should go through a course of probation, and it should be that, without a man could read and preach—I do not mean altogether at first good sermons of his own—but preach even the sermons of others properly, so as to affect the hearts of the people, he ought not, as a rule, to be admitted into the ministry. I do not wish to take all the rules of our Nonconformist brethren, but I have been told that our Wesleyan brethren lay great stress upon one thing—that a man should be able to *speak* to the people, and that is the practical point which I want to put before this Congress. Besides theological

learning, and the improvement of our college education, we want the practical point—we want to put our young men through a course of practical training, that they may know how to use their voices, and how to bring out that which they feel in their hearts, so as to affect the hearts of others. It is not as if we had not the material to deal with. I say, and I suppose no one will deny it, taking the mass of our clergymen, they have all the power necessary to do the work of God, and affect the hearts of the people. It is not because we are stupid; it is not because we are unintellectual; and it is not because we are not properly theologically trained; but our defect and fault in reaching the masses is, that hitherto sufficient pains have not been taken to teach us how to bring out that which we really have, and could bring out if it were otherwise. I look back myself (and I am sure I am not boasting, my Lord, for I regret every day of my life that I was not properly trained myself), with thankfulness to the pains that were taken, to some extent, even with me, in enabling me to pronounce my consonants; and it is positively grievous to me to go from parish to parish (even in cathedrals and large parish churches), and mix with the people, and to hear them say, “I have no doubt it was an excellent discourse, but unfortunately he dropped his voice, or his pronunciation was so indifferent, that it did me no good, because I could not follow him.”

Therefore, let the common people feel, that besides having a godly ministry, and an intellectual ministry, they have got a trained ministry.

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### THE EARL OF HARROWBY.

I HAVE been called upon as a layman to say a few words. The question of the mode of training divides itself very much into two points, namely, the training without the university, or the training with the university. Now, I quite agree with those who have said that they wish that as large a proportion as possible should be trained in the university. We ought not to make it exclusive, because there are circumstances which have not given the opportunity of a university education to some men, who would be a great honour and of great service to the Church; but at the same time, upon the reasons assigned to you, it is quite clear that the more we can have our clergy trained at universities the better it will be.

But then comes the question, If the universities are to train even the whole of the clergy, is the training to end there? And if the training is not to end there, of what nature shall it be? Now, the two modes of training seem to me to be these—the training given at separate theological colleges, or the training given by some experienced minister of the gospel, who will fit a young man for the ministry that he is about to undertake. This latter I greatly prefer.

Now, I think the grounds upon which many of the laity feel a certain jealousy of theological seminaries are these: They feel, in the first place, that they are not quite sure whether cathedral habits are the best habits for preparing the young clergy for the country. They are not quite sure whether the habit of intoning, which has gained ground, is the way to the hearts of the people. They are not quite sure that it will lead to a good and useful estimate of life. They are not satisfied to see the cathedral services set up as the model for every little parish church in the diocese. That is one danger arising from the placing of theological colleges in cathedral towns. Another is this, that there is a very small field in cathedral towns for instruction in pastoral duty; and there is, I think, this other danger—the danger of these little theological colleges becoming the headquarters of little theological sects, according to the tendency of the bishop or chapter, or the circumstances under which they are placed from time to time; and they feel more confidence in the general feeling and training of the universities, where men are less exclusively brought into purely theological associations. I say they feel more confidence in those than in the tendencies which arise from these smaller places. And

a fourth objection that they feel is this—there is a danger lest those theological colleges, being, as they are, placed under the protection of particular bishops, those bishops should feel as if a particular claim were given to or placed upon them with reference to those who have been trained in these colleges; and it is unjust to the general body of the young ministers in the diocese if this sort of peculiar privileged affection should be established between the bishop and a particular set of young ministers.

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REV. DR LITTEDALE.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—There is one aspect of the question which seems to me has not yet been sufficiently put before the meeting. It has been glanced at incidentally, I am glad to say, by more than one speaker, but it has not been made a prominent idea; I mean, the truest spiritual destitution, a phrase we have heard applied more than once in the course of this discussion. The truest spiritual destitution is not the absence of a clergyman in a particular parish, but the presence of one who is thoroughly incompetent. That parish is most destitute spiritually which has a lazy, ignorant, or vicious clergyman presiding over the spiritual destinies, we may almost say, of the larger portion of its inhabitants; and therefore, it seems to me that what we want is, not so much machinery for sending a greater number of labourers into the vineyard, as to take care that no labourers do go in except such as are thoroughly competent, or such as shall promise to become competent in the course of their experience. In other words, there is a great temptation at the present day to admit men into holy orders on the supposed ground of their theological opinions, or of personal piety, apart from their intellectual training. Now, if it were sufficient for the purpose of the ministry that the clergyman should set an example of personal goodness, or had merely to discharge the sacerdotal and intercessory, and, so to speak, sacrificial aspect of the ministerial office—if he had to confine himself simply to the reading of prayers, the administration of sacraments, and to other rites of the kind, we might be content with getting comparatively uneducated and pious men; but the clergy of the Church of England, as in every other part of the Christian Church, have to unite the office of Cohen and Rabbi, the synagogue with the temple. They are compelled to teach the masses of the people, as ethical lecturers, on the great points of morality, on certain occasions during the week; and they are obliged, if they do their work thoroughly, to minister privately to individual souls in their various temptations, trials, difficulties, and perplexities; and for those purposes a highly intellectual training is necessary, and consequently, it seems to me, that what we have to do is to raise, instead of to lower, the requirements put forward by the bishops and colleges as a standard to which men must attain before they can enter on the ministry. Two centuries ago, when Tuckney was one of the examiners at Cambridge, and had to elect scholars for St John's College, the President, addressing him, said, "I hope you will have regard to the godly," meaning, "I hope you will put those in who hold the opinions of the Westminster divines." His reply was, "Sir, I shall have proper regard to the godly, but I shall give place to the best scholars. Men may deceive me as to their godliness, but they cannot deceive me as to their scholarship." Now, it seems to me, we may apply that rule in a very wide manner indeed. It is very easy to learn the shibboleth of a party; it is not so easy to show fit preparation for the ministry.

I agree with the saying of a woman—the only one who has left her mark, as a religious teacher, on the Christian Church—Theresa of Avila. When desiring to obtain spiritual counsel, and having to choose between a man who was very devout, but narrow in his capacity, and a worldly man with less spiritual depth, she said she would choose the man who was endowed with practical wisdom, rather than the other, because he was less likely to blunder in matters of supreme importance. If we could sweep out of the world the mischief done by well-meaning people, we could bear very well with the evils caused by those who intend to do mischief.

## The Rev. R. C. BILLING, M.A.

MY LORD BISHOP,—It may seem very presumptuous in me, my Lord, that I should attempt to address the Congress on such a subject as this, being neither a professor or ex-professor of divinity, an archdeacon, or a layman ; but as a parochial clergyman, and one whom, your Lordship knows, has taken some interest in clerical education after ordination, I would venture to say a few words to this Congress ; and I am very glad, my Lord, to have heard from one of the selected speakers, that there is a tendency towards the restoration of cathedrals to active life in this particular. Now, I should desire that, as a rule, every candidate for the ministry should be a member of one or other of our universities. But, my Lord, we must confess that we sometimes hear in our churches, from university men, interpretations of texts out of the Old Testament, which would never be given if they had read the chapter over in the original tongue before they entered the pulpit ; and indications in the reading of the New Testament, that the Greek Testament is not a familiar book. One point I would advert to, and it is this—we had these expressions used in a former paper, “special preparation,” “specific spiritual training.” Now, this may mean what I truly believe in, or what I doubt the utility of. If what is meant is, that there must be conversion of heart before a man enter the ministry, because God only calls such to the ministry of His Church, I most freely believe that, and hope and trust your Lordship and other bishops and their examining chaplains will profit by what has been said, I am sure, in all charity and courteousness, this morning. I hope too that laymen, after what has been said by Canon Fremantle, will use more energetically the right of denying orders to those whose morality and proper appreciation of the ministry they are not persuaded of,—and when the “*Si quis*” is read, that they will come forward and give the “No,” if there is any necessity for saying no. An expression has been used, and we often hear it used, which is fraught with very great mischief. We talk about “going into the Church.” Now, I think no one should go into the ministry until he is in the Church. I do not believe that a man is admitted into the Church when he comes to the bishop for the imposition of hands ; but I believe he should be known to be a member of the Church of Christ, a living member of the Church of Christ, before he ventures to seek ordination of the bishop. My Lord, we have heard something this afternoon about the necessity of improving in our preaching. Well, I believe there is a very great deal of need for improvement here. I believe we want to learn to speak out ; but I don’t believe in any particular training in this respect. I believe that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh ; and if a man has got something in his heart, when he sees before him perishing sinners, he will be able to tell of the goodness of God’s love in Christ, and will be able so to speak from heart to heart, that the Holy Spirit will bear witness to the Word of His grace, and there will be added to the Church such as shall be saved.

## The Rev. E. H. MACLACHLAN.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—At this very advanced time of the meeting, it will be presumption in me to take up your time. I merely wish to put plainly what has occurred to me on this subject before you, that is, that the training of our candidates for holy orders should be compulsory. We hear a great deal about compulsion in these days, and it is probably to be applied to the agricultural classes and the younger children ; and I have no hesitation in saying, that our candidates ought to have a compulsory training. In all other professions it is required as a *sine quâ non*, that before a man can pass out, he must have a training of a year or two, unless he has done that before. When a man goes into the navy, he goes through the *Britannia*, and before

a man goes into the army, he passes through Woolwich. Before a man is an engineer, he passes through an engineering college. And what is the case with our clergy? Some do go to training colleges; but a very large number, after they have taken their degree, spend the six months before them with a little of Pearson and other books, and that is nearly all the preparation that a man makes for entering into the holy orders to which he is called. I should like it to be made compulsory that every candidate for holy orders should spend two years in cultivating both the learning which he requires for his profession, and also the practice of being brought face to face with those with whom he has to deal—those who live in the lanes and alleys of our large towns. How little do our young candidates know of their work. How often a young man, full of zeal, is utterly unacquainted with what he has before him! He goes into a cottage and longs to give some comfort to those who are there, but he is tongue-tied. He has not had the practice or experience that I should like him to have. If that were not the case, but if learning had been acquired, and practical knowledge, our clergy would not only be earnest, but experienced and learned. In short, as it has been said, they would be workmen that need not to be ashamed, “rightly dividing the word of truth.”

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### THE PRESIDENT.

I REGRET to say that the time does not allow me to call upon the rest of the speakers that are upon the paper before me; but in the name of my Right Rev. Brother of Manchester, as well as my own, I may say that we, the Bishops of the Church of England, have now had a good deal of advice tendered to us by presbyters and laymen. We are very much obliged for the advice given us, and trust we may act upon it; but I hope you will bear in mind, that we who are called “Right Reverend Fathers,” having had a great many suggestions offered to us—I must say, with a great deal of consideration and deference—and having been sitting here two hours and three-quarters, and listening to this good advice, have not been allowed one minute in reply.

The PRESIDENT pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting closed.

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### THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 12.

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The Right Rev. BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM in the chair.

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### ORIGIN OF CHURCH EDIFICES AND ENDOWMENTS, AND THE BEST METHOD OF ENDOWING CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I have to take the chair this afternoon for a meeting on the origin of Church Edifices and Endowments, and the best method of Endowing Churches and Schools for the future. Now, here are clearly two different points—the point of the Past, and the point of the Future. I doubt not those gentlemen who have been good enough to prepare

speeches and addresses on the subject will have considered these two different aspects. I have therefore to claim your attention to the Rev. S. Andrew, who will read his paper.

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The Rev. S. ANDREW, M.A., Vicar of Tideswell, and Rural Dean,  
read the following paper:—

THE title of this paper really covers all the outward framework of the Church, and her material and educational interests.

The main object of joining the history of church edifices and endowments with the practical question, "How best to provide for the endowment of churches and schools for the future," is, I conceive, not to invite any one to compress into twenty minutes the reading of very many carefully written volumes, produced by the most learned men of ancient and modern times, but to assert emphatically that practical plans for the future must be founded on past experience, and past and present facts.\*

The historical part of this subject gathers importance at this time, from the dangerous attacks which are being renewed on church endowments—attacks made for party purposes, apparently on the sole presumption of wide-spread ignorance about the commonest facts of history with regard to endowments. These facts are found in documents and books far removed from the category of light reading, and as seldom seen by working-men as the title-deeds to large estates, though not less really true and valuable. But attention ought now to be called to the past history of our churches and endowments, preliminary to all plans for future improvements. The best title to future endowments is to guard carefully and vigorously what we have, and make them as effective for good as possible. The Church of England holds her property justly, honourably, and legally; and no canting tales of the virtues of voluntarism, or of the need of our altering our system to meet the circumstances of the times—no assurances, however gentle and pathetic, that church property might be advantageously relinquished or transferred to others—no plans, however good, for the future, should blind the eyes of English Church-people to the disastrous results which must inevitably come from the weak surrender of those edifices and endowments, which, during the long line of centuries back to primitive times, have been bequeathed for the maintenance of Christ's gospel in this country. There is no virtue in the betrayal of a sacred and useful trust, even to escape the vulgar charge of bigotry and self-interest. In propounding new schemes for the future, for new churches and schools, and new endowments, the preservation of the old is assumed as an obligation even more sacred, because it concerns gifts which are already part of God's treasury.

Churches are built and endowments for religious objects are made upon the general principle, that so long as man exists on this earth, he will need a knowledge of the gospel to enlighten his mind, to change his heart, to

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\* In reading Selden's "History of Tithes," it is but just to read the equally candid statements of Dr Comber, Dean Prideaux, and Bishop Kennet, (in his "Parochial Antiquities") on the same subject. And it is even more needful to read Selden's book itself than Mr Miall's transformations of it, unless Mr Pulman's reply to Mr Miall is at hand. (Mackintosh, 1864.)

direct his conduct, to moderate his passions, to support him in the trials and sorrows of life, and to guide him to heaven—that he will require this in all places and in all ages. As English Church people we do not look forward to any time when the faith once delivered to the saints will be changed, though this seems to be the ground taken by the present opponents of bequests to religious objects; nor do we anticipate any period of the world's history when the maintenance and diffusion of that faith will not be the main duty of every professing Christian.

We now proceed to the particular modes in which the objects of the Christian faith would manifest themselves both as to churches and endowments; to show, in fact, the way in which the fundamental principle just laid down has been, is, and ought to be worked out practically in the Church,—the principle, namely, that so long as man exists he will need the renovating influences of the gospel.

First, as to edifices. Man's relations to God and his fellow-man, through all ages, involve the duty of assembling together. The early Church was no doubt influenced to an immense extent by the Scripture account of the Tabernacle and the Temple, and by the immediate connection of the first believers with the Temple and the Synagogue. And they transferred, so far as they could, the form and symbolism they had inherited, and adapted them to their new faith, according to their varying circumstances and needs. For instance, some idea of the influence of the temple may be gathered from the early Christian Temple of Tyre,\* so vividly described by Eusebius in his Tenth Book. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is another example, described in his Third Book; and a still more noted example is the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople, called the Martyrium, described by Eusebius in his Life of Constantine (lib. iv. cap. 58, 59).

The heathen writer Lucian describes the Christians as meeting "in an upper room adorned and gilt with gold;" and Justin Martyr speaks of "great meetings together in one place every Sunday from all the neighbouring countries to the great towns and cities."

The appliances of worship were the results of inward yearning for communion and devotion.

Persecution had its effect on Christian edifices. It drove Christians to make use of strange substitutes for religious edifices. But when persecution ceased, the Christian society inherited and made use of the more commodious buildings which had been long used for civil assemblies, but which, from their form, became easily adapted to the purposes of Christian worship and discipline. Little did the Roman judge of pagan times, who sentenced the apparently unfriended member of a sect everywhere spoken against, dream that the shape of the grand Roman law-court, in which he sat on the judgment-seat, its excellent arrangements, and noble forms of judicature, would soon be transferred to the growing society of which his Christian prisoner was a member. Little did he think that the seat of the chief magistrate of that grand court should soon be the chair of the Christian Bishop, and its semicircular apse be occupied by his clergy.†

\* "An Account (with plates) of the Churches of the Primitive Christians, by Sir George Wheeler, Prebendary of Durham, 1689."

† "Trajan's basilica is the typical specimen of that with wooden roofs; that of Maxentius, commonly called the Temple of Peace, is the noblest of the vaulted class. The rectangular part of Trajan's basilica was 180 feet in width and a little more than twice

Mr Ferguson, in his learned "Handbook of Architecture," has well described these grand and useful basilicas, as they were called, several of which still remain.

In our country, wood seems to have been the material of which our early churches were built. Dr Lingard, in his "History of the Anglo-Saxon Church," gives a valuable note on the early churches of this country.\*

The cathedral of later ages may be said to be the material embodiment, not only of the doctrine of the Church, but of its compact government.

The requirements of a modern parish, with its church, schools, reading-rooms, &c., and the appliances requisite for a modern diocese, not forgetting the Bishop's hall for his diocesan assemblies, might all be secured by uniting the simplicity and commodiousness of the basilica with the religious economy and devotional tone of the ancient cathedral-close.

A word as to the history of endowments.

After the Apostles were called to their rest, the Bishops succeeded to the trusteeship of the funds used for the propagation of the gospel. As they sent forth from the city which formed their see missionaries to the surrounding parts, the Bishops doubtless supplied them with a maintenance out of the common fund. This fund consisted of the offerings of the faithful. We may gather from the Acts of the Apostles what it comprised—the price of land sold by those who, like St Barnabas, sold all and gave up all to the church fund—the free-will offerings of money given once for all—or the periodical contributions referred to so often by St Paul. This common fund at the disposal of the Apostles, and afterwards at the direction of the Bishops, was the beginning of endowments in the Christian Church.

Under Constantine, and his Christian successors in the empire, the dignity of the Bishop was enhanced by worldly honours. After the fall

that in length; but neither end having yet been excavated, its exact longitudinal measurement has not been ascertained. It was divided into five aisles, by four rows of columns, each about 35 feet in height, the centre being 87 feet wide. . . . The total internal height was thus probably about 120 feet, or higher than any English cathedral, though not so high as some German and French ones."—*Ferguson*, p. 317.

\* "The Scots were accustomed to build with split oak and to roof the building with reeds—a custom which kept its ground in Ireland, their original seat, for many centuries. The Roman missionaries would, of course, introduce the Roman manner of building with stone. When Edwin of Northumbria was baptized at York, a church of timber had been hastily constructed *citato opere*; but immediately afterwards a building of stone was raised round it under the inspection of Bishop Paulinus, who planned the new church and instructed the workmen—'Docente eodem Paulino, majorem ipso in loco, et augustiorem de lapide fabricavit basilicam, in cujus medio ipsum, quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur.' There can be no doubt that in the south Augustine and his disciples acted in the same manner, and after a short time we find that every celebrated church, whether in the north or south, was built of stone. Still, in the country, where proper materials were not easily procured, churches of timber continued to be constructed till the time of the Conquest." As regards shape, the same note continues—"All the churches mentioned by the most ancient Saxon writers are of a square or quadrilateral shape, and were probably built after the plan of the basilicæ at Rome. . . . We are told that the walls contained spiral staircase cochleæria, and were perforated with windows, which at first had no other protection against the weather than curtains and shutters, but were afterwards furnished with glass before the conclusion of the seventh century."



of the empire, and the rise of the barbarian nations, the Bishop, of all who remained of the old imperial civilisation, alone made himself respected by the barbarian chiefs, and kept alive the tradition of culture and learning, and, in fact, absorbed to himself all the respect which the barbarians deigned to pay to the remains of Roman supremacy. The Bishop alone was enabled to mediate between the weak descendants of imperial Rome and their vigorous but heathen conquerors.

The vast Roman empire had been broken up into separate kingdoms by the northern invaders. These kingdoms had often for their capital some notable city of the old empire. Its Bishop still remained. He became then Bishop of the capital of the new kingdom. As heretofore, he sent out missionaries, not only to the old inhabitants, but to the new heathen conquerors. Then, by the progress of feudalism, the kingdoms became divided; and so the chief city of the new divisions had, in course of time, its own Bishop. Each Bishop sent forth clergy as missionaries into the outlying parts. Let us follow one of these missionaries. He is sent to a number of outlying places to preach, to teach, and to baptize, by turns in his journey. His preaching is received. He gathers a little flock. They offer their oblations to him. He carries these offerings to the common fund in the hands of the Bishop. Then his flock go on. They build the humble church—a chapel-of-ease to the chief church of the diocese. The cathedral is still the mother-church. But the second step in the outward organisation of the Church has been made. The endowment, however, is still general. The missionary has his expenses paid out of it, and the rest is handed over to the Bishop for the support of the whole body of his clergy, and for other objects which I cannot stay to name. It is easy to see how the lord of the soil would be induced to offer to contribute so much to the common fund in the Bishop's hands as would enable him to secure the permanent services of a minister of religion for the benefit of himself and tenants, and so to secure the services of a permanent pastor. Here is the dawn of the parochial system. Now comes the transition from the *diocesan* to *parochial* endowment. Thus at length parochial endowments superseded diocesan, the tithes granted by the bounty of individuals being confirmed in the possession of the parish priest by legislation, and lands granted by lords of manors, and oblations given at the time of divine service, appropriated to the perpetual maintenance of resident pastors. Endowments, in fact, are the price paid for the constant residence of a *permanent minister*.

The ideal of the medieval Church appears to have been the possibility of superseding the State in the duty and work of teaching the people, and it very nearly effected this by the system of parochial endowments.

With regard to present endowments.

There are at least four ways of providing for the support of the ministry of the Church of England:—

1. By settled endowments of tithes, land, rent-charges, and grants from church property administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and other bodies.
2. By the Offertory regularly used week by week.
3. By grants from Church societies, particularly from the Additional Curates' Society and the Pastoral Aid Society.
4. To these it may be possible and desirable to add another source of

income, namely, new endowments from funded property bequeathed upon new and improved forms of trust, and that too without waiting for any relaxation of the laws of mortmain.\*

In the concurrent use of all these modes of supporting the ministry of the Church of England will, I conceive, be found the true way of securing the continued and extended maintenance of a highly trained body of clergy, exercising their functions in perfect accord with the best wishes of the people and the good of the Church. All these modes of support have their advantages. To take, for example, the first of these modes, viz., tithes and rent-charges and glebe. Tithes are the earliest mode of regularly supporting religion, always excepting casual free-will offerings. They are scriptural and reasonable, as explained by St Paul to the Corinthians. And I make bold to assert that gifts of tithes, lands, or houses of residence, granted by persons of property, are looked upon by the poor as the most equitable mode of providing for the Christian ministry.

Endowments really are the poor man's protection in a settled state of society, that he shall have equal religious privileges with the richest of his neighbours. Yet it is obvious that an entire dependence on endowments is calculated to repress the charity which ought to be flowing every week for the propagation of the faith. This exclusive dependence on endowments has a tendency to shut the eyes of Christian people to present responsibilities, and has brought on the mistake, which ought never to have arisen, that the Offertory is intended only for alms to the sick and poor, and not also for providing the living agent to minister to the sick and poor. Endowments were never intended to be the only provision for the ministry.

The most exhaustive remarks in a short compass on the appropriateness of tithes and endowments with which I have met are in Whittaker's "*Histories of Craven and Whalley*" (*Hist. Craven*, p. 5; *Hist. of Whalley*, bk. II. chap. i.)†

2. A portion of the Offertory in every church might be given to a diocesan fund for the supply of the ministrations of the Church in destitute places.

3. A third mode of practically maintaining the ministry of the Church is by the aid of the Church societies which have been established in this country during the present century. No words can express the obligations which poor incumbents are under to these voluntary societies of Churchmen. Their help has been so systematised as to amount to a virtual endowment of some places, and those places the most requiring help. And they have

\* See "*Essay on Laws of Mortmain*" (with valuable Appendix), by W. F. Finlason, Esq., Barrister (Roman Catholic). Also the same author's edition of Reeves' well-known "*History of English Law*." Also by the same author, "*A Brief and Practical Exposition of Charitable Trusts Acts*."

† The substance of one of the passages from Whittaker is this:—The problem was to support a man of God without exacting too much attention on his part to his own merely bodily wants. Tithes did this for the main—glebe and house for the minor part of his subsistence, and thus the problem was met. No state provision was ever required to do this. The law of the state only regulated it, and made it lawful. Kings gave lands and tithes like other landowners, and the law legalised and protected all such gifts. That is the only sense in which endowments have any public or national character.

See the admirable Lectures in defence of the Church of England, delivered at Blackburn, and before the University of Cambridge, by Rev. S. J. Allen, M.A., Rivington, 1833.

supplied an element in their working which cannot always be secured by freehold endowments, however carefully guarded, namely, the principle of payment, if not by results, at least by strict and verified statements of actual and not imaginary necessities, the regularity of payment greatly enhancing the value of these grants.

It is just worth while to consider whether every diocese ought not to have under its own Bishop a fund to do the work which these societies are doing, and to do it on a far more extensive scale, either separately or in conjunction with these societies. It is well known that in ancient times, when the Church was a missionary Church in this country, the Bishop was the distributor of its funds, after the example of the primitive Church, when Christians brought their gifts and laid them at the Apostles' feet. There would be no object gained in again making the Bishops bankers on so large a scale, but a great object would be gained if the glaring and oppressive inequalities in the incomes of the clergy could be, to some extent, relieved by the formation in every diocese of an *Adjustment Fund*, supplementary to all other endowments, all applications to which might have a fair chance of hearing at the hands of the Bishop and his counsellors.

Few things so shock the minds of working-people, and alienate them from the Church of England, as to see hard-working clergymen living on without any definite prospect, and without any adequate remuneration. Few things are more contemptible in the eyes of a commercial people, or of working-people, than an educated man in a position of great influence and responsibility, who cannot discharge his duties without shifts and difficulties, and who is unable, if he must do justice to his own family, to put his hand into his pocket for the most pitiful cases of need which constantly come before him in his daily ministrations. This complaint is by no means confined to the Church of England. A Church which allows her ministers to be thus hampered will not retain the thorough respect of the working-classes of this country. To meet the case, therefore, of the English Church at this stage of her history, there is required a safe mode of supplementing the present resources of the Church by new bequests.

#### 4. Future endowments.

The difficulties in providing for the future result mainly from the absence of any well-defined body of trustees appointed by the Church to administer gifts made to the Church. In the Church Congress held last year at Southampton, the Rev. Wayland Joyce, in his very valuable paper on Lay Representation in Church Synods—he is a well-known authority on such matters—drew an important distinction between assemblies held in the apostolic age for managing what may be termed the temporal accidents of the Church, and those held for authorising definitions of faith and doctrine. Without entering on the question there discussed, I must advert to the fact, that we have already established, in several dioceses, conferences convened under the Bishop's sanction, legally capable of appointing diocesan trustees to administer Church funds for Church objects. The same Act of Parliament which protects trustees of other religious bodies in the discharge of the trusts committed to them will protect Church-people (13 & 14 Vict., c. 28).

The evils of want of flexibility in Church charitable trusts, and the evils of that indifference which the creation of local trusts, uncontrollable

except by expensive Chancery suits or disastrous reference to State Commissioners in London, often involves, will be avoided by leaving money to trustees appointed, from time to time, by the Diocesan Conference, to be administered according to the mind of the Bishop, clergy, and laity assembled from year to year, who can have no object to serve in neglecting any of the special bequests of the donors, while power is left to them to change the application of money to other Church objects, when the local and special intentions of the donors have been equitably satisfied—the living hand, not of an enemy, but of the living Church, making the bequests of her departed members powerful for good, and not for evil.

If there be any legal doubt in the formation of such trusts, a case might be submitted to counsel similar to that submitted to Sir Edward Sugden and others, in 1830, by the Wesleyans, and detailed in the Appendix to Grindrod's "Compendium of Wesleyan Methodism," and still further illustrated by the model-deeds for Wesleyan Day and Sunday-schools, Endowment Trust-deed, and short Forms of Conveyance and Bequest, published for the Wesleyan Society. Without advising frequent recurrence to the State, I may say that the Church of England has even yet to realise the value of short Acts of Parliament aiming at definite improvements. For avoiding legal objections, and at the same time obtaining certain facilities for the inexpensive conveyance of sites for temporary mission-stations or permanent wayside-chapels, it would not, it is hoped, be difficult to procure a short Act of Parliament after the manner of the Roman Catholic Charities' Act (23 & 24 Vict., c. 134).

But the safe endowment of schools is become now even a more pressing question than that of churches—in fact, they ought never to be separated—and legislation by the enemies of the Church, with a view to their separation, should be watched, and zealously opposed. The virtual transference of our grammar-schools to bodies for whose religious principles you have no guarantee whatever, is an instance of such legislation, and has done much to shake public confidence in the security of bequests specially intended to promote distinctly Christian education. Great care is, of course, needed in making bequests, and both clergy and laity ought to be provided with plain directions, such as those supplied by other religious organisations, and facilities, instead of hindrances, afforded to those who are disposed to consecrate their property to Church purposes.

The complete realisation of the unity of a diocese contains the secret of success in this matter of future endowments as well in other more distinctly spiritual departments of the Church's work, such as Sunday-schools, parochial choir societies, the inspection of schools in religious knowledge, and parochial councils. The present endowments would also be best secured by well arranged diocesan action. We might even be content to leave undisturbed for the present the relations of Convocation with the constitution of this country, and the division of dioceses, until the primitive conception of a single diocese working in compact and constitutional order had been fully realised.\* The Bishop is really the *persona* of his diocese.

\* The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, the ultimate though abortive result of the clause in the famous Act 25 Henry VIII., cap. 19, which promises a revision of the laws of the Church, while it lays a strong hand on Convocation, as clearly encourages and leaves free not merely all voluntary assemblies of clergy and laity in a diocese, such as diocesan conferences, but even regular diocesan synods, properly and strictly so called.

The diocese may be said to be a real living branch of the Church of Christ. The whole system of early endowments was built upon this principle; and it so happens, amidst many deplorable changes, that this principle has been happily kept intact in all legislation for the Church in this country, from the establishment of the British Church, through Roman, Saxon, mediæval, and modern times.\* Each several diocese should be complete in itself, so far as may be, in everything, and only give up that autonomy for the good of the whole national or universal Church, just as a perfect political system leaves as much liberty to the individual as is consistent with the good of the whole body politic. The Bishop is, and ever has been, the proper trustee for Christian funds, with assessors and advisers brought together in a constitutional form. Following the example set in the days of St Stephen, it is for the Church now to look out men of honest report, whom the Bishops may appoint over this business (Acts vi. 3).

### J. A. SHAW STEWART, Esq.

MY LORD,—I need hardly apologise for addressing the few remarks I shall trouble you with by word of mouth after the very elaborate and instructive paper we have just listened to. I propose to address myself mainly to the second part of the question, how to provide and to secure endowments for the future? I shall not go further back than the Reformation; but I think it is impossible to consider the whole question of Church and national endowments without looking back to the great Reformation of the sixteenth century; not the conduct of the prelates who conducted that Reformation; not so much its doctrinal aspect, but the effect it had upon Church and educational endowments. What became of those endowments? Whether they had been well spent or badly spent, the greater part of them were then alienated from the Church, and gradually became the prey of needy and greedy courtiers. Had Cardinal Wolsey's life and power continued longer, I believe a very different result would have been brought about. As a member of Christ's Church, I must always venerate and honour that name. Well, in our own time, what do we see? We see very active reform in all our educational endowments. But there is one point in which the educational reformers of the nineteenth century resemble the reformers of the sixteenth: they wish to reform, not at their own expense, not the endowments of the day, but the endowments of

See sect. de Ecclesiâ et Ministris ejus, illorumque officiis. The 18th chapter of that section de Synodis concludes thus, referring to convocation, "*Verum concilia hæc provincialia sine nostra voluntate ac jussu nunquam convocentur.*" Then follows chapter 19, "*de Synodo cujuslibet episcopi in sua diocesi.*" The creation of diocesan conferences need not interfere with the calling of the diocesan synod proper; indeed the cathedral chapter, rightly constituted, might well stand in the place of a real synod of the diocesan church. Every clergyman in a diocese ought to belong to the cathedral in some way. Such is their original intention. The Church Congress might also become the *secular* adjunct of Convocation.

\* See a recent work, "*Rights and Liberties of the Church,*" by Rev. S. Kettlewell Skeffington, 1869), drawing deserved attention to the British Church—a subject touched timidly by Dr Lingard and other Romish writers.

past generations. We, too, have had our Reformation in these days. During the last thirty years we have reformed and shaken off many of the errors and abuses of Puritanism and ultra-Protestantism. And during that time we have seen inaugurated a system of national elementary education throughout the country, mainly due, under God's blessing, to the energy and zeal of the parochial clergy. Had the parochial clergy done nothing else during that period, they would well deserve the gratitude of the State and of all true Churchmen. Well, is there not one source of endowment for the future which we must not altogether lose sight of? We have lost sight in great measure of those old endowments which passed into lay hands. But we have such a thing in our days as a Tithe Redemption Trust, which has done some quiet work. It may not be known to many here present that the first act of Earl Beauchamp, when a few years ago he entered upon his ancestral possessions, was to restore the great tithes of three parishes on his estate. I mention this, knowing very well that a good example is much less likely to be followed than a bad one. But if one church impropiator may do that, surely others can follow such a lead.

Let me quote the words of Hooker in describing the state of the clergy in the year 1597—"All that we have to sustain our miserable life with is but a remnant. God's own treasure, so far already diminished and clipped, that if there were any sense of common humanity left in this hard-hearted world, the impoverished state of the clergy of God would, at the length even of very commiseration, be spared." Well, what followed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Nothing. We cannot find that private benevolence built any new churches, or made any considerable endowments. In 1802 there were still 5555 livings with only £50 a year. From 1809 to 1820 the State augmented clerical incomes by a grant of £100,000 a year; and between 1818 and 1826 voted £1,650,000 for the erection of new churches. In that year, 1826, there were 5397 parishes with resident incumbents, and 5037 non-residents, and there were 3926 curates, making a total of 10,300 parochial clergy. Since then the Church has received no aid from the State; and during that time the number of the clergy has all but doubled.

The question remains, how are they to be endowed and maintained? I shall venture to allude briefly to the work which has been done by the Ecclesiastical Commission for Church Endowment. The many blunders it has made have been so often dwelt upon and shown up, that I believe the younger generation of Churchmen hardly realise the immense impetus that it has given to church endowment. It has been a huge work of Church reform, conducted by Churchmen; and the wisdom of Archbishop Howley, and the vigour and energy of Bishop Blomfield, deserve to be handed down with honour to all posterity. Let us see what was the state of things in 1824. In that year Bishop Blomfield was appointed to the See of Chester, then endowed with only £1400 a year. To enable him to go to Chester he retained the rectory of Bishopsgate, worth £2000 a year. Could we realise that state of things now? Could we imagine the Bishop of Lincoln coming to Lincoln, and having a cure of ten thousand souls in Westminster, or a Bishop going to Manchester with one of the largest cures of souls in Reading? But then it was the rule, not the exception. In 1828, when translated to the See of London, Bishop

Blomfield found thirty-four parishes with 1,137,000 souls, and only 75 clergy, or one to 15,000. The Bishop's endowments were then altered by the Bishops' Act in 1836. Mr Ryle reminded us yesterday of the constant denunciations about "bloated incomes," and so on, that are made against the Bishops; and I believe the Ecclesiastical Commission well and wisely altered and ordered the income of our Bishops. Five primal Bishops have £50,000 a year between them, the other twenty-two £100,000. One word only about capitular endowments. I regret, as most Churchmen must do, the way in which chapters have been cut down. I believe the great blot made in the arrangements of the Ecclesiastical Commission was in making non-residence the rule, and residence the exception. What we want for the future is exactly the reverse, and that all capitular endowments shall be ample without the canons holding parochial preferment. I believe, if our Bishops want more aid, want their chapters more filled than they are, if they will come and say plainly what they want of the laity, that they can get endowments raised. Now, with regard to the question of parishes, how are we to provide endowments for those parishes which still remain inadequately endowed? How are we to provide for our numerous new parishes? I believe we must face the worst. We have bad times before us. I think the question of disestablishment may come sooner than many of us expect. We must look it full in the face. An emergency may arise. It may be that the disestablishment of the Church of England may be the only question upon which some great political party may find corporate reunion. If the same combination should reappear which disestablished and disendowed the Church in Ireland, namely, a combination of Roman Catholic and united Protestant Dissent, with the whole force of one of the great political parties of the State, I believe the Church may be disestablished. What have we to do now? Whether that happens or not, I believe we have to set our endowments in such good order that we may save as much as possible from the wreck. It was stated yesterday in the other hall, that disestablishment and disendowment must go together. But I do not hold to that doctrine. Should disestablishment unhappily be brought about, and we find ourselves with a modest endowment in every parish for the parish priest, will the country stand the robbing the poor of these parishes of the services of that priest? I think not. Well, then, how are we to secure those endowments for the future? I should like to see in every diocese some such trust as this: the Bishop as chairman, the archdeacons, the proctors of Convocation, the dean, and possibly some of the rural deans. With regard to the laymen, who I think should be mixed pretty equally with the clergy, it is impossible that there can be any *ex officio* members. We look first to the Lord-Lieutenant, and members for counties and boroughs. But unhappily these may be Roman Catholics or Jews, or certainly may not be Churchmen who would work *con amore*. Then, we go a step lower, look to mayors and town councillors, and we shall probably find them hostile to the existence of any such Church trust. I would propose in each rural deanery that there should be one representative chosen by that deanery, not for life, because many of us get lazy, but I would elect for five years with a power of re-election. To that body I would commit all new endowments in the diocese, and I think that they should obtain the same terms from the funds in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commis-

sioners as those given to private benefactors, namely, to be met by a perpetual grant or benefaction of equal value. Now I come to rather a delicate question, on which I hope the clergy will bear with me; but it is a layman's question, and I shall not shrink from it. The question is often raised in new endowments as to payments for results. We frequently see in large and populous places, where a new district is formed, and where perhaps that district has been worked up with great care, there have been missionary services, the clergyman in charge has been called a home missionary, the temporary place of worship is open frequently, there are short and stirring services. When the endowment comes, and the new church is consecrated, how often it happens that the church is open only one day in seven, and then only from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M., and possibly a lecture on Wednesday or Thursday evening. Now, when I say payment for results, I mean that in every new district parish that is endowed there should be the daily service of the Church, and the Holy Eucharist should be celebrated at least every week. Supposing that parish is endowed with £300 a year, I would say that on a certificate from the vicar and churchwardens to the effect that such has been the case, the Eucharist celebrated every Lord's-day, and daily service said in the church, that that endowment should be paid. But in the event of the church being used only one day in the week, £200 only should be paid, and the remaining £100 should go to the diocesan fund. I am aware that there is a prejudice against any conditions being attached to endowments. The Simeon Trust has acted very unfortunately in this respect. The blot of that system is the purchase of advowsons with a view to party objects. In what I have said I touch upon no party question. Happily the use of the daily office and frequent celebration of Holy Communion are now beyond the range of party. I speak, too, with some confidence in this matter, for two members of my own family have made endowments in the northern part of our country for incumbent and for curate. Attached to the endowments, with the full consent and concurrence of the Diocesan, was the condition of daily prayer; and now, for upwards of twenty years, daily prayer has been said in two churches in Scotland where endowments and the daily office had previously been unknown since the days of the Reformation. I now turn to the far more difficult question of school endowments. How are we to rescue and save school endowments from the rapacious hands of those reformers who wish to see everything altered? On my way down here I read in the *Times* newspaper, what perhaps some present have also read, an account of a most influential meeting held at Leeds for the promotion of a ladies' college, a most useful object, which I trust may very soon be carried out. The sum wanted to put this college into working order was only £6000. I should have thought such a large and influential meeting in such a wealthy place as Leeds might have done it off-hand. Amongst the speakers was one of the Endowed School Commissioners, and he spoke as follows:—"It was doubtless wasteful to create new machines if you could use existing ones; and if he was a fairy and could change pumpkins into coaches, he should like to hand over some useless Oxford college bodily to Miss Emily Davies, make her president, and tell her to fill it with girls." I think we have a right to expect some wisdom, some moderation, some common-sense from a Commissioner endowed with



such vast powers to alter and to abrogate the foundations of past generations. I think that the best endowment we can provide for schools is what has been so well done in the county of Sussex. I believe the name of Nicholas Woodard will go down to posterity bracketed with those of Wykeham and of Waynflete. I am thankful that this system of schools is spreading into the Midland Counties, and that there are still founders and benefactors who will give land for sites and nobly help to erect their walls. In every diocese we should have good middle schools. What perhaps has damped us more than anything in our day is the way our endowments have been treated in our ancient universities. But let us take courage, and remember that in these latter days we have founded a college in Oxford—a college to which the most ardent reformer cannot possibly object, for it contains neither a single test nor anything unacceptable to the present generation of university reformers, except its religious tone and distinctive Church character. But in that college there is a trust so well and so carefully constituted, that, if endowers will but come forward, I firmly believe that their endowments will be handed on in God's service from generation to generation in spite of all the efforts that may be made to confiscate them.

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#### ADDRESS.

The Rev. JAMES BARDSLEY, M.A., Rector of St Anne's, Manchester,  
delivered the following address:—

THE origin of churches generally is involved in great obscurity, and there are few subjects upon which there has been greater controversy. I am disposed to think that the statement of Gibbon in his "Rise and Fall" is sustained by immense testimony, that ecclesiastical edifices originated, for the most part, from the year 209 to 250. Whatever places for worship existed before this time were mere oratories resembling huts, and thus escaping the vigilance of those in authority. Certain it is, in the land where Christianity originated, no remains of buildings, as far as I know, are to be found anterior to this period. Palestine is a land of ruins, and in passing through it, it is like a churchyard of cities; but the only remains that I recollect in my tour through that sacred country were the ruins of the Cathedral at Cæsarea, where Eusebius presided for something like thirty years, and those of the Cathedral at Tyre, at which he preached the Consecration Sermon. These edifices were erected, as we know, in the early part of the fourth century; but other ruins than these I saw not.

With respect to the origin of churches and the endowments of parishes in this country, the narrative is very simple and transparent. Twenty miles from the spot where we are assembled, you can pass through a district where the names of forty or fifty villages end in "by." There is Kirby, Enderby, Brooksby, Hoby, Rearsby, Harby, and all kinds of "bys." Now, as the termination of these places throws great light upon our past political history, and shows that the district was subdued by the Danes, so the capricious boundaries and unequal sizes of parishes which remain unto this day throw great light upon our past ecclesiastical history. If our parishes had been mapped out by Act of Parliament, they would not have been so singular and unequal in this respect. The learned Selden, who devoted his life to the study of these subjects, the judicial Blackstone, whose calm dispassionate statements exact respect from all parties, both of these great authorities tell us that the Saxon Thanes in early times erected churches for their serfs, and appropriated one tenth of the produce

of their estates for the sustentation of ministers. It was this that occasioned the singular boundaries and unequal sizes of parishes. The truth is, that the parishes took their form and size from the extent of the estate, and their endowments originated not in grants from the State, but in the munificence of private individuals. Soames informs us in his "History of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 104, that Ethelstan, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings, encouraged the erection of churches and the endowment of parishes, by granting the rank of Thane or Lord to such proprietors as carried out such works. Happily if every one who builds and endows a church were to have a title conferred upon him by our Sovereign, notwithstanding all our admiration for the nobility, we should find the peerage inconveniently large.

But we will now proceed to give the opinions of two or three distinguished Nonconformists upon the character of our parochial endowments. Toulmine Smith, Esq., the late eminent barrister, says:—"So far is the State at present from supporting the Church, that every parish church in England was founded, not by the State, but by individual donations in ages past; while the parson's income is entirely derived partly from similar sources, and partly from a charge which has been attached like any rent-charge to the ownership of certain classes of property for centuries." ("True Point at Issue," p. 5.) Mr Horace Mann, in his "Statistics of Religious Worship," asserts that "Tithes appear to have had their origin in *voluntary payments*, and as such they were doubtless very generally rendered in the early periods of Anglo-Saxon rule." If there be one name, however, that sheds lustre upon Nonconformists in modern times, it is that of Dr Pye Smith. In his controversy with the late Professor Lee of Cambridge, this eminent individual says, "Some would recommend that the State should assume Church property. I say not resume, for the State could not resume what it never gave;" then adds, "In my apprehension this would be downright robbery. May our country never be dishonoured by it." If the Church of England be faithful to herself, and if her clergy faithfully preach those great scriptural verities which were rescued from the grasp of the Papacy in the sixteenth century, and now incorporated in her Thirty-nine Articles, there are tens of thousands of intelligent and well-disposed Dissenters who would unite with Churchmen in the irresistible cry, "May our country never be dishonoured by it!"

We will now direct our attention to the second part of the subject,—How endowments are to be provided for the future. It would be well to remark here, that the Church is placed in an unprecedented emergency. No old country in the world has increased its population with the same rapidity. From the middle of the eighth century, when, as Blackstone and others tell us, the parochial system was in vigorous operation, to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the population only amounted to 4,000,000, there intervened eight centuries. In other words, the Saxon Thanes, the Norman Barons, and commercial princes of the Middle Ages, had eight hundred years in which to make spiritual provision for 4,000,000 of people; while the landlords and cotton lords, the miners and merchants, of the present day have only had sixty years to provide for 12,000,000 of people, which have been added to our population from the close of the last century to the year 1860. Our contemporaries, therefore, have had forty times more work to do in the same time than those who have gone before us. If, therefore, everything has not been done which needed to be done, it is largely to be attributed to the very special circumstances in which the country has been placed. During that sixty years, 4000 churches have been built and partially endowed, at an expense of from £14,000,000 to £15,000,000. It is very true that these churches are mainly in the hands of that type of Churchmen whom I was sorry to hear the preceding speaker designate as ultra-Protestants. Be this, however, as it may, I beg to tell him and this meeting, that these 4000 churches are doing two-thirds of the evangelistic work of the Church of England. I do not make this statement thoughtlessly, but after careful investigation, and am prepared to maintain it anywhere.

But the urgent question after all is, How are churches to be endowed for the future,

especially in poor districts? There are some persons who, with singular flippancy, propose the weekly offertory as being adequate to every emergency. Now, let me not be supposed as speaking against the weekly offertory. I advocated systematic and proportionate giving before those persons who now think themselves the chartered champions of the offertory were born or thought of. To make the incumbents of parishes dependent upon the weekly contributions of the people, would be to make them slaves. It is John Angel James, in his "Church Member's Guide," who says: "Our people sometimes pray for their ministers in their basket and in their store, while they take care that their basket is empty, and their store just nothing." Every one has heard of the old Congregational pastor, who being asked whether he was not the Independent minister over such a church, replied, "No; but I am the dependent minister over an Independent congregation." I do not mention these things to cast a reproach upon Dissenters: God forbid! I cheerfully admit that they give more than Churchmen do; but I refer to them to show what a helpless condition ministers would be in if they were supported by the weekly offertory. When we remember that ministers have to preach doctrines which are foolishness to the natural man, and that it is their duty, not only to exhort, but to rebuke with all long-suffering and patience, they ought not to be placed in circumstances where they will be exposed to the temptation to dilute the truth and to overlook popular vices. Every instance that I have heard of the success of the weekly offertory is practically beside the purpose. One friend says, that he has restored his church and made it free, and that the weekly offertory does bravely; but what is the fact? He has ample accommodation for every individual in his parish, and £600 a year of solid endowment. I should be greatly surprised if this did not work well. Another friend writes to me to say, "I believe I get a sum from the weekly offertory with more ease than I could get any other way; but my friend has £300 a year vested in the funds, and the sum he speaks of is only for church expenses. Another gentleman spoke yesterday in one of the sections, in which he made it out that his weekly offertory was most prosperous; but he omitted to state, what I think he ought to have mentioned, that he has £300 a year from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Now, all this is utterly misleading, and it leaves the question where it found it. By all means, if acceptable to the people, make use of the weekly offertory to defray church expenses, to raise or to augment the salary of a curate, and to support our great societies for sending the gospel to the heathen; but to make the incumbent of a parish dependent upon it, is to place him in fetters, and to deprive him of his real independence. It may be said, that the same objection applies to pew-rates; but I think not at all to the same extent. A seat-rate is paid quarterly or half-yearly, and approximates more closely to the old system that has existed in this country from time immemorial, in which, if a man claimed a right to be seated in his parish church, he was compelled by law to pay a church-rate.

If I were to have my mind, I would have but very few free sittings in churches. Even amongst the manufacturing operatives I would have nearly all the seats appropriated at a low rate, which should go for the sustentation of church expenses, while the clergyman in every case should not have less than £300 a year in the shape of certain endowments. If this is ever to be accomplished, it is only to be done in two ways. The *first* is, we are to have a further subdivision of parishes and a larger re-distribution of church revenues. There is an enormous amount of church property to be utilised without interfering in any way with the rights of patrons. I have been officially connected with a parish whose income, fifty years ago, was comparatively small, but some land connected with the church has enormously increased in its value through the increase of population. The income has been stated in the House of Commons to be between £3000 and £4000 a year, all in the hands of the incumbent of the mother church. I regret to say that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, through perhaps no fault of their own, have endowed four or five churches in that chapelry. Now, no axiom can be plainer than this, that wherever the income of the mother church has inordinately increased through the

increase of the population, this property ought to be made available for the religious instruction of the whole people. Of course if you endow other parishes out of the revenues of the mother church, the right of the patron to the presentation ought to be reserved, but the time has arrived when it is imperative to remember that the people have rights as well as patrons.

The *second way* that I would recommend is, that the clergy preach more earnestly upon proportionate giving—that men ought to give as God has prospered them—and that they are but stewards of what they possess. The principle of stewardship has been too much overlooked; men have forgotten that it is God who has given them power to get wealth; that what they have is not their own; that they are the stewards of it, not the proprietors; that it has not been given, but lent; and that, like every other talent intrusted to their care, it is to be placed out to use; and that the Master says to us in reference to money as well as everything else, “*Occupy till I come.*” Happily there are numbers who recognise that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that what Mr Adams and Mr Windly have done in Nottingham, is being done in all the great manufacturing towns in the North. I believe, if the principle of stewardship was more forcibly and frequently inculcated in our congregations with wisdom and affection, we should have hundreds of men coming forward in the present day to erect Christian sanctuaries and to secure a suitable maintenance for Christ’s ambassadors.

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JOHN M. CLABON, Esq. read the following :—

I PROPOSE to deal only with the first branch of the subject, relating to the origin of Church Edifices and Endowments.

Our object in considering it is no doubt because we suppose that an assault is about to be made on our Church and its property, and that we must furbish up our armour for the defence.

Tithes, say the Liberation Society, are national property, the creatures of legislation; and, therefore, Parliament may deal with them as it pleases, without violating the sacredness of property. Let us sift this argument, and inquire whether church buildings and tithes are in any and what sense national property.

It by no means follows, even if their origin was purely parliamentary, that they are to be taken away from the Church of England. But it is not within my province to-day (as I am quite prepared to do) to take up this argument. My point is to prove that church buildings and tithes are not national property, in the sense that Parliament may take them away, without violating the principle of private property.

What is meant by national property? If church edifices and tithes are only national property in the same sense in which the property of public hospitals and other public charities is national property, then the argument of our assailants fails altogether.

These public institutions are for national purposes, and are protected by national law. They are for the benefit of that class of the nation for which they were provided. If the endowment is administered otherwise than according to the foundation, the law provides a remedy. The courts of equity receive and remedy complaints. Parliament inquires, by commissions, into the administration of these charities, and makes provision for their regulation and their welfare.

When, therefore, it is argued—and this is made a great point in Mr Miall’s “*Title-Deeds of the Church of England*”—that tithes are national property, because Parliament has dealt with them in various ways, and in particular by commuting tithes for a rent-charge, the reply is, that the property of hospitals and schools, nay even of Dissenting chapels, is equally national property, for Parliament has legislated for them as well as for tithes, and that the legislation in both cases is for regulation and protection only,

and makes neither the one nor the other national property, in the sense in which the term is used by Mr Miall.

And let it be noted that Parliament even interferes to regulate and protect the private property of individuals. It compels owners so to deal with their property as not to be a nuisance—it regulates and limits their rights in various ways—it even compels them to part with their most cherished possessions for public purposes, as for railways, giving them only money in return.

Acts of Parliament for the regulation and protection of property do not make it national property. The argument of the assailant, to make it of any avail, must prove that tithes and church edifices are national property in the sense that Parliament originally created them, in the same manner that it created the income-tax.

There is another preliminary point which it is desirable to glance at—the exact nature of the connection between Church and State. The Church of England is not a State-enforced Church, as it used to be in Spain. Nor is it a State-paid Church, as in France. It is a national Church only because it is a State-recognised Church. The connection between Church and State is now but slight, and is daily becoming less. The Test and Corporation Acts loosened it—the tendency of modern legislation has been to loosen it. If the connection were severed, the State only would be injured. The Church of England would remain with her organisation, her territorial hold on the country, her property. The change, for her, would consist in the striking off of fetters. She would still be a great national body, holding her property on the public trust of administering to the religious necessities of the people, according to her fixed forms and doctrines.

And now, with these prefatory observations, we come to the question of the origin of Church Edifices and Tithes.

Selden, in old times, and Eagle, in recent times, are the great authorities on the subject; and I shall draw much matter from their valuable stores.

We learn from our Bibles—

That Abraham gave to Melchisedec, Priest of God, tithes of all (Gen. xiv. 20).

That Jacob vowed to give to God the tenth of all that God should give him (Gen. xxviii. 22).

That under the Levitical law, all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, was the Lord's, and was holy to the Lord; and concerning the tithe of the herd or of the flock, that the tenth was holy to the Lord (Lev. xxvii. 30, 32).

That the priest's due from the people was the first-fruit of their corn, and wine, and oil, and of the fleece of their sheep, *for that* the Lord God had chosen him to stand to minister in the name of the Lord (Deut. xviii. 4, 5).

That in the end of tithing in the third year there should be tithes given to the Levites, strangers, fatherless and widows (Deut. xxvi. 12).

The practice of the Jews, founded on these Divine directions, was for the husbandmen to pay their tithes to the Levites, who out of this tenth paid another tenth to the priests. Then out of the remaining nine-tenths left to the husbandman, he was to pay another tenth, to be spent during two years in feasts in the Temple, and every third year on the poor.

Many nations of antiquity, acting, no doubt, on traditions from the Israelites, paid tithes. *The Greeks* consecrated tithes to Apollo, and called him by a Greek word signifying, "Crowned with tithes." After the victory of Pausanias against Mardonius, he divided a tenth of the spoils between Jupiter and other heathen deities. Ancient writers say of the Greeks, "They used to tithe their spoils of war to the gods;" and "It was a Greek custom to consecrate the tithe of their abundance to the gods." Pisistratus, writing to Solon, touching the tribute of a tenth, says that he took tithes of every one of the people for public sacrifice, or the use of the gods in general. *The Carthaginians* sent the tithe of their Sicilian spoils to Hercules at Tyre. By *Arabian law* every merchant was bound to offer to the god Sabis the tenth of his frankincense.

Among the *Romans*, the custom was arbitrarily to pay and vow tithes to their deities, which continued in use till the later times of the empire.

During the times of the *apostles*, there was no need for tithes, for there was, at first, a community of goods among the disciples, and afterwards weekly offerings, as ordained by St Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 2). To these succeeded monthly offerings, received by the bishops, or officers of the Church, which were disposed of in Christian worship, the maintenance of the clergy, feeding, clothing, and burying their poor brethren, widows, orphans, and prisoners. At a provincial council held in *France* in 586, the payment of tithes to ministers of the Church is spoken of as of good antiquity at that time, and grounded on the mosaical law. The early fathers, and in particular St Ambrose and St Augustine, enforced the payment of tithe by argument and exhortation. Selden, writing of the period between 400 and 800, as the result of various documents cited by him, says, that they show a use of payment of tithes by former and devouter Christians. But, he adds, they were disposed of diversely; now to the priests; now to abbots; now to the poor.

We now come to tithes in England. The practice, says Eagle, of paying *tithe in England*, is undoubtedly of great antiquity, but the time and manner of their first introduction are involved in very great obscurity. Neither the questions sent to Pope Gregory by St Augustine, nor the answer of the Pope, mention tithes. How, says Augustine, should the oblations which the faithful bring to the altar, be divided. The Pope replies, that it is the custom of the apostolical see to charge bishops, when they are ordained, that the whole income should be divided into four parts, the first for the bishop, the second for the clergy, the third for the poor, and the fourth for repairing the churches. Selden, who in his learned and laborious researches appears to have left no memorial on record of the early history of tithes unexplored, has not ventured to fix upon the precise period of their introduction into England; but he supposes that the payment of them commenced about 786. It is not, however, continues Eagle, at all surprising that so much uncertainty should have prevailed on this point, since it is evident, from various authentic records, referred to by Selden and others, that the *first payment of tithes in this kingdom was not created by any positive compulsory law, but was silently and imperceptibly introduced by the voluntary bounty of pious and devout persons*. Let us dwell on this for a moment. It is Eagle, the great modern authority on tithes, whom we have been hearing. It is evident, on the face of his book, that it is the result of every possible research. He wrote before tithes had been attacked. His conclusion, as to the origin of tithes in England, is, therefore, invaluable. It is, that tithes were not created by positive law, but by voluntary gift. They are not, then, national property, in the only sense in which that term can include a right in the State to resume them. The State has no right to resume what it did not give. The owners of tithes are on a par with endowed hospitals and chapels and schools. Tithes are held on a public trust for the teaching of religion, according to the doctrines of the Church of England, for the benefit of the community at large. If this trust is not properly fulfilled, it may be that Parliament has power to reform the abuse. If the objects fail, it may be that Parliament has the right to fix on new objects, *cy pres*, that is, as nearly like the original objects as possible; for it has not delegated this right to the courts of equity, as it has done in the case of charities. But it has no more the right to seize tithes, than it has to seize the property of chapels and hospitals—nay, of individuals. For tithes were devoted to particular religious objects, not by the State, but by the voluntary bounty of good persons.

Mr Miall refers to various *charters* of Anglo-Saxon origin, which he found in Selden's "History of Tithes," and which he has been pleased to magnify into *laws*. Mr Pulman, whose absence to-day I so much regret, has shown in his answer to Miall, that these charters were made by the king, without the assent of the Wittenagemote or Parliament—that some of them related only to the lands of the king—and that some were to provide means for enforcing the payment of tithes already given by individuals. Selden

and Eagle, following him, conclude that these charters do not refer to a general payment of tithes, parochially; but relate to the obligation of payment, resulting from the voluntary consecrating of tithes—just as Parliament has provided means for enforcing the payment of endowments given for charity. Eagle says, that these arbitrary consecrations or grants of tithes, which were the origin of “portions of tithes,” clearly show that in those early times, there was no general parochial or compulsory payment of tithes; for it appears, by numerous authoritative records, that such voluntary grants of tithes to particular churches and monasteries, continued to be made by laymen until the beginning of the thirteenth century, and that such grants were held good in law. The existence of such grants absolutely disproves the existence of any prior law for creating a general compulsory payment of tithes.

The introduction of the Christian religion into England, by Augustine, was in 582. Honorius, his successor, divided the province of Canterbury into dioceses; *churches were built*, which, as Selden says, soon began to have a parochial character, as having some kind of limits of adjoining villages or towns; such limits and churches being assigned to ministering priests, according to the convenience of the assembling of the neighbouring inhabitants. The profits received from the inhabitants went into the general fund of the whole diocese (at first called *Parochia* or Parish). The clergy were appointed and removed to particular churches at the discretion of the bishop, and received their one-fourth share of the general fund, according to the division already mentioned.

The first institution of parishes, says Eagle, in regard to local boundaries, seems not to have taken place until the end of the ninth century. About this time, laymen of good estate, in order to obtain regular and convenient instruction and worship for themselves, their families, and tenants, *began to build churches and oratories*, which they endowed with peculiar revenues for the maintenance of incumbents, whom they appointed to reside and exercise the spiritual function within certain territorial limits, according to the extent of the estates of the founders. And this maintenance, with all other ecclesiastical profits which came to the hands of every such incumbent, was afterwards, with the consent it seems of the Bishop, withheld from the common treasury of the diocese, and made the only revenue, which became perpetually annexed to the church of the clerk who received it. And from these lay foundations the parishes, which at this day exist in every diocese, are said to be principally derived; the differences in the circuits of the parishes being occasioned by the extent of the demesnes or territories of the founders. Hence, although the newly-erected parishes were for the most part co-extensive with the boundaries of the villas or townships into which the kingdom was divided before the erection of parishes, yet it sometimes happened that several townships were included within the limits of one parish, whilst, in other instances, a vill or township was divided into several distinct parishes.

The parochial right to tithes arose under a decretal epistle from Pope Innocent III. to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1200. This, says Lord Coke, was of itself of no weight or authority within this realm, and the books are wholly silent as to the manner in which it was incorporated into our national law; however, it is quite certain that, upon its reception as part of the general law, every parson of a parish became entitled to the tithes of the lands lying within his parish, as parcel of his rectory or parsonage, and, consequently, it was no longer lawful for the owners of lands to dispose of their tithes to any religious or ecclesiastical person at their discretion.

Here, then, is the origin of tithes and ecclesiastical buildings distinctly shown. They arose from the bounty of the large landowners, who, urged on no doubt by the clergy, and recognising the divine appointment of tithes, and their existence in other countries, ancient and modern, and stimulated by their desire to benefit the people, devoted a tenth part of the produce of their land to God; at first paying it to the common treasury, and afterwards, with the wants of their families and tenants more im-

dially before their eyes, *building churches*, and adopting the recommendation of their then ecclesiastical head to localise the tithes, so that they might support a parson in the district in which they rose. It is quite in keeping with this voluntary bounty that the kings should, by charter, give the tithes of their own lands for the like purpose, and should grant powers for enforcing the payment of the tithes which had been voluntarily granted by others.

This dedication of property to pious uses is just on a par with the bountiful voluntary dedication of property for charitable uses in more modern times—on a par with the foundation of chapels—on a par with the foundation of schools. The grand difference is, that the tithes have been enjoyed, by virtue of the voluntary grants, for a thousand years; while the oldest of our charities are but the creatures of yesterday.

The real point, after all, is, whether Parliament created tithes. It is for the assailants to prove this. It is for them, if they desire to prove that Parliament can seize tithes and Church edifices, without violating the principle of the sacredness of property, to show how tithes were created, if not by voluntary gift; and to show by whom churches were built, and glebe lands given for their endowment, and how the estates of ecclesiastical corporations, aggregate and sole, became vested in them. And, be it noted, that it was as to tithes only that Mr Miall dared to say, not to prove, that they were created by Parliament. He did not produce a tittle of evidence with reference to churches, and glebes, and ecclesiastical lands. There is no shadow or pretence for saying that these were given by Parliament. If there is a shadow or pretence for saying so as to tithes, a careful examination of the subject sweeps it to the winds.

The Rev. G. G. LAWRENCE, M.A., read the following:—

THE subject on which I have been requested to read a paper—namely, the Origin of Church Edifices and Endowments, and the best method of Endowing Churches and Schools for the Future, is so wide and comprehensive, that it would be presumptuous in me, in a paper limited to twenty minutes, to attempt anything like a full discussion, even of a few among the many important questions which it suggests. I will, therefore, confine myself to bringing before you a few historical facts as to the past, a few practical suggestions as to the future.

To the question, What is the origin of Church edifices and endowments, I unhesitatingly reply,—Private liberality, and that alone. There are only two exceptions to this; and even of these one is more apparent than real. The first of these exceptions relates to edifices. Rather more than fifty years ago, our Government received from one of the foreign powers an unexpected repayment of a loan of some millions, and they persuaded Parliament to apply one million towards the building of churches in populous places; and to this, another half-million was afterwards added. The other exception relates to endowments. Some time ago, the Liberation Society stated, with a great air of triumph, that “from 1809 to 1820 more than a million of pounds were voted out of the public taxes for the better endowment of poor livings in the Church of England.” This is so far true, that from 1809 to 1820 the State did pay £100,000 a year to the governors of Queen Anne’s Bounty, for the augmentation of small livings. But then, these governors had a strong pecuniary claim upon the State. In the dark ages, before the Reformation, the Pope claimed and received from all beneficed clergymen what were called first-fruits and tenths,—that is, the whole of the first year’s income of their benefice, and the tenth part of the income of all subsequent years. At the Reformation, King Henry VIII. seized upon these, and they were retained by him and his successors from the year 1553 to the year 1703. It has always been a rule



of English law, that all Church property received by the Crown is received by it in trust for the Church. This rule, so far as first-fruits and tenths were concerned, was set aside till Queen Anne came to the throne, when certain trustees were appointed, called the Commissioners of Queen Anne's Bounty, and they have ever since received these first-fruits and tenths, or rather certain fees which every clergyman, on being inducted to a living, pays in lieu of these. The income thus derived has been about £200,000 a year. Even supposing that the income from 1553 to 1703 was much less than that, still, on the lowest computation, it would far exceed the amount paid by the State between 1809 and 1820. Hence the sum so paid may be regarded rather as the discharge or part-discharge of a debt, than as a free gift from the State to the Church. With these two exceptions, we may with confidence maintain that Church edifices and Church endowments have originated from private liberality, from the gifts of persons who gave what was their own. These gifts consisted partly of tithes, and partly of lands; personal as distinguished from real or landed property, being in those ages of small value. Kings and wealthy nobles either gave a certain portion of their lands to the Church, or more frequently charged the whole of their lands with the payment of tithes, which was equivalent to a perpetual rent-charge of one-tenth of the annual produce. It has always been a principle of English law, that a man possessed of land in fee-simple,—that is, with the fullest possible rights of ownership,—may devise his land to whom he pleases, and impose upon it a perpetual rent-charge in favour of such persons and objects as he pleases. And, therefore, when a landowner had once made his lands subject to tithes, his heirs could not legally set this aside, because they had received their inheritance on condition of their paying tithes. It is very important for Churchmen thoroughly to understand this; because the Liberation Society, eager to rob the Church of her property, have endeavoured to show that tithes are a State tax, and have drawn the natural inference, that what the State has at one time enforced, the State may at another time repeal. To enter upon the details of this controversy would carry me far beyond my limits. Suffice it to say, that the Liberation Society have again and again been challenged to produce an Act of Parliament, or of any English legislative body, in which tithes are mentioned as a new thing, and imposed as a State tax. This challenge they have never been able to meet. They have produced enactments enforcing, both by civil and ecclesiastical penalties, the payment of tithes; but these always speak of tithes as a thing already existing—"We command that every man, for the love of God, and of all the saints, shall pay his church-scot and his full tithes, in the same manner as it was done in those times of our predecessors, when it was best done. And let no man take from God what belongs to God, and which our predecessors have consecrated to Him." This is a fair specimen of these enactments, being a quotation from an Act passed in the reign of King Ethelred, A.D. 1012. All that these Acts did, was to confirm gifts that had already been made, to declare that lands were inherited subject to tithes which were regarded as the special property of God; and that those who did inherit must fulfil the conditions upon which they received their inheritance. Many things concur to render it probable that some of us may live to see a separation of Church and State. It would be foreign to my present subject to make any observations as to the benefits or evils that might flow from such a separation. But I trust that every Churchman present will agree with me in this, that no fair and equitable separation of Church and State could be effected on any other condition than this, that the Church of England should retain the exclusive possession of, and entire control over, all the edifices and endowments which now belong to her, and have belonged to her for centuries, and that the proposition of the Liberation Society should be resisted to the utmost,—that proposition being, that she should be allowed to retain those endowments only which she has acquired since the Reformation, or even since some later period.

The second part of the subject is, "The Best Method of Endowing Churches and Schools for the Future." In our plans for the future, we should profit by past experi-

ence, and avoid those things which, though apparently useful at the moment, have been found in the long run sources of weakness rather than of strength to the Church. Amongst these may, I think, be reckoned private, or, rather, individual patronage and pew-rents. As regards actually existing churches, I should much regret to see any hasty or stringent measures adopted. To deprive private patrons of their present rights, including the right of sale, without giving them full pecuniary compensation, would, in my judgment, be a grievous violation of the Eighth Commandment. If one private individual receives money from another on certain conditions, he is bound either to perform the conditions or to return the money. And if the receiver, instead of a private individual, be a church or religious body, the moral law remains the same. If the Church of England accepts money in the form of an edifice or an endowment from a person on condition that he, or his appointee by inheritance or purchase, shall have power to present to a particular living when vacant, she is bound to let him present, or else to pay back to him a fair equivalent for the cost of the edifice or the endowment. And, if pew-rents were suddenly abolished without adequate endowments being provided, many worthy incumbents would be plunged into grievous and wholly undeserved pecuniary difficulties. But these difficulties and objections do not apply to future churches. In a wealthy and liberal age like the present, the Church may rightly refuse to receive money on the same onerous conditions by which she was bound in former days. She may properly say to those who offer to build and endow churches, "If you wish to build extra-parochial churches, that is, edifices duly consecrated for divine service, but to which no special district shall be attached, build them, and, subject to due episcopal supervision, appoint whom you please to be minister, and raise the money required for his stipend in what way you please." And, though it is perhaps departing a little from my proper subject, I may be permitted to express my conviction that it would tend greatly to the peace of the Church if a somewhat larger measure of discretion as to decorations and as to ritual were conceded to such extra-parochial than to the regular parochial churches. But, with regard to new parochial churches, that is, churches having a district severed from the mother Church, and attached to themselves, the Church, through her representatives in Parliament or Convocation, would, I think, be quite justified in insisting that, at all events after the death of the original founder, the patronage should be vested in a body of trustees so chosen as to represent partly the wishes and feelings of the parishioners, and partly the general interests of the diocese and of the Church at large. Patronage by trustees has no doubt difficulties of its own, but, if the trustees be carefully selected, these difficulties are less than those which spring from the patronage being vested in an individual, whether he be the founder of the church or his representative, or the vicar of the mother Church, or even the Bishop of the diocese. Human nature is weak, and, when a lucrative post falls vacant, nearly all individual patrons perceive in their own near relatives special qualifications which the public generally are unable to discern. As regards pew-rents, if these are to be regarded as inadmissible in future parochial churches, such churches should not be built in poor districts, until there is a certainty of their being provided with sufficient endowments. Admitting that pew-rents are an evil, it is a yet greater evil that a clergyman should, to any considerable extent, be dependent for the proper support of himself and his family during the ensuing week upon whether the weather on Sunday be fine, or whether the sermon he preaches be acceptable or not to the majority, or to the wealthier members of his congregation. And yet it is to this that an exclusive dependence upon the offertory must in many cases lead. Where there is an offertory, many a wealthy Churchman will put less in the bag or plate after hearing a sermon in which the Gospel statement, that a man who trusts in his riches can hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven, is forcibly applied to the heart and conscience, than after hearing one in which it is blandly insinuated that a man who attends his church regularly, and supports it liberally, must certainly be among the elect people of God. A state of things in which every incumbent should

have a reasonable stipend, of which two-thirds would be secured by endowment, and the other third be in some degree dependent upon the success of his ministrations, should, I think, be the great aim of church-builders and Church reformers. Another important question suggested by the words, "the best method of endowing churches and schools for the future," is, whether some effectual means could be devised for bringing about a nearer approach to equality in the value of livings,—for gradually, and without detriment to existing life-interests, transferring a portion of the large incomes derived from small rural parishes to populous town parishes, where additional funds are so greatly needed. There are great difficulties in the way, the claims of private patrons, the conscientious objections which many have to applying tithes derived from one parish for the benefit of another, yet the existence of such great inequalities is a source of weakness and unpopularity for our Church. Some time ago I was listening to a Liberation Society lecturer, who was bringing before a meeting, composed chiefly of working men, the usual false statements as to the clergy being paid by the State, and as to Church property being national property. This was listened to with approbation; but a much deeper impression was made when he took up a copy of the "Clergy List," and read out a list of livings in one of the Eastern Counties, in which the number of pounds of annual income was greater than the number of persons in the parish. "There," said he triumphantly, "in all these places the parson receives more than a pound a year for every soul in his parish." Of course, he did not speak the whole truth, he was careful not to tell his audience whence this inequality arose, or to show them that the very fact of its existence utterly confuted his previous assertions that the revenues of the clergy came from State grants, and not from private liberality. Still, the fact of the vast disproportion between work done and money paid could not be denied, and it made a very deep impression. It would be well for our Church statesmen and reformers to consider how far this reproach upon our Church can be removed, how far, at least as regards livings in public patronage, some scheme might be devised for making work and pay bear some sort of proportion to each other.

A few words in conclusion as to the best method of endowing schools for the future. I fear that our national schools, so far as they are dependent upon Government grants, are in a most precarious condition. It is true that the present grants are liberal; but how long will they continue, and with what onerous conditions may they not soon be saddled? A few days ago I was informed by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, that henceforth, in all places where there were School Boards, the Government would be far more particular in requiring separate play-grounds, &c., for each department of a school. This may seem a trifling matter, and yet this alone, if insisted upon, may cause many a large town school, built in a central situation where ground is of great value, to forfeit its grant, and so have to be relinquished. I cannot but think that, under existing circumstances, the wisest course for Churchmen will be, while they try to maintain, as far as possible, their existing day schools, to concentrate their efforts upon the Sunday schools. Whether a boy or girl, when he or she has grown up, attends church or chapel, will mainly depend not upon the day school, but upon the Sunday school which he or she has attended. Some may think that an endowed Sunday school would be an absurdity—that to get up and maintain an efficient Sunday school requires zeal and labour rather than money. This is true to a certain extent, but not wholly true. Voluntary patriotic efforts are not to be lightly esteemed, yet it would not be safe to intrust the defence of England solely to the Volunteers. Every clergyman knows that if the national schoolmaster or mistress takes a class in the Sunday school, that class is nearly always the best taught and most orderly class in the school. A small endowment, say of £30 or £40 a year, would be sufficient to secure the paid services of several Sunday school teachers, for a Sunday school teacher gives two hours' work where a day school teacher gives twenty, and, if each is to be paid, the salary should be in proportion to the amount of time given. Such an endowment might also secure the services of one or more respectable labouring men or women, who would devote two or three evenings in

the week to visiting the parents of absent scholars. And any clerical or lay superintendent of a Sunday school knows from experience how much assistance of this kind is needed. Churchmen should consider well whether money might not be better spent in this way than in building and enlarging day schools, which are so liable to be interfered with by an unfriendly House of Commons. The day school may be compared to a battle-field, from which we may one day have to withdraw; but the Sunday school is a citadel which the State cannot touch, which only our own negligence can injure or destroy.

Christian liberality, the zeal of individual Churchmen, and not the coffers of the State, have provided the religious edifices and endowments which adorn and instruct our land. We have every reason for hoping that the life-giving stream, which has flowed for so many centuries, will not now run dry, that the gifts of future generations of Churchmen will be both more abundant and more wisely laid out than those of the Churchmen of former days. Exclusiveness, narrow-mindedness, preference of party and family interests to the general welfare of the Church, these have been the rocks and barriers which have sadly marred Church progress in the past. Should we not all earnestly hope and pray that increasing fervour of devotion, that clearer intellectual light, may sweep all these obstacles away, and that the edifices and endowments of our beloved Church may indeed prove to be national property, not in the way intended by the Liberation Society, not in the way that would enable unprincipled politicians to waste them at the bidding of a godless crowd, but in this higher and nobler sense—that all the sons and daughters of this mighty nation will regard them as their dearest, their most highly-valued treasure!

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## DISCUSSION.

REV. G. VENABLES, S.C.L.

MY LORD PRESIDENT,—I was very anxious indeed to say a few words upon this important subject, and the principal remark which I wish to make, and which I make first of all, is this, that we clergy have just nothing at all to do with it. It is a subject, when rightly investigated—and this is the chief point that I wish to put before you—a subject which concerns the laity alone; because, under a principle that has been laid down during the last few years by the Legislature, you know that every endowed clergyman is certain of his income, just so long as he lives. Whatever spoliation awaits your Church, if spoliation does await it, we are told that vested rights are to be respected; and under that very precious sentiment, we clergy who are already beneficed may be perfectly easy, so far as mere parsimony is concerned—perfectly easy as to what our condition may be. I mean to say, that with my £300 a year, and my house at St Matthews, Leicester, as long as I live, whether the Church be endowed or whether it cease to be endowed, I know I am perfectly safe in that particular. But, my friends, the right point at issue is one which concerns not us, the clergy, but the laity altogether; and it was for this reason that I took the great liberty of asking Earl Nelson if he would kindly come and address this meeting this afternoon. My thanks are hardly worth his notice, but so far as I may do so, I heartily thank him for the trouble he has taken to be present now, because this is emphatically a lay question. Some few years ago, when it was proposed in the Established Kirk of Scotland to lower the revenues of some of the livings, because it was thought that second sons of the nobility were pressing into the Church, under the stimulus of ambitious motives, a sagacious minister of theirs made a wise observation. He said, "Gentlemen, you may cut down the livings of the clergy as low as you like, till they cease to be an

object of ambition to the sons of our nobility and educated aristocracy, but when you have reduced them to £100 a year, they will still be the object of ambition to somebody ; and whether those somebodies who will seek them are the men you would like to see your ministers, is a matter I should like to submit to your earnest consideration." Now, I am most anxious that people in England should rightly understand what that proposition for the disestablishment of the Church of England is, which Mr Miall, in the town of Leicester, made a few months ago ; for I am persuaded that not five thousand people at this day have a thorough apprehension of the meaning of what he then proposed.\* Now, let me just put you in possession of that proposal. If it were carried into effect, not only would every endowment be taken away from the Church of England for ever, as has been done already, you know, in the Irish Church, although Government have not yet presumed to apply the money to any other purpose—not only would all the endowments of the Church of England be taken away from it for ever, but I want you to understand this, that Mr Miall distinctly avowed the propriety, in his opinion, of taking away every church fabric from the Church of England, handing it over to the parishioners to do whatever they choose with that fabric, upon one condition only, that it should never be used for religious purposes again. Every church in Nottingham, by Mr Miall's scheme, may be handed over to the parishioners ; and, if the parishioners choose to say so, the churches may be turned into drinking-saloons and other places of amusement. Now, I think, this is appalling, and my impression is, that people have not believed it ; and I tell you what brings me to that conviction. I drew the attention of one or two very respectable Dissenters to the matter, and they said, " Oh, it is a mistake ; depend upon it, he never meant anything of the kind." I said, " I believe more in the reporters than I do in your opinion of Mr Miall's principles uttered on this occasion ;" and the result was that Mr Miall was appealed to on the matter, and he wrote word back that the report was substantially a correct account of the plan he had himself proposed. Now, I want people to go away with this in their minds, that the proposal for disestablishment means not only the confiscation of all the endowments of the Church, but of every fabric you possess—churches that perhaps you yourselves have contributed to raise, that your fathers have given before you ; that others have raised in memory of the pious dead. These, and the ancient edifices of the Church of England, are to be taken from the Church henceforth and for ever. But some men are a little more moderate, and they tell us, " Oh dear no, nothing of the sort ; you shall have all your cathedrals and churches, of course, and we should certainly propose to leave to you the endowments of the present century, and possibly of the century before." In the name of common-sense and justice, and why those in particular ? Why are we to have endowments that were given us in the year 1800 ? and why should those that were given by my wife's ancestors in the year 1791 be for ever taken away from the Church of England ? If we are entitled to the one we are entitled to the other ; and if we have right and title to the endowments of 1700, we have a right and title to the endowments of 1699. And now, I would just suggest to you, my friends, one or two, what I will call, popular considerations, which alone may show that Church property was never given by the State, but was the endowment of the owners and possessors of the land. I would ask any one what is the origin of the law of mortmain ? What was it passed for ? To prevent people, under certain conditions, upon their dying-bed giving property to the endowment of the Church. What need for such a law as this, if it had not been the habit of people not only to give property to the Church, but because there was an abuse of that very habit of giving ? I ask any one to account for the law of mortmain upon any other principle. In the next place, go through the length and breadth of any county you like, how is it no two livings are equally endowed ? If Government had endowed a number of parishes, would not they have been endowed upon equal principles, each with some £200, or £250, or £300, or other equal sum ? Why is it not so ? Because

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\* A full account of his speech is found in *Church Bells*, No. xi. p. 165.

the property being given by the owner and patron of the soil, it, of necessity, must be of an irregular amount ; and so, no two livings, as I say, are alike. How do you endow a new church now ? You know a certain sum of money is often given by one or more individuals. You know it is not done by the State. I know of one example, where friends of mine endowed a church with £300 a year. Whose property was it ? And there are many cases like it. And now, lastly, I should like an inquiry to be made of the living donors of property, whether endowments, or gifts of land for burial, or other church purposes. Let them be asked, What did they mean, and what did they think, when they entrusted the Government with that property ? Did they say, "We give it to the Government to do whatever it likes with it for religious purposes ?" Or did they say, "We give it to the Church for the purposes of the Church of England alone ; and we have confidence in the Government of this land, that it will hold that trust as a sacred deposit, just as it maintains your property or my property, or the property or endowments of any Dissenting community ?" Just ask that question.

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#### The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I WILL take the privilege of the Chairman to interpolate one single remark ; it is to enforce what was said by Mr Venables at this moment with regard to the pulling down churches and turning them into casinos and theatres. It was my privilege, some thirty years ago, to be active in a great church building movement in Bethnal Green. I worked the Bethnal Green Churches Fund for four years as its honorary secretary, and was one of those who went about Bethnal Green seeking for local subscriptions. We wanted to build ten new churches in one overgrown parish ; that has been done, and they are all endowed, and all have schools. What was the way in which we were met ? We were met with revilings and even with declarations by the people, "We will subscribe to buy ropes to hang the Bishops with ;" we were met with declarations, "We will give you money to build theatres, but we won't give you any to build churches." I mention this fact in illustration of what Mr Venables has said, to show how the heart of the natural man is disposed to seek his own sensual gratification, but not to find religion for himself or for his family ; and therefore, if you take away from the country those great endowments, and desecrate the buildings which were left for the propagation of the faith, you will do what is congenial to the heart of the natural man, but you will bring a paralysis upon the country from which it will never recover.

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#### The Venerable ARCHDEACON EMERY.

I DESIRE to say a few words upon this subject. We must be very much obliged to the authors of the papers for the very lucid explanation they have given us of the origin of our Church endowments, and very important it is that we should clear the way for argument with those who are putting forth false issues, and misleading the popular mind. But however true and however valuable our reference to history may be, of this we may be sure, that we must not rely upon history ; but seeing what our enemies are determined if possible to effect, we must take all possible practical measures to prevent them from robbing us. It shocked me dreadfully the other day to hear that Mr Miall had expressed such a design upon the fabrics of the Church of England as we have just

heard ; to think of our churches being probably dealt with as the house of Baal, and the places of divine worship being treated as they probably would be treated if he raised such a wicked spirit in the land—being treated with ignominy and contempt, and turned to the basest of uses. One must see—and I trust it will go forth to the public who have any interest in the land—one must see that such wicked principles are laying a basis not only for the confiscation of church property, but for the confiscation of private property also. Do not let those who have a stake in the country, those who admire their country, and thank God for the country in which they live, do not let them be idle, but do their very best to resist such wicked principles, which will certainly tend to disorder the happy state of our land. But now, to turn to practical points with respect to the improvement of our endowments. It has often struck me that it would be very desirable if, in parishes ill endowed, there was an endowment fund started, and that every year there was one Sunday devoted to the subject of the duty of supporting the clergy, and to obtaining from the congregation some support towards that endowment fund. I have been met with the argument, “Oh, but you will get so little!” Well, probably you might. If I only got one shilling I would have this annual collection ; for this reason, because every now and then there is some person or other moved by the Spirit of God, who, knowing that there is such a fund, and having the subject brought to their conscience, and perhaps not knowing really what to do with their wealth from time to time, will leave to that fund a goodly amount ; and therefore, I would say to every clergyman who is poorly endowed, start an endowment fund, and once a year, at least, give offertories to it. Well, there is another way. I think we ought to appeal more distinctly to those who have wealth, and not be always harping upon the old notion of redistribution of revenue. It is impossible, if you were to distribute the revenue, to give the clergy a fair and proper income. As Mr Venables has said, I am not pleading for myself ; if you disestablish to-morrow, you won’t injure me, and therefore I may fairly take the question upon the broad principle ; and I say, you would do injury if you were to try to redistribute equally the revenues of the Church, just as much injury as if you were to carry out that which is a leading principle in some minds, to put all private property into a public purse and redistribute it ; and therefore I say, we ought rather to appeal to those who are now making large fortunes, and have great estates, plead with those who have tithes to give portions back of that tithe—I won’t say the whole, but portions back—so as to better endow the parishes in their charge ; and to appeal to wealthy persons to give not merely for the building of churches, but also for the endowing of churches. It is sometimes said that the laity do not do that because they have no power over the clergy. Well, I know the question of patronage is coming forward. I confess there is something in it, and I should like myself to see some mode of rearranging patronage, or to give in some way a voice to the parish, so that the people may not have that excuse for not providing sufficiently for their minister. With respect to schools, I think myself we have so much to do in other directions that we cannot set to work now to increase the endowment of schools ; but this I do say, it is right for every religious person in his own neighbourhood to watch the schemes of the Commissioners, to see that they properly use the endowments of the past, and not, with the best intentions, rob or injure the poor.

Again, I would add this with respect to endowments ; do not let us wait for church extension until we can get endowments. If a neighbourhood wants churches, and people are willing to build churches, let them be built ; and probably then, if a godly man goes and stirs up religious life in the place, God will put it into the hearts of some to endow those churches. The Church of England has suffered in the past from our leaders, our Bishops, and perhaps also from the law, saying you shall not have a church without an endowment. Let us go on more in faith ; and I repeat, if you cannot get an endowment, build your church without one, and bring the message of the gospel to the people. Then start your endowment fund, and, with the divine blessing, endowment will come afterwards.

The Rev. W. E. JELF, B.B., Caerdeon, Dolgelly.

I HAVE one advantage at least over most speakers who have preceded me—that I am not in any fear of the inexorable knife which has cut short so many of the addresses you have heard. My object in addressing you to day is purely a practically one. The question started is, how we are to provide for future endowment? I am perfectly certain that, though we may have the right on our side, though we may be able to demolish the arguments of the Liberation Society most completely, as I believe we can; yet, nevertheless, we must not trust to our right, because the history of past legislation for a few years, especially lately, has shown us that there is such a thing as might overcoming right. I think one security, as has been justly said this afternoon, lies in the energy and faithful ministry of the clergy, so as to gain the affections of the people, and then the members that are returned to Parliament will not vote for Mr Miall's scheme, or any other scheme of Church robbery. But still, while we do all this, we must be prepared for the worst. I venture to address you this afternoon, because a practical scheme has suggested itself to me, which I wish to submit to the judgment of those who are better able to form a judgment on it than myself. I have long thought a good deal may be done in the way of insurances. For instance, if I had £1000 to give to a parish, or if I had £500 to give to a parish, or £100, I would only give one half at present to the parish, and I would appropriate the rest of it in the hands of trustees, the interest to be applied to the insurance of the incumbent's life. When that life dropped, half the amount insured should go to endow the living, and the other half should go to carry on future operations. In this way we could get the operation of a certain fund, the operation of an accumulating fund, every year getting more and more productive, and in this way we should be able to prepare ourselves for the storm when it comes, and also, supposing the storm never comes, we should be able to provide, in every successive generation, or series of years, for the increasing necessities time brings upon us, without being indebted to any one; and I cannot help thinking that this might be done, and I wish others would take it into consideration whether this might not be carried out in some practical way. I believe it has been carried out in one or two cases, and has answered well. I will not detain you any longer, because I merely wished to start the notion that it might receive the consideration of others who are more able to judge upon it than myself. But one objection is this: I am aware it would be said, "It will be mostly for the future." It is the future we have to deal with.

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The Rev. A. D. PRINGLE, M.A., Vicar of St James's, Norwich.

MY LORD BISHOP,—You made certain remarks, just now, of your experience in going through Bethnal Green, and the wish of certain parties to provide ropes wherewith to hang the Bishops. The few remarks which I shall make will be directed to preventing a rope being provided for hanging deans and chapters and Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A leading canon in his day, celebrated for his wit and the great kindness of his heart, one well up in the matter of cathedral chapters, made a remark, which I shall simply allude to, about their failings, and the difficulty, almost impossibility, of reaching them. I happen to have held for some years an official connection with a certain chapter, for whom I have the greatest regard, therefore I do not wish anything I say to be deemed personal. I wish to do justice to the capitular bodies of England. They have shown



that they have "a soul to feel" in the best sense of the word. They have opened their cathedrals for the highest purposes for which those cathedrals were built. I am very far from being of the number of those who wish to see capitular bodies removed, nor would I needlessly throw stones against them. I love our Church, and these her institutions, but I wish those bodies would do more for others connected with them, and thereby they would help themselves to avoid the popular odium which will gather around them if they do not. In a certain city of England there are fifteen livings in the gift of the dean and chapter. If I exclude one of these livings, the income of the remainder, on an average, amounts to very little over £100 a year. Notwithstanding this, you have men doing a great deal to support churches and schools, and, in many cases, with an exceedingly poor population around them. There are four parsonage-houses amidst all these fifteen livings. Several remarks have been made by previous speakers as to the necessity of providing, not only spiritual ministrations for the people, but also providing better for those who are to minister to others in spiritual things. I was struck by the remark quoted from Dr Guthrie, as to the class of persons you may expect to enter the ministry if you reduced their incomes to an amount inadequate to their support. In the cases to which I have referred, as I said, the gross income is a little over £100 a year. This is less than you would give a second-rate clerk; in fact, you would never think of offering that sum to any one to whom you intrusted your cash-box. The property of the chapter to which I have referred was handed over some little time ago to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A clergyman, who held one of these poor livings, wrote to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and begged that the local claims of a particular parish might be considered. The answer which he and others under the same circumstances received was this,—“When the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had recouped themselves, then they would consider the local claims.”

Very shortly before that chapter property was handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, all the leases were renewed; therefore, some seventeen years must now elapse before in any way those local claims can be considered.

I do not dispute for a moment that this may be good law, but I will certainly say, it is one of those cases in which strict law is great injustice. Why should not those leases be rebought, and those who are paid so exceedingly inadequate be better provided for? Perhaps some may suppose that where so little is given by the Church in the way of remuneration, very little is done in the way of Church work. I could easily show you that there are very few places in which more has been done in school building; few in which more has been done, in the last fourteen years, in church restoration; few where more has been done to withstand that tide of dissent and political animosity and bad feeling which is trying to sweep away our Church. I come to this conclusion from a knowledge of the altered state of Church feeling in that locality. Such matters which we discuss now, I thoroughly believe are lay questions, to be adjusted by the laity; but they are also matters in which those who do not want to see our cathedral institutions swept away, may very well lift up their voice to have abuses rectified. I say it is a lay question, and I would urge it on the laity of England, as a duty to their Church, to bring that pressure to bear, which they can bring to bear, on our Bishops, on our deans and chapters, and on the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to have the cases considered in which local claims of poor livings have been hitherto overlooked. Surely it is the duty of the laity to do this, and not to leave it to the clergy, who are the subjects of this very great—I cannot help saying—injustice, to move in their own interests. If the Bishops would only come forward in every diocese, as they have done in some dioceses, and assist the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (if they require assistance) by calling forth the monetary aid of the laity, these anomalies of which I speak would be rectified. There is no body of laity who would sooner respond to that call than that body of laity attached to another part of England who are here represented by Earl Nelson. The call has only to be made by the Bishops generally, and by the Bishop of that diocese, to be responded to. I say, therefore, if you, the laity of the Church, expect your clergy to

do their duty as spiritual workmen, you will not go on expecting the clergy to support the Church, as we have been doing in that particular locality to which I allude, but you will do a little that the Church may support them.

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The Right Hon. EARL NELSON.

MY LORD,—I have really been forced to speak almost against my will. I wished to hear rather than to say anything; but as I was specially referred to, I thought it was right to send in my card. I am most strongly in favour of two things. One is to do all we possibly can to secure the endowments to our Church; the other is, if we cannot do that, at least to save the State from the sin of confiscation. But one of the evils which we meet with in having the subject argued all one way is, that we run the danger of going away with views of greater security than we would otherwise have. Now, in that very able paper of Mr Clabon, showing that tithes were the free gift of the king and other people, and were not given by Parliament, we must not forget the argument on the other side, which ought to be very specially met by special pamphlets and arguments, which such a man as Mr Clabon would be perfectly able to put forth. But the argument on the other side is, that the gift of the king, in those days when he was irresponsible, was the gift of the nation. Now, that argument would not justify confiscation, but it might justify the giving the tithes equally to our own Church and to other religious bodies. In the same way another argument requires to be very carefully met. Up to the time of the Reformation there is not the slightest doubt that Christianity and the Church were identical. After that time the State imposed conditions which forced a great number of Christians out of the National Church. It may be argued—perhaps rightly argued—that, therefore, in these endowments before the Reformation, other Christian bodies in the country, if any alteration is to be made, have a plea for some share; or, in other words, concurrent endowment. We must not forget that in the case of the Irish Church we might have saved the State from the sin of confiscation, if we had gone earlier on the principle of concurrent endowment. I will not say I am in favour of these things, but I think it right to point out those points in the arguments against our view. The great thing we have to do is to take care to save the nation from such a thing as that proposed by Mr Miall, that our churches should not be given for religious purposes, whether the people like it or not. There is one other remark that I wish to refer to that dropped from one gentleman. I dare say he did not mean it, but as it dropped from him, I must make a protest against it. He advised us, in talking of future endowments, that no church should be built in any district until a proper endowment was provided. I must protest against this. Though I should like to see every place well endowed, we must not forget that there is at least one church in London, where five or six clergy are living together in one house, at the rate of £30 a year apiece, and are carrying on a great missionary work. Do not let a church in a district, and the great missionary work which may follow that church as it did here, be hindered merely from waiting for an endowment. One word more as to the endowment of schools. I find nothing has been said about endowment of schools, and for one very good reason, that hitherto the endowments of schools, from being badly administered, have been too frequently impediments to the support of the school, and have tended, in many cases, to shut up private charity towards that school. But if these endowments are rightly administered, if they are made to lead on and improve the education of our parishes, the good administration of existing endowments will bring forth a great many more. As to the question of future endowments, and also the defence of the past, let me urge this upon you,—Do not let the fear of disestablishment shut up our purses, with the thought, “Oh, this is all going to be swept away, therefore it is no good to give

anything now." The fact is, everything we give, every restoration of a church, every noble gift that is given, every subscription towards the endowment of churches, is not only of good in each special case, but an additional defence of the old endowment as well, because it brings before the nation the real Christian spirit which originated those endowments which some would wish to secularise.

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### The CHAIRMAN.

LORD NELSON will allow me to interpolate a remark. I think I understood his Lordship to say, that the argument on the other hand was, that being the gift of the king, it was the gift of the nation. Now I think I could put my finger upon the historical record that when Ethelwolf dedicated, on the altar of Winchester, the tithes of England to the Church of England, fearing there might be some claim put in afterwards that he had given away what belonged to some of the lords of the soil who held in tenant-right from him, the lords of the soil associated themselves with the king, in order that they might unite together in dedicating for ever the tithe of the whole kingdom to the service of God and His Church in the nation. I believe that places the matter in a very clear light.

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### The Rev. JOHN M. DOLPHIN, B.A., Vicar of Coddington, Notts.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—At the late hour of this sectional meeting I shall confine the few remarks I have to make to one point of this subject, namely, the endowment of *churches*. And the apology I must make, as being, perhaps, somewhat inexperienced in the ministry, for speaking to you at all is the fact that I am myself personally engaged in the work of endowing a poor district church in this diocese, and so, possibly, the difficulties I may have encountered, and the successes I may have met with, may be some help towards those who intend to embark in a similar undertaking. It has been said very truly, in this section, that it is, strictly speaking, a layman's question; and I, for one, in common no doubt with most of you here present, should have been extremely glad to have heard the opinions of some of the wealthy manufacturers of Nottingham with regard to this question, because, as a member of the diocese of Lincoln, I must say we all feel exceedingly proud of those men who have come forward to build and endow churches in this town, and we should have been extremely grateful to have heard from their lips some account of the way in which they think this work might be hastened and pushed forward in other places. It is a very difficult thing for a *clergyman* to speak on this subject; because, while we are the disciples of our self-denying Master, who had not where to lay His head, and are sent forth to preach the doctrines of the Cross, and are bound to make our ministry approved "in afflictions and necessities, in watchings and fastings," it is very probable that our motives may altogether be misunderstood if we come forward and clamour for the augmentation of small livings in the country or in towns. But we do feel, as members of Christ's Church, very deeply how short the supply of clergy is in this country. We feel that there are at least 5000 clergy wanted to work in the towns of England at this time; and we also do know, for a fact, that many a young man with high purposes and devotion and self-denial is deterred from entering the ministry of Christ's Church by his parents and friends on the very ground of the smallness of the livings that might possibly come

within his reach. I was talking only a short time ago with a wealthy farmer in the diocese of Lincoln, and was asking him whether he should dedicate his son to the work of the ministry. The remark he made to me was this: he said,—“Why, he had better follow the trade of a pig-jobber than the trade of a parson.” Now, though I do not commend that sentiment in any way to your approval, yet, at the same time, it does show that there is a strong feeling that to dedicate a son to the ministry of the Church is to dedicate him to a life of comparative poverty and ruin. There has been something said in this meeting about the re-adjustment of existing endowments. That, certainly, is well worthy of consideration; because, when a fund was recently started in this diocese for the augmentation of small livings, at once the county papers took up the question, and said there was quite sufficient money in the county if it were only re-adjusted. The difficulty attaching to the subject lies in the excessive stringency of the Plurality Acts. There are district churches, perhaps with a population of three or four thousand, with hardly any endowment, and there are neighbouring country parishes, with sixty or seventy people, well endowed. Now, if the endowment of the small parish could be drawn to the thickly populated district, and the clergyman be enabled to keep one or two curates, and support himself in addition, this, we must all feel, would be a very great boon to our Church. But the excessive strictness of the Plurality Acts forbids in many cases such a proceeding. I do believe that many lay patrons are ignorant of the fact, that having perhaps some six or eight livings in their gift, the revenues of one wealthy living in their gift might be charged with a payment to the poorer ones. I believe the laity of England are not aware of this fact, or, I think, when a large living fell vacant, they would saddle the future incumbent with the condition that £100 or £200 a year, from the fat living, should be given to the poor starveling within a mile of it. One word I must say about the raising of fresh endowments from our congregations. I do believe, if a clergyman has gained the confidence of his people, he will find that there is no one cause for which they will so willingly dedicate their substance as for the augmentation of that living in which their clergyman is placed. The poor, in particular, and even the comparatively ignorant and uneducated farmers in country parishes, will more readily give to this cause than to any other branch of Church work. If we would throw ourselves upon them, and try in each parish to start an augmentation fund, we should find the amount gathered in very considerable. If, in a small country parish, endowed with less than £200 per annum, only £50 could in this way be raised, and this were met from the diocesan fund with another £50, that £100 might very easily be raised to £200 from one or other of the public charities, and so the grant of £200 would be obtained from Queen Anne's Bounty. Marshall's Charity and Pynecombe's Charity are not generally known, I believe, to the clergy, as assisting in the augmentation of poor livings, irrespective of patronage.

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### The Rev. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A.

At the Southampton Congress we were exhorted to quietness by my Lord Bishop of Winchester; and though, at the time, a layman was reading a paper lower than even any Plymouth Brother could indite, we were all, to use the phrase of a quaint old lady, “as quiet as mice.” And on the present occasion, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, I am going to be as quiet as any mouse.

First, with regard to the establishment and endowment of our Church. Establishment and endowment have made the English Church clergy what they are—the finest body of clergy in the world. And so Mr Gladstone, referring to the *stability* of the English Church, said, “It is all very well to deal in abstract declarations, but only go to

the walls and look at the gates, the way in which stone is built upon stone, the way in which the foundations have been dug, and the way in which they have groped down ; and consider what must be the tools, what must be the means, and what must be the artillery by which you are to bring that fabric to the ground." And Mr Ryle said, "After twenty-eight years' observation of Dissent in rural districts, I am satisfied that the very worst mode of paying a minister is the voluntary system of the chapel." Mr Ryle also calls pew-rents a necessary evil.

Then, to come to the question of endowment, I think the best endowment we can ever have is endowment of *land*. I think it is Goethe who says that the combination of the clerical life with the agricultural life is about the perfection of human nature, producing, as it does, men of the Vicar of Wakefield type. It so happened that I was once endowed myself with a large glebe of fifty-two acres of land in the diocese of Dublin. And here I will give this hint to my clerical brethren, that if they have a knowledge of farming, the best thing they can do is to farm their own glebes. It will give them an interest in farming ; it will give them an interest in the occupations of the people round them. I do think the very best form of endowment of our churches is land. Then we come next to the question of tithes. I think, next to land, tithe is the best form of endowment. I used to tell my brother clergymen in Ireland, that, however we might differ from O'Connell in other respects, there was one thing we ought to erect a monument to his memory for, and that was for taking the payment of the tithe out of the hands of the farmers and putting it into the hands of the landowners. We had the greatest satisfaction in our payments ; we were paid to the day. Therefore, I think the same system might with great safety, and with great advantage to the Church, be adopted in England—namely, let the *owners of the soil be the paymasters of the clergymen*. We all perhaps have heard the old adage, "You can never know a man until you have a money transaction with him ;" and having money transactions with our small and large farmers, we see perhaps rather more of them than we should wish to see. Therefore, I think it would be very much better if the tithes of our Church were paid by the *owners of the land*. With regard to pew-rents, I once had a free and open meeting in Plymouth, open to all the working classes. I asked them for their candid, unbiassed opinion, and gave each working-man ten minutes to speak in. I asked them their opinion upon this question of endowment and pew-rents. One speaker said, "that ministers paid by pew-rents in the Southern States of America did not speak against the monster evil of slavery ; and why?—because they did not like to speak against the hand that fed them." Another working-man "found nothing in the New Testament to authorise pew-rents." Another asked "if the Church of England could be called a poor man's Church when pews were rented in it?" And a working-man said, "religion was made too much a matter of £ s. d. in the Church of England." "The pew-rent system," another speaker said, "might produce men of the Ward Beecher type, domineering over their flocks." My Lord Nelson and I last night dined in company with a lady, the daughter of a Regius Professor of Divinity, late of Trinity College, Dublin, and I only wish that lady could be permitted to speak, for she said, "I wish I could have told the clergy assembled what it is to be disestablished and disendowed ; if the clergy who were listening to that debate in the hall to-day would only go to Ireland, and there see the effect of disestablishment and disendowment, and witness the cold, cold shadow it casts, I am certain of this, that not one of them would hold up his hand for it." If I had another moment I would just say this, that if members of the Church of England do not give as much as Dissenters do, it is because they are not trained to it. Dissenters are trained to the principle of giving from childhood, and therefore they give more readily than Churchmen.

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## The Rev. GEORGE LEWTHWAITE, M.A.

THE reference to the spoliations of King Henry VIII. may well be supplemented by some mention of details.

It must be remembered that the alienation of the endowments of the abbeys from religious purposes was not the intention of the Legislature, but a malversation of trust on the part of King Henry himself.

The "Act of Parliament for erecting new Bishoprics at the suppression of the Abbeys" declares in its preamble, a copy of which, in Henry VIII.'s own hand, is preserved in the British Museum, that "to the intent that henceforth many of them might be turned to better use, as hereafter shall follow, whereby God's Word might be better set forth, children brought up in learning, clerks nourished in the universities, old servants decayed to have living, almshouses for poor folk to be sustained in, readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipend, daily alms to be ministered (mending of highways), exhibitions for ministers of the Church; it is thought, therefore, unto the King's highness most expedient and necessary that more Bishoprics, Collegiate and Cathedral churches should be established, instead of these foresaid Religious houses, within the foundation whereof these other titles afore-rehearsed shall be established." A rough draft of the scheme by which King Henry proposed to carry out the measure is also preserved in the same national repository of documents.

It proposes the creation of fifteen new Episcopal Sees, with all the accessories of deans and chapters complete, and endowments attached to most of them for preachers, for professors of Divinity, of Latin and Greek and Hebrew, and of other Faculties; exhibitions at the Universities, alms for distribution, &c., &c., besides providing for the endowment of several similar Colleges throughout the country, where it was not yet proposed to establish Bishoprics. Nor need it be assumed that the measure was conceived or accepted in any spirit of hostility to the Church, seeing that Wolsey had ten years before obtained two bulls from the Pope for the like purpose of suppressing Abbeys to be made Cathedrals.

What then, it may well be asked, became of this comprehensive scheme of Church reform?

Five only of the fifteen promised Sees were established; and for the rest, the original ledgers of the Court of Augmentation, still remaining in the Augmentation Office, show what became of the money that was realised. Henry found it difficult to provide for his lavish expenditure. He knew that he had nothing to fear from "those pusillanimous Parliaments, one of which," as Blackstone says, "to its eternal disgrace, passed a statute whereby it was enacted that the King's proclamation should have the force of Acts of Parliament;" and the nation probably more readily acquiesced in these spoliations for fear of the demand of another subsidy.

In these ledgers,\* amongst pensions to former abbots, averaging about £100 a year, and several annuities and payments to courtiers and officers of state, the chief entries appear thousands of pounds for war service, for the expenses of the King's household, and "Delivered to His Grace's own hands for his secret affairs, as by His Grace's warrant." Inasmuch that whereas, during the seven years which appear to have sufficed to spend the money which reached the Office, the payments for pensions average less than £3500 a year, the average of those made during the same period simply by the King's warrant amount to upwards of £119,000 a year. King Henry seems to have dealt equally freely in distributing the lands and tithes belonging to the Abbeys amongst his hungry courtiers. Thus did he and his minister Thomas Cromwell "play Hal and Tommy" with the Religious houses, remaining a proverb of destruction to this day.

Though of course there is no thought of external pressure for the restitution of that which was so iniquitously despoiled, there does seem to be matter for the private consideration of individuals, who, by no fault of their own, have become possessed of Church

\* See extract from these ledgers in Appendix.

property, how far circumstances will allow of their rededicating it to the sacred uses from which it was thus alienated, especially as regards the tithes of parishes in which there is not adequate provision for the minister. There are many noble instances besides that which has been mentioned of persons who have freely restored tithes ; and the Tithe Redemption Trust has been formed to assist those who may desire pecuniary aid. It has been further useful in obtaining amended legislation ; so that the whole or any part of the alienated tithe can now be settled upon a district church—a distribution of endowment very expedient in prospect of any future spoliation.

It may indeed be said that the tithes were not first alienated from the parishes by the act of Henry VIII.—that this took place before, on their appropriation to the religious houses. But then it must be remembered that they were not at that time diverted from religious uses ; and forasmuch as the tithe was originally paid to the common stock of the diocese, the religious might with some reason argue that, so long as they duly provided for the ministry of the parishes, it was legitimate that they should apply the remainder of the tithe to hospitality, the relief of the poor, sustentation of their infirmary, and maintaining scribes to multiply copies of the Holy Scriptures, objects which were frequently specified in the grants of the tithes which they thus obtained. Moreover, it must be remembered that the religious houses held their appropriations of tithe subject to the obligation to make adequate provision for the parochial minister ; and a power was acknowledged in, and frequently exercised by, the Bishop of augmenting that portion whenever it appeared to be insufficient. This portion was generally tithe of certain kinds ; sometimes it appears to have been a fixed stipend, as was usually the case with the abbey churches themselves, when made parochial at the dissolution. Now, by the acts of dissolution, the monasteries and their tithes are stated to be given to “the King and his heirs, in as large and ample a manner as the abbots held them,” and “in the state and condition in which they then were ;” and as these acts were based on the surrender made by the religious into the hands of the King, it is argued that “nothing could come into the King’s hands in virtue of the surrender of the religious but what was theirs ; and that the right of the Bishop to augment, and of the vicar to claim augmentation, was not theirs ;” that therefore the legal right remains to the parish to claim, and to the Bishop to fix, a needed amount of increase from the impropriate tithes. But whatever may be the present force of the legal argument, it may be hoped that it is only necessary that the particulars should be better understood, for the moral obligation to be acknowledged, to apply the tithes, as far as requisite, to the support of the ministry of the parishes ; and that where a continuous stipend of some £14 per annum has been paid—rightly equivalent, according to the altered value of money, to some hundreds now—it will no longer be necessary that their deficiencies should be supplied from charitable funds for the improvement of poor benefices, while the value of the Church property has largely increased.

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### The Rev. W. WALLACE, St Luke’s, Stepney.

I WANT to speak a word for the Ecclesiastical Commission. It was this ; for immediate endowments, go to them. They had money, and we should get it from them. By what means? Not by clamour, but by working to collect a sum to offer them. There was liberality, if exertions were properly used to encourage it. In Stepney, the knowledge that £200 a year was certain from the Commissioners has given rise to a mission, and in six years no less a sum than £10,800 had been raised through voluntary benevolence. Again, in a small country parish of £32 a year, when it was known that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would increase this by as much as was given, work did the rest. The Diocesan Society gave, the people gave, friends around gave, Pyncombe’s Charity gave, and other sources were applied to—Marshall’s Charity and Queen Anne’s Bounty, who have more

money than they are asked to use. Thus the £32 was increased in two years to nearly £100 a year. Now was the time to use the Ecclesiastical Commission, for every moderate and beneficial endowment of poor benefices was a security against objections—objections of unjust poverty and irregular distribution. But redistribution was also necessary: no one can deny that it is a safer thing, for endowments in general, that the £1000 a year of All Hallows, Staining, London, should be given, as they now would, to three new parishes at £300 a year. If it be true, and the Chairman confirmed it, that patrons may redistribute the financial circumstances of their parishes, this should be done. As to schools, he strongly urged that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge form a trust-fund, and receive additions to it for aiding elementary schools, and this might be given on the recommendation of the diocesan inspectors. This will be in the nature of an endowment of those schools, which would keep them in the hands of the Church. If this be not done, some, perhaps many, of such schools may fail for the want of the small supply such a fund could give. The Society is a central, safe, and accredited ground for such school-trusts, and is better than diocesan societies. It receives benefactions for general purposes, and can apply these.

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### THE CHAIRMAN.

I SHOULD like to impress one truth in concluding the business of this day. We are especially concerned with the preservation of the endowments of the past, as well as with the protection of endowments for the future. I think we ought to bear in mind that our danger lies not merely in new-fangled schemes that are advanced by theorists, but it lies in the new axiom advanced sometimes without contradiction in the House of Commons, that the present is not to be bound by the will of the past. We are exhorted now-a-days "to free ourselves from the grasp of the dead hand," forgetful that that is the hand that has forged those links that bind society together in its present compact and friendly unity. The abuse of trust may be light in the sight of theoretical man, but it is because he only looks to this present world, and not to the future; but the abuse of trust must be a sin in the sight of God, who looks to the carrying out of the eternal principles He has revealed, and for the promotion of which the trusts of past ages were established. I wish this fact to be borne in mind, because the present theories with regard to the sweeping away of old trusts as if they were old cobwebs is really most dangerous.

The proceedings closed with the Benediction.

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### THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 12.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the chair at seven o'clock.

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### HYMNOLOGY AND CHURCH MUSIC.

The Right Hon. EARL NELSON read the following paper:—

I AM opposed to enforced uniformity as to the matter of hymns, and consider, that to any authorised hymn-book appendices must be freely allowed; but with this qualification I shall endeavour to maintain that



a Church Hymn-Book, as a companion to the Book of Common Prayer, is greatly to be desired.

It is, at all events, an end for which I have long striven, from the time when, with the assistance of Mr Keble, I was privileged to bring out well-nigh the first hymn-book which attempted to combine hymns ancient and modern, and before the book known by that name came into being, until the latest edition of the Sarum Hymnal, which was completed just before the Appendix to Hymns Ancient and Modern made its appearance. I shall only venture to touch those branches of the subject which the experience of many years in the compilation of hymn-books may seem to justify me in venturing an opinion upon.

I leave to other and abler hands the equally important subject of tunes ; premising that the two subjects have been rightly joined together, and commending to your consideration the sage remark of a writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* (vol. lv. p. 151),—"Not only do the Wesleyans know their hymns by heart, but by always using the same tune to each particular hymn, the associations are multiplied ; the tune and words act one upon the other, increasing the charm and familiarity of both."

It is surely not necessary to dwell long on the proof that hymns and psalms have, from the time when "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy" formed an essential part of divine service.

The Songs of Moses and of Miriam.

The hymns and odes recorded in the Book of the Wars of God, referred to in the Book of Numbers (xxi. 14).

The Song of Deborah and Barak.

The Song of Hannah.

The whole Book of Psalms: each one the separate outpouring of the heart on some special occasion of sorrow or of joy, subsequently adopted into the services of the Jewish Church.

The Song of Songs and the Songs of the Prophets are sufficient testimony from the Old Testament.

And when we come to the New Testament, we find the Song of the Blessed Virgin, of Zacharias, of the multitude of the heavenly host, and of the holy Simeon. And although at first the hymns of the ancient Jewish Church would form the staple of the Christian worship, it is clear that the Epistles of St Paul are full of quotations, not only from the Christian service-books then in use, but from Christian hymns used in those services. And last the hymns of the Book of Revelations—the many ascriptions of praise to the Holy Trinity, the Song of Moses and the Lamb, the oft-repeated Alleluia which the Church throughout the world has from an early period sung as a hymn in close connection with the oblation of the elements. "The feast being then, in a manner, made ready," says Mr Neale, "it was fitting that that song should be sung which the much people in heaven, the twenty-four elders, and the four living creatures, are represented as singing at the marriage-supper of the Lamb."

This introduces us to the Christian Church after the apostolic age. We find here that the Alleluia was the origin of the introduction of sequences or hymns in addition to those before in use. As there had been a psalm or a verse affixed to the Alleluia in earlier times, so in later ones the custom

came in of prolonging the last note of the Alleluia itself. I have no time to give you the interesting account of the first sequence so formed ; suffice it to say, that many of the sequences and hymns for which the Paris and Sarum rites are celebrated hence found their way into our service-books, and became such favourites as a special medium of divine song during the middle ages.

It is well known (I again quote from the *Christian Remembrancer*) that, at the Reformation, Cranmer designed to have provided metrical psalms and hymns as a constituent part of the Prayer-Book ; but was so dissatisfied with existing translations, and the indifferent success of his own attempt in that line, that he abandoned the idea. The people, meanwhile, evidently hankered after some medium for the utterance of praise in the form of hymns and spiritual songs, not content with psalms only.

Hence, by the Queen's injunctions (1559) we find, that while there was to be "a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the Common Prayer, that the same might be as plainly understood as if it had been read without singing," the faithful were not now to be limited to this statutable measure of song, for it was enacted, "Nevertheless, for the comfort of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that, at the beginning or at the end of the Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there might be sung a hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the best sort of melody and musick that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived."

Here we see the door was opened among ourselves for the introduction of hymns and metrical songs, after the example of the whole Church.

If wisely used, this privilege might have saved the Wesleyan schism. And even now it might be made of much use, not only for combining together in still closer ties all our daughter Churches, but as an additional means of putting forth the right hand of fellowship to the Nonconformist bodies, to the Lutheran and other Churches, and to all the Churches of the Eastern or Western communions who might be prepared to unite with us on the foundations of the Nicene Church.

We have therefore three special reasons to move us, as a Church, to undertake this great work at the present time :—

1. The universal practice of introducing hymns into the worship of Almighty God in all ages.

2. The debt we owe to our own Reformers, having now the means to carry out their desire to make our branch of the Church Catholic of one accord in this matter with the whole Church, not only from primitive, but from primeval times.

3. The call to a greater unity among all Christian Churches, to which the introduction of their most approved hymns into our Office-book would at the present time most clearly reply.

Let me now bring before you the essential marks of a hymn worthy of a place in such an authorised hymnal.

1. It must be full of Scripture.
2. Full of individual life and reality.
3. It must have the acceptance of the use of the Church.
4. It must be as pure in its English, in its rhyme and rhythm, as the Prayer-Book itself.

In considering these tests, it will be well to bear in mind what a hymn really is.

Every hymn, to be worthy of the name, must be in a certain sense inspired ; that is to say, it must proceed from an earnest communing with God ; either from devout contemplation of Him, and meditation upon His written Word ; or it must come from a life of earnest self-denying labours for His sake ; or from a time of hearty prayer and earnest wrestling with sin ; or from a time of deep thankfulness for mercies received ; or out of a time of severe bodily or mental trial—each and all drawing a man into deeper communion with his God. It is for want of this that so many hymns fail to come up, even in the common judgment of men, to be worthy of the name ; for want of this so many who have written good hymns have also written so many bad and inferior ones ; for want of this it is that hymns written to supply a Sunday or special occasion, in some fresh hymn-book of the day, are generally such complete failures.

It is remarked of Theophanes, among the Greek hymn-writers, that “in his writings we first see the bane and ruin of later Greek writers—the composition of hymns not from the spontaneous effusion of the heart, but because they are wanted to fill up a gap in the Office-book.” And again of another : “Very pretty verses, but not of the stuff of which the ordinary hymns of the Church are made. They may commend themselves to men of taste, but to be the heart-utterance of nature, to go with the multitude and give them voice in the house of God, never !”

Hymns show more than anything the character of the age in which they are written, as well as of the man who wrote them. And though the deep piety of the writer may cause a good hymn to crop up in a degenerate age, the good hymns will then be few and far between.

A hymn coming from a deep communing with God, and from the special experience of the human heart, at once fulfils, and can only thus fulfil, the four tests I have ventured to lay down.

It may be objected that bad rhymes and inferior diction may be found in inspired hymns. To this I would answer, Yes, and No. The bad rhymes to our ears can be quoted without number in hymns avowedly coming up to my other tests ; but they were not bad rhymes to the writer, and only show the old pronunciation, and what is now considered bad taste was not so considered when the hymn was written. The very earnestness of a real heart-utterance from direct communion with God would bring with it reverence enough to avoid carelessness in the composition or in the rhyme. For these reasons, with great care, and in very special cases, even as J. Wesley himself carefully altered some of George Herbert's hymns to give them a more uniform metre, some alterations might be allowed. In C. Wesley's original, “Lo, He comes, with clouds descending,” the refrain of the last verse, “Jah, Jehovah! everlasting God, come down,” would now seem almost profane, and could well and wisely be changed after the refrain of the first verse. So in the well-known Christmas Hymn, “Join and thine,” once good rhymes, are bad now, and might perhaps be altered. But let me not be misunderstood. I have been entirely converted from my first errors, and now hold that all abbreviations and alterations are, as a general rule, to be carefully avoided. It was a remark of surprise of dear Mr Keble's, how little Scripture reference was found in modern compared with the old Latin hymns. This was remedied

when we obtained a fuller version of any hymn—*e.g.*, the two last verses of Wesley's Christmas Hymn, too frequently omitted, are as full of Scripture reference as any mediæval hymn, which is saying a great deal.

So again as to alterations; the first line of this same hymn, as it generally stands, was thus critically objected to:—There were no Herald Angels; it was not the Herald Angel, but the multitude of the heavenly host who sang, not glory to the New-born King, but "Glory to God in the highest." Now C. Wesley's original lines ran—

"Hark how all the welkin rings,  
Glory to the King of Kings!"

thus avoiding all these criticisms, and being true to the Scripture account.

Now for a word on translations.

Of course a great number of the ancient Greek and Latin hymns would come before us complying with all the tests—full of Scripture, full of individuality, full of the consent of the Church. The diction and rhyme is a matter for the translators; and though we have such good translators that there is no fear of a failure, as in Cranmer's day, I do think we are bound to make the best translation better still by more truly, where necessary, bringing out the meaning of the original, and by bringing it out in the best possible English. Not literally rendering each Latin word, but trying to master the thoughts of the author, and rendering them as he would have done had he written them in our own English tongue. None felt the necessity of this more than John Mason Neale, who always begged us fearlessly to alter what he had translated. It is wonderful how many ancient hymns have been made, in the translation, to bear a doctrinal sense according to the wish of the translator, not to be found, or certainly not necessarily requiring such a rendering, in carrying out the original meaning.

There were two well-known hymns, the introduction of which into my book I strenuously resisted until I saw them in the original. One, "*Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*," where the first line of the second verse is generally rendered "Of a pure and spotless Virgin," as if the Latin had been "*immaculata*," and the old hymn had witnessed directly to Rome's new dogma. The word used is "*intacta*," which may be quite as truly rendered "of a pure unsullied virgin."

So again in the beautiful All Saints' Day Hymn, from the Old Sarum use, "*Sponsa Christi quæ per orbem*," where the original third verse runs thus:—

"Laureatum ducit agmen  
Juncta Mater Filio,  
Sola quæ partu pudorem  
Virgo nunquam, perdidit."

Which is generally translated—

"Mary leads the sacred story,  
Mary, with her Heavenly Child,  
Sharer with Him now in glory."

There is not a vestige of this in the original, and my version, though better, equally misses the full sense, which is rather—"That Mary, the ever-Virgin, united with her Son (or united to the agmen by her Son), leads the band, laurel-crowned, in token of their victory."

But to proceed. I have no hesitation in saying that a good hymn-book, worthy of the Book of Common Prayer, could at the present time be compiled from the Greek and Latin hymns, which have long won the consensus of the whole Church; and, from the position they have already won in our own congregations, that many German hymns may be added; with well-known hymns of our Nonconformist divines—Dodderidge, Baxter, and others; while hymns of Toplady, Wesley, Heber, Milman, and Keble might truly find a place there, with others more modern still, though these last have hardly yet received a sufficient test of congregational approval. Hymns such as these should be at once enrolled in our authorised service-books, not to be enforced with a rigid uniformity, to the exclusion of all others, but as a proof of the catholic and gospel teaching of our branch of Christ's Church, and as a testimony on her part to the importance of hymns as an essential part of the praises to Almighty God in the service-books of the Church.

Besides the hymns proper, proceeding from special incidents in the life of the Church, or of her individual members, and which may be divided into direct aspirations of praise or the outpourings of the truly penitent heart, there are—

1. Ascriptions of praise, after the model of the Revelation hymns, pouring forth a profession of faith, of which the noble *Te Deum* is the type.

2. Paraphrases from Holy Scripture, including, of course, the Metrical Psalms; and when these have been translated, with the full knowledge of the spirit and meaning of the sacred words, and have won the consent of the Church, they may be profitably accepted. Wesley's "Soldiers of Christ, arise," and "The Old Hundred," are types of these.

3. Litany hymns are also much asked for, as suitable for mission services, with sermons. A careful selection of these might be made from the *Paris Breviaries*.

4. Then come the narrative hymns, which might at first sight be cast aside as little better than doggerel, if we did not remember the work they have done, and may be still capable of doing. They served in old times as the only way of making the people familiar with the Christian narrative; and, as good Bishop Hamilton used to say, they would be found equally useful now among the uninstructed masses of our people in the larger towns and parishes. It would not be unwise to have one of the best of them for each season of the Christian year.

5. Then come carols and that sort of hymns which at times have become favourites, but which, to my mind, should never get beyond an appendix, however popular they may be for a time:—"While shepherds watched;" "Christians, awake! salute the happy morn;" "Hark, hark, my soul! angelic songs are swelling;" and "O Paradise! O Paradise!"

In forming an authorised hymn-book there is, of course, much discretion required, lest, by being too exclusive, the broader teaching of the Prayer-Book be narrowed, and lest, by too careless an admission of hymns, the high character of our Book of Common Prayer for purity of language and composition may be marred.

The work, if undertaken at all, must be with a determination to take the best hymns from all sources. There must be no attempt to make a book with hymns for every Sunday. Having enrolled the best extant

hymns in her service-book, the Church may be content to wait till the workings of God's Holy Spirit within her have given cause for new songs to be poured forth, and to be accepted by her congregations.

It must, however, be evident to all, that it would be impossible to have an authorised book without allowing appendices to be freely added, so that the different hymn-books must be permitted for many years to come. This, I know, will be a disappointment to many who long for more perfect uniformity ; but it obviates the great difficulty which vested rights and interests in existing hymn-books would otherwise throw in our way, and is an absolute necessity for the three reasons with which I venture to conclude my paper.

1st, Without allowing appendices, many hymns, favourites for a time, but which would not bear the tests I have enumerated, and others which, from old associations, the congregations would ask for, and which should never be finally admitted, would be inexorably forced upon us.

2dly, It is impossible, at a period of great life in the Church, that we could submit to be bound down by a stricter uniformity. As a reviewer before quoted aptly puts it :—"The mind, even as toned and trained by grace, while gladly welcoming in the main the Church's prescription and yoke, fails not to appreciate a certain measure of liberty ; and experience shows that it is a matter of prudence on the part of those, on whom the settling of ritual forms devolves at any time, to provide at least some safety-valve for the expression of the religious mind of the day."

And, 3rdly, If, as I hold, the essence of a hymn is to be inspired by the earnest communing of the writer with his God—if it is true that hymns have a life of their own, and express the views and character of the writer and of the age in which he lives—and if the one essential test of a hymn's admission into our Service Books is the consent of the Church to the use of it,—then it becomes absolutely a necessity that appendices be allowed, to receive fresh hymns from time to time ; for there must be many a new song unto the Lord, and new occasions for them must be ever arising, as the Church militant advances through trouble or through joy towards the final ingathering at the great marriage-supper of the Lamb.

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The Rev. E. H. BICKERSTETH, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church,  
Hampstead, read the following paper:—

ADDED to the diffidence with which I should speak on any Church subject before so many elder and abler brethren in Christ, is the peculiar hesitation I feel in approaching that submitted to us for discussion to-day. I have no sympathy with those who reckon Hymnody and Church music among the externals of religion ; but rather, when I remember the words of the Messianic Psalm, a psalm shadowed by all the mysteries of the atoning sacrifice of the cross, "Thou art Holy, O Thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel," the songs of the Pilgrim Church seem to me to enter into that within the veil ; so that, if we were called to assign them their truest place in the temple of divine worship, it would be in the Holy of Holies, mingling with the clouds of

fragrant incense that rise from the censer of our One High Priest, and that float beneath the wings of the cherubim and over the blood-stained mercy-seat. In a word, Hymnody and Church music are among those things which touch the very ark of God ; and I earnestly pray that I may only speak words of truth and soberness and love regarding that which affects so nearly the glory of our Lord.

When asked by the Subjects' Committee to prepare a paper for this Congress, I begged that I might be allowed to confine my address to Hymnology, and to leave the kindred theme of Church music to those who are so much better qualified than myself to speak upon it with authority. I have called them kindred themes ; but I know they are almost inseparable, and rejoice that they are not divorced to-day ; for perhaps the words of Tennyson regarding woman describe their relationship most truly :

"Till at the last she set herself to man,  
Like perfect music unto noble words."

However, I must dwell almost exclusively on the "noble words," and leave it to others to tell how they can be best wedded to the "perfect music."

And at the outset I take it for granted that, in itself, as an ideal object to be desired, we should, for many weighty reasons, gladly hail a common Hymnal for all Churchmen, just as we glory in our common Prayer-Book. It would be a badge of brotherhood ; it would be a bond of strength. And in these migratory days it would be an element of cohesion in our beloved Church if her children, wherever they sojourned, or whithersoever they travelled within the borders of our country and colonies, could turn to their Hymnal in public worship with the same confidence and security as now they turn to the familiar pages of the Book of Common Prayer. Not, it is to be feared, that we are yet altogether ripe for the issue of one Hymn-book enjoined by Church authority. This seems generally admitted. The echoes of theological controversy are yet too loud, and their memories too recent. But if the Bishops of our Church were willing to recommend and sanction a few standard Hymnals for use in their respective dioceses, I think we might reasonably look forward to some not far distant date when these would occupy nine-tenths of the ground. There will always be some scrupulous pastors and scrupulous flocks whom no selection of hymns but their own will satisfy. But if, to repeat a hope which I have expressed in another place,\* the number of different Hymnals in circulation, probably over two hundred, could thus gradually be reduced to twenty, and from twenty to ten, and from ten to three or five,—we may expect, when more power of self-government is revived in the Church, to see the order realised which is indicated with regard to the Liturgy in the preface of our Prayer-Book : "And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln ; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use."

\* "The Introduction of the Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer."

Haply it may not be permitted us in our lifetime to see the noble structure of a national Hymn-book completed. But we may gather materials for it. As David said of the temple, "The house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all countries: I will therefore now make preparation for it." So we read David prepared abundantly before his death, and said to Solomon, "Be strong, and of a good courage; dread not, nor be dismayed. Now, behold, in my trouble I have prepared for the house of the Lord an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron without weight: timber and stone also have I prepared, and thou mayest add thereto: moreover, there are workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and workers of stone and timber, and all manner of cunning men for every manner of work. Arise, therefore, and be doing; and the Lord be with thee" (1 Chron. xxii. 5, 13-16). This seems to me the duty of our day and generation. Happy, thrice happy those who are permitted, by counsel or co-operation, to further the building of that temple of praise in which God vouchsafes to dwell.

Now, in this great work we have a standard of reference made ready to our hands,—the services, offices, and collects of the Book of Common Prayer. If any hymns undeniably go beyond or fall below the standard of the teaching of our Church in our Liturgy, they must offend some of her children. If any doctrines inculcated will, self-evidently, not stand the touchstone of our Thirty-nine Articles, there must surely be something inharmonious in the hymns containing them being bound up with those Articles. Nay, I would add, if epithets and similes and mental pictures are manifestly not in unison with the form of sound words in which we breathe our devotions, and with which our songs of praise are to be interwoven, they may have a beauty of their own, as viewed from another standpoint; but they would be out of place in a Church Hymnal. The key-note of our national Prayer-Book ought to be the key-note of our national Hymn-book. I am speaking of undeniable, self-evident, manifest incongruities. For I would heartily subscribe to Sir Roundell Palmer's words, who, after saying, "By all means let any hymn be rejected which is really open to a well-founded doctrinal objection," adds, "The office of a hymn is not to teach controversial theology, but to give the voice of song to practical religion. No doubt to do this it must embody sound doctrine; but it ought to do so, not after the manner of the schools, but with the breadth, freedom, and simplicity of the Fountainhead." \*

This platform of the Prayer-Book is the common ground on which "the sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England," as they are styled in the preface to our Liturgy, can meet without any compromise of principle, and without any excessive strain on brotherly forbearance. And I believe the most practically useful, though very humble, contribution which I can offer to our deliberations to-day, will be to indicate how every class of hymn required for common worship may have its appropriate place assigned it under one or other of the divisions of the Book of Common Prayer. It will be sufficient

\* "Essay on Church Hymnody," read at the York Congress, 1866.



to name, under each head, one or more representative hymns, the first line or lines of which will recall to our minds many others of the same class, though perhaps of inferior calibre. The hymns I shall name are, for the most part, the common property and glory of all modern Hymnals. And this grouping will have the further advantage of suggesting those subjects upon which the Church of Christ still sorely needs additional hymns.

1. MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER will suitably embrace all those hymns which breathe the spirit of David's words, "Let my prayer be set forth before Thee as the incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." We only need to remind ourselves how such representative hymns as those by Bishop Ken—

"Awake, my soul, and with the sun,"

And

"All praise to Thee, my God, this night,"

have held their place in the morning and evening devotions of the Church for one hundred and seventy years, and now run an equal course with some of the loveliest of Keble's lines—

"New every morning is the love,"

And

"Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear."

2. THE ATHANASIAN CREED suggests such hymns as that by Bishop Heber—

"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty,  
Early in the morning our song shall rise to Thee,"

which is by general consent allowed to be one of the noblest of modern canticles.

3. THE LITANY will call for supplicatory hymns in unison with its tone of deep humiliation and need, of which there could hardly be a truer specimen than that by Sir Robert Grant—

"Saviour, when in dust to Thee,  
Low we bow the adoring knee."

4. PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS will afford space as for the other subjects named in our Prayer-Book; so for all hymns that deprecate the wrath of God in times of judgment, whether dearth, war, or pestilence (let me instance that magnificent hymn by Chorley—

"God, the all-terrible! King who ordainest  
Great winds Thy clarions, the lightnings Thy sword;  
Show forth Thy pity on high where Thou reignest:  
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord,"

which few who have heard sung in Norwich Cathedral to the Russian Anthem, as arranged by Dr Buck, will ever forget); and also space for all thanksgiving hymns, including those for harvest festivals under THANKSGIVINGS FOR PLENTY. Of these glad songs none are finer than those we owe to Germany, *Nun danket* and *Ein' feste Burg*.

5. ADVENT ought to embrace hymns on the first-coming of our Lord, in great humility, with those that look forward to His return in glorious majesty. We should hardly know Advent Sunday without its song of welcome—

"Hark, the glad sound! the Saviour comes."

And yet this may well be combined with the yet loftier hope of the expectant Church—

“Lo, He comes, with clouds descending,”

and even with the deeply pathetic *Dies iræ*, which, as translated by Dr Irons, and lately set to music by Dr Gauntlett, touches some of the deepest chords in the human heart.

6. CHRISTMAS will give scope for all the lovely hymns and chorales with which the Church has celebrated the infinite grace of Bethlehem. It needs but to mention two, as specimens, which are dear to us all—

“Hark, the herald angels sing,”

by Charles Wesley, and the *Adeste fideles*, by Bonaventura.

7. THE SUNDAYS AFTER CHRISTMAS will recall the solemn thoughts that shadow the close of one year and the opening of another; this last interwoven with the Circumcision of our Lord, as in Keble's words—

“The year begins with Thee,  
And Thou beginn'st with woe.”

8. Then THE EPIPHANY, and THE SUNDAYS AFTER THE EPIPHANY, not only fitly embrace such hymns as that by Bishop Heber—

“Brightest and best of the Sons of the morning,”

but seem to me reasonably to include hymns on missions to Jews and Gentiles; for the services of our Prayer-Book throughout that season breathe a thoroughly missionary spirit—from its first Collect to its latest Gospel. Among such hymns, that paraphrase of the 72d Psalm, by James Montgomery,

“Hail to the Lord's Anointed,”

stands on a level with another of Bishop Heber's—

“From Greenland's icy mountains.”

9. LENT, I need not say, suggests all penitential hymns suitable for that season, and for all other times of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. Of this the Church has so rich a provision, that we cannot but remember a stanza out of one of her richest voices of joy, the *Alleluia*, *dulce carmen*—

“Alleluia! songs of gladness  
Suit not always souls forlorn;  
Alleluia! sounds of sadness  
Mid our joyful strains are borne;  
For in this dark world of sorrow,  
We with tears our sins must mourn.”

Among those hymns of contrition, which seem to have entwined themselves most closely around her heart, is that by Charles Wesley—

“Jesu, lover of my soul,  
Let me to Thy bosom fly;”

and never, it seems to me, did verse find more perfect expression in music, than this last in the tune “Hollingside,” by Dr Dykes, as given in “Hymns Ancient and Modern;” and to this I would add a true aspiration of the soul Godward, by S. F. Adams—

“Nearer, my God, to Thee; nearer to Thee,”

and that exquisite plaint of the crushed heart by James Montgomery—

“In the hour of trial,  
Jesu, pray for me;”

and that touching translation from the Greek of St Stephen the Sabaite, by Dr Neale—

“Art thou weary? art thou languid?”

and a hymn written by one who has just exchanged the songs of the Church Militant for those of the Paradise of the blessed dead—

“Just as I am, without one plea,  
But that Thy blood was shed for me,  
And that Thou bidd’st me come to Thee;  
O Lamb of God, I come.”

I believe that eternity alone will disclose all that hymn has done for the weary and broken-hearted.

10. PASSION WEEK can utter but one prevalent cry, “By Thy cross and passion, good Lord, deliver us.” We have a few most tender hymns and translations, as that by Dr Watts—

“When I survey the wondrous cross;”

that by Dr Faber—

“O come and mourn with me awhile;”

and that by Paul Gerhardt, in imitation of St Bernard’s *Salve caput cruentatum*—

“O sacred head once wounded.”

But there seems to me still room here in our English Hymnody for more hymns to draw us into sacred fellowship with the sufferings of our Lord.

11. EASTER is interlinked in the minds of us all, from our very childhood, with that burst of Hallelujah joy—

“Christ, the Lord, is risen to-day;”

and with this is now worthily associated that “glorious old hymn of victory,” composed by St John Damascene, and translated by Dr Neale—

“The day of Resurrection,  
Earth, tell it out abroad;  
The Passover of gladness,  
The Passover of God!”

And THE SUNDAYS AFTER EASTER will naturally embrace hymns on the Lord’s Day, instituted and sanctified as the Christian Sabbath from the first Easter of the Church; among which, that by Bishop Wordsworth—

“O day of rest and gladness,”

must ever, I conceive, hold a foremost place.

12. One of the features which has ever distinguished the psalmody of the Christian from that of the Jewish Church has been hymns on heaven. The glimpses of “Jerusalem the golden,” in the Apocalypse, have afforded the sweetest incentive to her songs in the house of her pilgrimage. There is, indeed, an obvious danger of indulging in

the language of sensuous materialism.\* But the truest corrective for this seems to lie in connecting our thoughts of heaven with our risen and ascended Lord. *Tu, devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna cælorum.* This Christward yearning ASCENSION-TIDE solicits and fosters, as in that most beautiful hymn, breathed into music in the tune "Olivet," by Dr Dykes—

"Thou art gone up on high,  
To mansions in the skies,  
And round Thy throne unceasingly  
The songs of praise arise;  
But we are lingering here,  
With sin and care oppressed;  
Lord, send Thy promised Comforter,  
And lead us to Thy rest."

We cannot greatly err when we plead in song, as in prayer, that like as we do believe our Lord Jesus Christ to have ascended into the heavens, so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with Him continually dwell.

13. WHITSUNTIDE will naturally include all hymns on the Divine Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Among them the noble hymn by James Montgomery—

"Lord God, the Holy Ghost,  
In this accepted hour,  
As on the day of Pentecost,  
Descend in all Thy power,"

and that by H. Auber—

"Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed  
His tender last farewell,"

seem rising to just pre-eminence; but we need more hymns setting forth the manifold work of the Eternal Spirit.

14. On TRINITY SUNDAY we instinctively dwell on the glories of the Triune name. There is a beautiful little hymn by the late Dr Rorison—

"Three in One, and One in Three,  
Ruler of earth and sea,  
Hear us while we lift to Thee  
Holy chant and psalm,"

and one or two others which are usually sung on this day. But on this sublimest theme we still sorely need more adoration in song.

15. Under the SUNDAYS AFTER TRINITY, including half the Christian year, more liberty seems accorded to the devout worshipper for contemplating the various graces and duties which are founded on the facts of our most holy faith. And in this undivided section of the year might be reasonably placed all such hymns as treat of Public Worship, Creation, the Holy Scriptures, Faith, Love, Holiness, and the Pilgrim or

\* "Often we find the external imagery of heaven reproduced in language so exaggerated, sometimes so vulgar and so sensuous, that the worshipper is led altogether to forget the words of Him who told us that 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be.' The pitch of materialism to which this has been carried can hardly be imagined by those who have not seen some of the latest and most popular of what are called the Jerusalem Hymns, in which, as has been well said, the writer, urged on in this lamentable style, has dared to overlay the august imaginations of the Apocalypse with the effeminate fancies of a sensuous æstheticism, to turn the crystal sea into a pond for water-lilies."—*The Praise of God; a Sermon by the Rev. R. Brown-Borthwick.*

Militant character of the Church. Time alone forbids me to give more than two or three examples, of which I would select, under the head of *Faith*, that wonderful condensation of the gospel by Dr Ray Palmer of New York—

“ My faith looks up to Thee,  
Thou Lamb of Calvary,  
Saviour divine,”

a hymn which holds in America the same place as Toplady’s “ Rock of Ages” amongst ourselves, and higher praise could hardly be accorded it than this. Under the head of *Love*\* that by Newton—

“ How sweet the name of Jesus sounds !”

and under the head of *Holiness* that true breathing of the soul after likeness with its Lord by J. H. Gurney—

“ Lord, as to Thy dear cross we flee,  
And plead to be forgiven,  
So let Thy life our pattern be,  
And form our souls for heaven.”

16. SAINTS’ DAYS will afford all the scope required for hymns that celebrate the grace of God in the apostles, prophets, and martyrs of the Church, in the Virgin Mary, and in that great multitude, which no man can number, of those who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, and in the holy angels who minister to the heirs of salvation. Among these are three hymns—one written by the Rev. W. Walsham How, for Troyte’s Chant (No. 2), beginning—

“ For all the saints who from their labours rest,  
Who Thee by Faith before the world confessed,  
Thy name, O Jesu, be for ever blessed—Alleluia.”

one by Bishop Wordsworth for “ All Saints”—

“ Hark, the sound of holy voices chanting at the crystal sea,”

and one by Dr Faber on the ministry of angels—

“ Hark, hark, my soul, angelic songs are swelling,”

which seem likely to win a place side by side with those which have long been the heritage of the Church—

“ The Son of God goes forth to war,”

by Heber ;

“ Lo, round the throne at God’s right hand,”

\* Under the hymns of love I should like to draw the attention of others to a hymn, also by Dr Ray Palmer, not known to me until my visit to America last year, and I think almost unknown in England. It seems to me one of the highest merit :—

“ Jesus, these eyes have never seen  
That radiant form of Thine ;  
The veil of sense hangs dark between  
Thy blessed face and mine.

“ I see Thee not, I hear Thee not,  
Yet art Thou oft with me ;  
And earth hath not so dear a spot  
As where I meet with Thee.

“ Like some bright dream, that comes un-  
sought,  
When slumbers o’er me roll,

Thine image ever fills my heart,  
And charms my ravished soul.

“ Yet though I have not seen, and still  
Must rest in faith alone,  
I love Thee, dearest Lord, and will,  
Unseen, but not unknown.

“ When death these mortal eyes shall seal,  
And still this throbbing heart,  
The rending veil shall Thee reveal,  
All glorious as Thou art.”

by M. L. Duncan ; and

“ Head of the Church triumphant,”

by C. Wesley.

17. Hymns to be sung at the ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER will fitly be introduced by those on Almsgiving, of which there is at present but a scant supply. And I fear the same scarcity exists—though I confess this is to me a matter of great surprise—in standard hymns for the Holy Communion. If we except Dr Doddridge's hymn, so long bound up with the new version of the Psalms—

“ My God, and is Thy table spread,”

and James Montgomery's

“ According to Thy gracious word,”

and Dr Bonar's

“ Here, O my Lord, I see Thee face to face,”

and place them in the first rank, I think we might number on the fingers of one hand the other Eucharistic hymns which bear the broad stamp of the Church's approval.

18. This poverty is yet more apparent in hymns for HOLY BAPTISM. Dr Monsell's hymn—

“ God of that glorious gift of grace,”

seems to me *facile princeps*; but we greatly need more. And the BAPTISM OF SUCH AS ARE OF RIPER YEARS, though presenting so noble a subject for the triumph songs of the Church Militant, is almost unprovided with them.

19. The CATECHISM affords the requisite opportunity for hymns for children, of which the Church of Christ possesses a rich store. But I would venture to record my humble protest against degrading children's hymns to too low a level. I think, under the salutary dread of shooting above the heads of children, there is no small danger of falling into the opposite extreme. Children's hymns need not be childish. And, as far as my experience goes, children are quite as fond of hymns expressed in the strong nervous language of Scripture and the Liturgy as of those which remind us rather of the nursery than of the Church. We have no Child's Bible. Moses was commanded to read the law before the little ones as well as the elders. Young Timothy was taught the stately Scriptures of the Old Testament. I do not mean that hymns for infants, whether used at home or at school, may not fitly be couched in “ the simplest form of speech that infant lips can try ;” but for all above the age of infants I believe that such hymns as that noble song—

“ Hosanna ! raise the pealing hymn,”

by the late Canon Havergal ;

“ There is a path that leads to God,”

by J. Taylor ;

“ By cool Siloam's shady rill,”

by Bishop Heber ;

“ Around the throne of God in heaven,”

by Houlditch ; and a well-known but anonymous hymn—

“ God of mercy throned on high,”

are among those children love best, and sing most heartily.

20. CONFIRMATION. Here the Church is indebted to Bishop Hinds for a hymn, I think, rarely equalled in beauty and pathos and power—

“Lord, shall Thy children come to Thee,”

and there are many others so easily adaptable to this service, that the want of special hymns, which does exist, is not so severely felt.

21. HOLY MATRIMONY surely ought to have called forth more joyous nuptial hymns than we possess. I would there were more song at our marriage festivals. Keble's beautiful verses—

“The voice that breathed o'er Eden,”

stand very much alone. Surely, if ever, at such a season the voice of joy and rest ought to find utterance in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.

22. THE VISITATION AND COMMUNION OF THE SICK stand next in our Prayer-Book, and afford space for those hymns of more private experience which may be read, or, in some cases, softly sung in the chamber of sickness, or beside the dying bed. For myself, I should be very sorry to see such hymns as Sir R. Grant's—

“When gathering clouds around I view ;”

or Cowper's—

“Oh, for a closer walk with God ;”

or Miss Waring's—

“Father, I know that all my life ;”

or Dr Faber's—

“O Paradise ! O Paradise !”

or Toplady's—

“Deathless principle, arise !”

although each song breathes the experience, not of many hearts and lives, but of one, banished from our Church Hymnals.

23. THE ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD offers scope for such consoling and strengthening meditations as Bishop Heber's—

“Thou art gone to the grave ; but we will not deplore thee,”

most exquisitely set to music in the tune “Clewes,” by Mr Bambridge ; or Dean Milman's—

“Brother, thou art gone before us ;”

or for other thoughts that cluster around Easter and Ascension.

24. If for the CHURCHING OF WOMEN and the COMMUNION SERVICE respectively, we refer to hymns of general praise, or penitence, we now come to the PSALTER. For my own part, I believe that the reasons urged by Sir Roundell Palmer against a systematic version of the Psalms are unanswerable. Wherever there is sufficient musical power in a congregation to chant them distinctly and efficiently, in my judgment, they ought to be chanted. Their name from ψάλλω, “to sing to a harp,” indicates this. The Jewish Church sang them. Our Lord and His Apostles sang them. The Christian Church for 1800 years has sung as well as said them. But whatever system is pursued with regard to saying or singing the Psalms, a good Church Hymnal must comprise a large number of hymns of which the key-note is praise ; and as this may justly be called the prevalent character of the Psalter, such hymns may reasonably occupy the corresponding place. Many of

these, without pretending to be versions, are yet founded on the Psalms ; as that by Watts on the 100th Psalm—

“ Before Jehovah’s awful throne ; ”

or that by Sir R. Grant on the 104th Psalm—

“ O worship the King ; ”

and, to confine ourselves more strictly to hymns, that by Addison—

“ When all Thy mercies, O my God ; ”

that by Perronet—

“ All hail the power of Jesus’ name ; ”

that by J. Montgomery—

“ Songs of praise the angels sang ; ”

that by Lyte—

“ Praise, my soul, the King of heaven ; ”

those two by Watts, who is especially felicitous in his hymns of praise—

“ Come, let us join our cheerful songs,”

and

“ Join all the glorious names ; ”

and that glorious anthem of creation’s gratitude which is attributed to Godescalcus, and translated by Dr Neale—

“ The strain upraise of joy and praise.”

These, and many others of a like character, and scarcely inferior merit, will here find their appropriate place.

25. THE FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA will suggest the need of hymns to be sung by sailors and travellers, as well as by those at home who pray for all that travel by land or by water. Mr Whiting’s hymn—

“ Eternal Father, strong to save,”

now for ever associated with the tune “ Melita,” assigned to it in “ Hymns Ancient and Modern,” satisfies one of these demands.

26. THE ORDERING OF PRIESTS in its *Veni Creator Spiritus* itself supplies the noblest of hymns for that service ; and

27. THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE QUEEN’S ACCESSION offers occasion for the introduction of the National Anthem, and other hymns of patriotic worship.

On a review of the whole, so far as I am aware, every subject required in public devotions, with one exception (I mean, “ For the Consecration of a Church,” for which we have at present no authorised service), may be arranged under the existing divisions of our Prayer-Book, and may thus be used by those familiar with the Liturgy with the utmost facility. This arrangement by no means compels a rigid and exclusive adherence to the retention of certain hymns for certain Sundays and holy days, as if then, and then only, they were to be sung. But just as we all know where to go for a Collect on any given subject in our Prayer-Books, so should we find the same facilities in using a Hymnal compiled on these principles. If, for example, at any season of the year the preacher were preaching on our Lord’s Incarnation, or on Contrition, or on the Atonement, or on Resurrection Life, or on the Work of the Spirit, and



desired a hymn to be sung appropriate to his discourse, he would only have to turn in his Hymnal to Christmas, or Lent, or Passion Week, or Easter, or Whitsuntide.

Those subjects, for which more hymns are especially needed, seem to be—

1. On the Cross and Passion of our Lord.
2. On the Mission and Work of God the Holy Ghost.
3. On Trinity Sunday.
4. On Almsgiving.
5. On the Holy Communion, and on Baptism, and more particularly Adult Baptism.
6. On Confirmation.
7. On Matrimony ; and
8. Additional hymns of sustained dignity of thought and language for children.

If this be so, we must plead for the supply of this serious deficiency with earnest intercessions and prayers as we stand by faith at the foot of the cross, and kneel before the unveiled mercy-seat. Hymns are the gift of God to His people. Hymns are the faint echo on earth of the lofty strains in heaven. Hymns are the response of hearts to the voice of the Holy Ghost. They cannot be elaborated by mere human toil or skill. If we would write them, if we would have others write them for us, we must pray humbly and persistently for ourselves and for them, that we and they may be taught of God. What the Divine Spirit vouchsafes to prompt, that He deigns to use. The powerful indescribable influence which attaches to some hymns, admits, I believe, of no other explanation. They have been given to the suppliant at the throne of grace, as expressed by Keble in his own beautiful dedication to the Christian year :—

“ Prayer is the secret, to myself I said ;  
Strong supplication must draw down the charm.  
And thus with untuned heart I feebly prayed,  
Knocking at heaven's gate with earth-palsied arm.”

Such petitioners will not seek in vain. They will, at least, ere long sing with melody in their hearts to the Lord, and, in God's own time, the inner fountain of musical song will gush forth and supply all the needs of His interceding Church.

Trust in Jesus, love to Jesus, adoration of Jesus, the cry, “ Even so come, Lord Jesus,”—these are the distinctive breathings of the Spirit of God in the hymns of the Christian Church. There are some admirable remarks of Canon Liddon, in his “ Bampton Lectures,” on the Christology of hymns. He says : “ Hymnody actively educates, while it partially satisfies the instinct of worship. It is a less formal and sustained act of worship than prayer, yet it may really involve transient acts of the deepest adoration. But, because it is less formal, because, in using it, the soul can pass, as it were, unobserved and at will, from mere sympathetic states of feeling to adoration, and from adoration back to passive although reverent sympathy, hymnody has always been a popular instrument for the expression of religious feeling. And from the first years of Christianity, it seems to have been especially consecrated to the honour of the Redeemer. . . . Of the early hymns

of the Church of Christ, some remain to this day as witnesses and expressions of her faith in Christ's Divinity. Such are the *Tersanctus* and the *Gloria in excelsis*. Both belong to the second century; both were introduced, it is difficult to say how early, into the Eucharistic Office, both pay divine honours to our blessed Lord. As each morning dawned, the Christian of primitive days repeated in private the *Gloria in excelsis*. It was his hymn of supplication and praise to Christ. How wonderfully does it blend the appeal to our Lord's human sympathies with the confession of His divine prerogatives! How thrilling is that burst of praise which at last drowns the plaintive notes of entreaty that have preceded it, and hails Jesus Christ glorified on His throne in the heights of heaven!" Each evening, too, in those early times, the Christian offered another hymn, less known among ourselves, but scarcely less beautiful. It too was addressed to Jesus in His Majesty:—

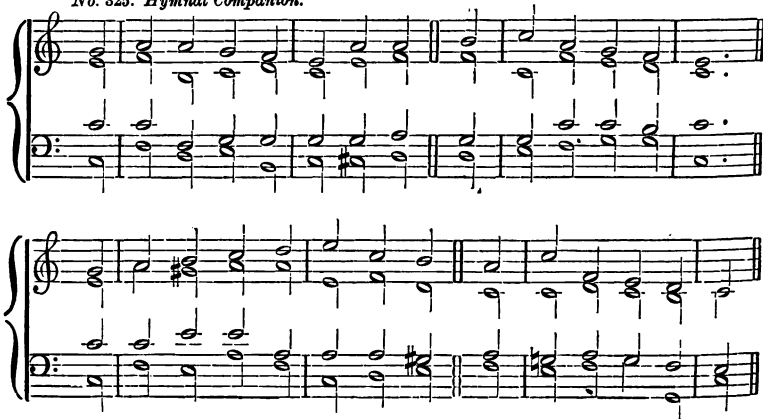
"Hail, gladdening Light, of His pure glory poured,  
Who is the immortal Father, heavenly, blest,  
Holiest of Holies, Jesus Christ our Lord!  
Now we are come to the sun's hour of rest,  
The lights of evening round us shine;  
We hymn the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit Divine!  
Worthiest art Thou at all times to be sung  
With undefiled tongue,  
Son of our God, Giver of Life, Alone!  
Therefore in all the world Thy glories, Lord, they own."

From this testimony of Jesus, the Church of Christ, for eighteen centuries, has never swerved, and, by the help of God, never will swerve.

And now, if it will not seem presumptuous, I would venture, in closing these very imperfect, and almost, of necessity, desultory remarks, to ask the choir to sing a hymn of my own on Confirmation, founded on the triple vow ratified in that solemn service, and on the benedictory prayer that follows. It has been set to music by my friend, Mr Brown-Borthwick, and may serve as a humble specimen of the way in which I conceive the study of the Prayer-Book may at least suggest the keynote of a hymn:—

[To be sung after the benedictory prayer, "Defend, O Lord, this Thy servant with Thy heavenly grace, that he may continue Thine for ever," &c.]

No. 325. *Hymnal Companion*.



"I am Thine: save me."—Ps. cxix. 94. C.M.

"Thine: Thine for ever!"—blessèd bond  
That knits us, Lord, to Thee:  
May voice, and heart, and soul respond,  
Amen: so let it be.

When this world strikes its dulcet harp,  
And earth our heaven appears,  
Be "Thine for ever," clear and sharp,  
God's trumpet in our ears.

When sin in pleasure's soft disguise  
Would work us deadliest harm,  
May "Thine for ever" from the skies  
Steal down, and break the charm.

When Satan flings his fiery darts  
Against our weary shield,  
May "Thine for ever" in our hearts  
Forbid us faint or yield.

Thine all along the flowery spring,  
Along the summer prime,  
Till autumn fades in welcoming  
The silver frost of time.

"Thine: Thine for ever!"—body, soul,  
Henceforth devote to Thee,  
While everlasting ages roll:  
Amen: so let it be.

Let the name of Jesus be our only watchword; let the glory of God be our only ambition; let the grace of the Holy Spirit be our only strength; let the Holy Scriptures be our only well-spring of thought; let our beloved Liturgy, as founded on, and ever appealing to those Scriptures as the rule of her faith, be our common standard of reference, and surely England's Church may hope in time to imprint on the title-page of a National Hymnal one of the shortest but one of the sweetest of the canticles of the Church of old: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity: It is like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments; as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore."

The Rev. Dr DYKES, Vicar of St Oswald's, Durham, read the following:—

As Church Music has been divided by the HOLY GHOST Himself into three classes, it will be reverent as well as convenient to adopt a division which comes to us with such high sanction—"Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs."

I am aware that there is diversity of opinion as to the special significance of these three terms. I can simply adopt the view which commends itself most to my own mind, and which I have elsewhere expressed, that the three words carry with them some secret relation to the Three Persons of the Blessed TRINITY.

1. The "*Psalms*," flowing from and linking us with the old Dispensation, seem to lead us up to "the FATHER of an infinite majesty."

2. The "*Hymns*," originating as they do from the Eucharistic Hymn in the Upper Room, bring us into special connection with our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

3. The "*Spiritual Songs*," as their very name indicates, rather represent the free, unrestrained outbreathings in holy song of that Divine SPIRIT which animates and inspires the Body of CHRIST.

So that we find the *first* in our Psalters; the *second* chiefly in our Liturgical or Office hymns; the *third* in our metrical songs or odes—our "*Hymns*" commonly called—in which Christian feeling has ever

delighted to find expression. The first class is rather occupied with GOD Himself. The second, with GOD in His dealings with man through the one Mediator. The third, with man in his dealings with GOD, through the SPIRIT of GOD quickening him. Reverence and devotion speak in the first; dogma finds utterance in the second; Christian emotion in the third.

I. To begin, then, with the first division—the Psalter, and psalm-chanting. And here I find myself at once in a region of controversy, as to the relative claims of Anglican or Gregorian chants. I do not intend, however, to set myself up as the advocate for either system to the exclusion of the other; as I am convinced that *both* may and should be freely employed.

There is one aspect of the question which, I think, has been too much lost sight of. The Psalter belongs to no time, or people, or age. It is neither ancient nor modern; rather, it is both “ancient *and* modern.” It is the inspired prayer and praise-book of GOD’s people in every time and place. Though mainly speaking the language of GOD’s ancient Church, it is yet the devotional manual of the whole mystical Body of CHRIST; that “great nation,” as the sand of the sea innumerable; that true and mystic “Seed,” out of every people and tongue, on whom the “Blessing of Abraham” eternally rests.

Now I cannot but think that this *œcumenical* character of the Psalter should find some expression even in the music to which it is allied.

Keeping, then, for the present, to this line only, it appears to me that the melodies to which it is sung should be neither exclusively new nor exclusively old—but “new *and* old.”

It is plainly incongruous to confine these venerable hymns of GOD’s ancient Church, as many would have us do, entirely to post-Reformation, nay, to nineteenth century tunes; as though the Psalter were the peculiar heritage of the English Church of to-day. But is it not similarly incongruous to *confine* it to a very few ancient melodies of Western Christendom, as though the Psalter only belonged to the Latin Church?

It seems to me that, on principle, we ought to use—at least, that there is no valid reason why we should *not* use—chants ancient and modern alike, just as either may prove most convenient.

I would, then, for this as for every other reason, advocate the free use of either Anglican, or (so-called) Gregorian melodies. I presume we are all well-nigh sick of the controversy on this endless subject which periodically crops up. I say endless, because where both sides are so much in the right, neither side can own defeat.

I am, of course, referring to honest controversy and rational argument. For the silly utterances, on one side, as to Gregorians being the very inspired melodies of the Temple, and as to the essential connection between Anglicans and heresy; or, on the other, as to these same Gregorians being barbarous, Popish, intolerable to the musician, and so on—these and the like are not to be accounted as arguments.

On one practical point I must touch. It is often urged, How *congregational* your chanting when you are Gregorians! how feeble when you employ Anglicans! But you must remember this:—Till recently we have had but *one* Gregorian Psalter—I mean, but one extensively used—Mr Helmore’s. The consequence is, that our “High Church” con-

gregations, being accustomed to hear the same melodies always wedded to the same psalm, have learned to sing them out "lustily and with a good courage." Until any really good Anglican Psalter, with chants adapted equally for unisonous and harmonised singing, has had a similar chance, very little stress can be laid upon the argument as to the exclusive adaptability of Gregorian chants for congregational singing.

But here an important question arises—Is the loud and lusty singing of the Psalter the *only* result to be aimed at? I cannot think so.

We must remember that in no part of the Church is such practical and general use made of the Psalter as in our own. The Psalms are recited privately elsewhere. Certain festival psalms, the Sunday Vesper-psalms for instance, are known and heartily sung by the people in the Roman Church. But nowhere save in the English Church, is the Psalter publicly sung *throughout*, chanted day by day, as part of the sacrifice of praise of the whole congregation. Surely then we ought to make the most of this signal privilege.

Now, without saying one word in disparagement of the labours of Mr Helmore—of whom every Churchman can only speak with grateful and affectionate respect—is it to be *desired* that his Psalter should become the *one* Psalter of the English Church, merely in order to insure lusty congregational chanting? Would he wish it himself? I feel sure he would not. He and others have been successful pioneers—all honour and thanks to them. But we must not think we have reached our ultimatum. We must still go on: not stupidly dogmatising, but learning, and making experiments, and mistakes; remembering that many questions as to the really best mode of singing the Psalms are still unsolved.

In the case of modern *hymns*, which have *one* definite meaning, it is very fitting that each should be associated with its own tune. Not so with the inspired Psalms. Their meaning is manifold. They express many sides of truth. "Full of eyes," gleaming with divine intelligence, they flash forth mysterious lights in all directions. I do not then consider it at all desirable that each psalm should be for ever wedded to one melody. *Who* wishes to hear that wonderful Psalm on the 15th evening always sung to the Second Tone? It is very easy to shout out the Psalter in a mechanical, parrot-like manner; but should we not aim at something beyond this? I have often been struck with the new meaning and intelligence imparted to a psalm by a judicious change of chant; and with the pleasing relief afforded by the substitution of one system of chanting for the other. Each system, the Anglican and the Gregorian, has its special merits; and I should deeply regret the loss of either.

I think that a great deal more might be done in the way of alternating harmony with unison in psalm-chanting. If the psalms are long, this is a great relief.

Our usual *unison*-singing (so called) is not pure unison: it is *octave*-singing, which, continued for any length of time, is no less bad for voices than it is painful to musical ears. I know nothing more thoroughly distressing than a so-called "plain-song" service, where you have this octave-singing throughout. Of course, in the case of small choirs, it is very convenient to have music which does not demand vocal

harmony. But a choir that can only sing in octaves is little better than no choir at all.

Harmony is of Northern origin. And it is strange how in many parts of the North (take, for instance, parts of Yorkshire) the choirs cannot tolerate continuous unison-singing. They reject the Gregorian chants, because they do not come to them in harmonised form. I should, then, be an advocate for the free admixture of *pure unison* (now bass, now treble), of *harmonised*, and of occasional *octave* singing, in our psalm-recitation.

The one great crux is the pointing.

One way of getting over this difficulty would be for our choirs to have two sets of Psalters, one pointed for Anglican, the other for Gregorian chanting.

A simpler and better way, and a way adopted in some of our recent Gregorian Psalters, is to have only one book, but to have some of the psalms pointed with a mediation and cadence of three and five syllables respectively, to suit our modern Anglican system; some with the mediation and cadence of four and six, and some of two and three, so as to suit the chief forms of Gregorian chanting: and then further—which has not yet been done—to have a carefully selected body of chants, ancient and modern, fairly representing the best of each;—the Gregorians, as a rule, being such as are susceptible of simple rational harmony, and the Anglicans, as a rule, such as are susceptible of unison or octave singing.

The more we conform to the ordinary Gregorian rules of pointing, even for Anglican chants, the better. Let it be quite *syllabic*, wherever possible. Where this cannot be, sing two, or even more notes to a syllable, but never, save in the most extreme cases—and at the close of a whole or half verse absolutely *never*—two or more syllables to a note. Fancy singing two such words as “caterpillars innumerable” to two musical notes! The Psalter where these true rules for *Anglican* pointing are most consistently carried out, is the one published by the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. Our great aim must be, not to keep Anglican and Gregorian chanting distinct, but to amalgamate the two; not to discard either our beautiful *ancient* chant-melodies, or our *modern* ones, many of which are thoroughly good, but to utilise *both*.

My limited time prevents me even touching upon many important matters of detail which seem to call for notice, as I must hasten on to my second division—viz., Hymns. Before I do so, however, I must ask the choir to be so good as to sing two chants—one, a fragment of Hebrew melody, adapted to the 51st Psalm, “Have mercy:” the other, a simple Anglican melody, adapted to the 137th Psalm, “By the waters of Babylon.”

II. This second word of the Apostle I rather associate with the Holy Eucharist. “When they had sung an hymn,” ὑμνήσαντες, ἐξῆλθον. And I include under this title the sacramental or dogmatic hymnody of the Church, prose or metrical, the Church’s Office-music, the music of the Incarnation: The ὕμνος of old was specially a festive song in praise of the gods or heroes. Justin Martyr tells us how the early Christians sang hymns to CHRIST as to God. The word ὑμνῶν is used but on three occasions in the New Testament; *once*, of our Lord and His

Apostles singing together at the first Eucharist; *once*, when St Paul quotes the Redeemer as appropriating to Himself the words of the Psalter, "In the midst of the Church will I sing hymns to thee," ὕμνησω Σ; and *once*, in the case of Paul and Silas, in the prison at Philippi, of whom we read that at midnight they offered up prayer and hymns to God, προσευχόμενοι ὕμνον τὸν Θεόν—"In their prayers they were singing hymns to God." They were singing on their knees. The prayers and hymnody formed a continuous act of devotion. Here, again, we see the special meaning of ὕμνω. It expresses singing in the way of direct worship. It is singing to CHRIST, and with CHRIST. It is the special word for the praise-utterances of the Mystical Body of CHRIST. The devout songsters little knew WHO was joining, according to His promise, in their sacred hymns. But the great earthquake presently told of that Mysterious Presence. Not only were the holy prisoners delivered from their bondage; their very jailer and his household were delivered from a worse bondage—from the bondage of Satan, into the liberty of God's children. "He was baptized, he and all his straightway."

Now, as it is in our Eucharistic worship, where "with all the company of heaven" we laud and magnify the Triune, that Church-Hymnody proper receives its most intense realisation, when we offer up in "Sanctus," "Credo," "Gloria" (and, where used, Alleluia, Sequence, "Benedictus," "Agnus Dei"), adoring songs to and with CHRIST; so, in this solemn Office, should our music be *most* reverent, *most* faultless, *most* appropriate.

And yet it is just *here* one most feels the inadequacy of any earthly vehicle of praise to embody and express our worship. It is not *only* carelessness that has brought about the very common cessation of music in the Eucharistic Office.

Much as I love music, I am often disposed to wish it might cease altogether, when we hear solemn and touching words associated with the most uncouth crudities of many-noted plain-song, sung in octaves with incongruous and laboured organ harmonies—performances to which Mr Macfarren's severe strictures are only too applicable, when he speaks of compositions which "evinced mistaken zeal, false anti-quarianism, illogical deductiveness, and ecclesiastical error."

How far the opposite attempt to introduce the showy Mass-music of Haydn and Mozart, with full orchestral accompaniments, is likely to tend to devotion and reverence and edification, I am afraid to hazard an opinion. I appreciate the motive—to give our best to God. And if orchestra and choir were Angels, all might be well. But is there not too much fear—taking us poor creatures, singers and fiddlers, at what we are—lest an intense act of worship, in which we sing on our knees, as it were, to CHRIST and with CHRIST, should degenerate into a mere occasion for sensuous and æsthetic gratification? Our Church has a due regard for the comforting of such as delight in music, by providing, in the Anthem, a special musical offering where devout musical feeling may find its legitimate gratification. And I am quite disposed to think that could our parish *bands* be generally restored, and utilised in our service, especially on festive occasions, it would be a very good thing. But hardly at Holy Communion. I cannot but feel that, as a rule,

that noble instrument which GOD has given to His Church—the *organ*, with its many voices, and only one performer, figuring the myriad utterances of the SPIRIT of GOD under the hands of the Chief Musician—must satisfy us for our solemn Eucharistic Office. The fewer that are off their knees then, the better.

The practice of introducing a little appropriate music—hymns or organ Voluntaries—during “Communion time,” is a very useful and pleasing one, provided the music is not too obtrusive, or too continuous. This custom seems to have always held its ground. Merbecke’s book—the only book possessing any musical authority—provides two settings of the “*Agnus Dei*” to be used at this time, one for ordinary, the other for Funeral Celebrations. For a prose hymn, nothing could be more touchingly appropriate. When I was a lad, I was accustomed to hear Doddridge’s hymn, “My GOD, and is Thy table spread,” sung during Communion. We have now, thank GOD, an abundance of beautiful hymns, ancient and modern, for this time. The music which Merbecke has used for his funeral “*Agnus Dei*” is the same strange and beautiful melody which Tallis has introduced at the close of his festal Litany, containing the abrupt transition at each cadence from the key of F to that of G.

I will ask the choir to be so good as to sing this, together with the short “*Benedictus*,” also from Merbecke. The words of the “*Benedictus*” are, “Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord;” those of the “*Agnus Dei*,” “O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace.” I should just state, that in the copies we happen to have to-night, and which I have not had time to alter, the words are from the Sarum Office of the Dead, and instead of “Grant us Thy peace,” have “Grant them Rest Eternal.” But this does not affect the music.

The priest’s part in the Communion Office, according to Merbecke, writing under Cranmer’s supervision, is in monotone. I do think it a pity that the elaborate inflected song of the “Comfortable Words” and “Preface” (to say nothing of the Gospel) should be deemed a necessary adjunct to a High Service. If the priest has a very good voice, correct ear, and faultless intonation, all is well. But how frequently are these solemn parts of the service rendered simply painful and grotesque by the pious labours of unmusical priests to compass these difficult inflections. I do earnestly wish that many of my dear brethren would exercise a little self-restraint in this matter, and content themselves with the less ambitious, but more safe, monotone. Nay, far, far better have the priest’s part irregularly spoken in the natural voice, than discordantly sung to difficult and obtrusive inflections. In recommending monotone, after Cranmer, when a priest finds inflected song trying to his voice, I should not forget that a certain Colonial Bishop recently issued a wonderful Monition, in which he pronounced monotone *illegal*. Fortunately, we do not live in the diocese in question, so that this marvellous Ruling does not affect us.

III. But I must hurry on to add just a word on my third division. “*Spiritual songs*.” These last, I take it, whatever more definite meaning the expression might bear before the extraordinary gifts of the SPIRIT were withdrawn, may be fairly represented in the sacred songs,



hymns, or anthems, wherewith we brighten up our services, and wherein Christian sentiment and emotion find their legitimate vent. We might, perhaps, very roughly associate Psalm, Hymn, Spiritual Song, with Choir, Sanctuary, and Nave respectively of our churches.

It is impossible to estimate the good that popular hymnody has effected, in greatly helping on the great Revival which, through God's mercy, has been spreading throughout our borders. He was a wise man who said, "Let who will make the laws of a country; let me make its songs."

Our great danger now is being *deluged* with tunes and hymns. Some people have a perilous facility in writing; they can knock off any number of tunes or hymns with the utmost complacency. And no one shall be either better or worse for them. Having not come from the heart, they fail to reach the heart. It is not given to any to write *many* either hymns or tunes which will live on. I suppose, in one case, there must be "a live Coal from the Altar," and in the other, a special impulse from the "Chief Musician," before either song or melody is fit for the Sanctuary, or to do a work for GOD.

We are, practically, allowed considerable license in the selection and use of hymns, and we should wisely avail ourselves of it. We need, not only our solemn dogmatic Eucharistic or Office hymns, of the "*Veni Creator*," or "*O salutaris*" stamp (such as would rather fall under my second division); not only, again, the historical and didactic hymn; but also the more free and emotional ones of the "*O Paradise*," or "*Jerusalem the golden*" type. For this last class of hymn, though it should be used with discretion, and not made the staple of our Church psalmody, has yet a definite and important work to discharge. For our tunes, too, we need not only the stately German chorale; the fine old English psalm-tune; the flowing and unrhythmical plain-song melody, of which we possess some thoroughly grand specimens, all worthy of retention; but also the lighter modern English tunes. All these should be freely employed, care only being taken, in the last division, that the tunes be not too chromatic, or sentimental, or effeminate, and not adaptations from operas. For a good specimen of this modern style of tune, I would instance the admirable tune of Dr Wesley, "*Aurelia*," which has been sung at this morning's meeting. And for a specimen of a *bad* tune (whether ancient or modern I cannot say), may I be pardoned for instancing the tune sung to the "*Veni Creator*" at the opening of this Congress. I really think there should be a heavy fine imposed upon the Editor of every new Hymnal for the next six years. Our hymn-books, public and private, now may be counted by hundreds; and, nearly every week, some new supplement, or appendix, or complete hymnal is projected. All this shows a Church alive and at work; but it also shows the existence of a large amount of restlessness, caprice, and self-will. And where is it to end?

Many of these are honest attempts to meet real wants, and, as such, are entitled to respect. Others are mere heartless money speculations: and hymn and tune writers are teased into sending contributions, for which there is no call, in which they can feel no interest or enthusiasm, to the great detriment of genuine Church hymnody.

I cannot think, however, the time has come for a Convocation book.

What section of the Church would hail it? Attempting to please all, it would please none. Shocking nobody's prejudices, it would enlist nobody's sympathies.

"Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null,"

Like the good old-fashioned tracts of a Venerable Society, it would not touch the Church's heart. It would merely send into the field a new claimant on popular favour, and so add to existing confusion. What parish would give up its own popular book for the Convocation Hymnal? What new "Mitre Hymnal" would succeed in ousting, for instance, our old friend "Ancient and Modern?" The latter has been more abused, perhaps, than any other Hymnal, but it has steadily maintained its ground. And its daily increasing circulation shows that, somehow or other, it has met and satisfied a real want in the Church. It needs thorough revision, both of music and words (and it will meet with this some day): but I think Convocation must be very sanguine if it expects to bring out a book sufficiently successful to supersede this and other good Hymnals, which have established for themselves a position in the English Church.

It would not be amiss if the Bishops were to authorise a few of the existing Hymnals, which have the largest circulation, for general use. This might do something towards the promotion of a greater uniformity in our worship, and also towards stopping the reckless, and heartless, and meaningless, and bewildering multiplication of Hymnals.

Of children's hymns and services, of the use of metrical litanies, and their composition, of the best means of utilising women's voices in our choirs, and on the introduction of brass instruments at large choral gatherings, I should like to have said a few words, but have no time. I can only ask the choir, in conclusion, to be so good as to sing a setting of that noble hymn of our Right Rev. Chairman, to which no tune seems to do adequate justice, his grand All Saints Hymn, which you have on your Congress paper—

"Hark! the sound of holy voices."

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DR GAUNTLETT next addressed the meeting, occasionally reading from written notes.

I desire to say a few words on Song, as the *catholic* and *missionary* teaching power of the Church. The holy apostle says—

Teach in song.

Teach one another in song.

Giving thanks—that is, rejoice.

The practical improvement of the text is this—

1. I must *sing myself*.

2. I must make *others* sing.

3. I will give thanks, I will joy in music.

The obligation is personal, and links every one with his neighbour. It makes us all members of a singing council, a grand psalmody class, like—

minded, and of *one mouth*. No one objects to give thanks, and in all popular hymns we trace only one creed. Our songs are catholic and orthodox. Here is the real bond of union; and it is seen in some sort by the fact, that we sing the Dissenters' hymns, *they sing our hymns*, and in all the really popular hymns there is only one creed.

*My points to-night are*, Who is to sing? and What tune is to be sung? All are to sing; and to gain this end there should be, in all churches, the *psalmody class*. Mind, not the choral society, not the choir meeting, not the harmonic union, but the parochial psalmody class for real worship music; the weekly meeting of the singing power of the parish, for the purpose of gaining and keeping up the *habit* of singing in church. It must be a *habit*, a thing to be *done daily*. It must be a habit with all: no listeners, for listening is idle work, or rather no work at all. The music should be what all *old congregational music* is—very plain, simple, and easy, good for young men and maidens, old men and children. On Tuesday morning, at St Mary's, there was just four hundred years between the opening versicles and the psalm chants. Everybody could sing the old music, but few of the congregation could sing the new. The psalms belong to the people, who are the great complement that makes up the Church's unit. We must put some *manhood* into the psalm chant. The chant, however, is not my subject to-night; but, let me say, that up to 1730 the Gregorian chants were *our cathedral* chants; that all supposed old cathedral chants are forgeries, and that when the first cathedral chant-book was published about 1750, no one knew how to write down an English chant upon paper. If I were to give you a specimen from this book as it is printed, you would not be able to trace from it the present form of the Anglican chant. It is now a march. I may mention that there are no old chants among the Jews. Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer would gladly have used up any *really old* Hebrew melodies, but being scholars in music they knew better, and went to the pure fount of all church songs, where Bach and Handel had been before them.

I pass on to the hymn-tune, and then we begin to sing. First, we must sing in *time*. All things are ordered in weight, number, and measure—music is no exception. Harmony makes sounds alive, puts them into stream, and Time *MAKES* us sing, puts the pulse, the *to* and *fro* of life, into sounds, causing rhythm, and producing *STREAM* of sound. Time makes us all begin together, and we feel the pulses of the music in our nerves and muscles. We can walk to, and with, the tune; and our normal idea of motion in music is that called "*Andante*," or walking time. We give up the niceties of language-rhythms for the sake of the harmonic pulse in the music.\* Now let us sing a tune in *time*. The tune is called St Jerome; the hymn, "*The day is past and gone*."

\* And the chord must be true, harmonically correct, carrying on the stream. Bad harmony breaks stream, destroys the figure in the air, and the sounds are not continued; they will not travel. The best lesson the speaker ever received was that of finding he could not hear a particular chord in a tune of his own, when sung by his choir at the other end of the church.

## St Jerome.

Moderato.

From the "Church Hymn and Tune Book," 1850.

The day is past and gone; Great God, we bow to Thee; A -

- gain, as shades of night come on, Un - to Thy side we flee. A - men.

THE day is past and gone;  
Great God, we bow to Thee;  
Again, as shades of night come on,  
Unto Thy side we flee.

Oh, when shall that day come,  
Ne'er sinking in the west,  
That country, and that holy Home,  
Where none shall break our rest?

Where all things shall be peace  
And joyance without end,  
And golden harps that never cease  
With echoing lips shall blend—

Blend in their sweet accord  
Of deep, and full, and bright,  
Like sounds of many waters poured  
On the tranced ear of night.

So we, preserved beneath  
The sheltering of Thy wing,  
For evermore Thy praise shall breathe,  
And love Thee, Lord, and sing.

To God the Sire be praise,  
And to the Eternal Son:  
And to the Holy Ghost, always  
Co-equal Three in One. Amen.

—W. J. BLEW.

We now come to the question, What are we to sing? "St Jerome," though my own composition, is, in one respect, fifteen hundred years old, because it is formed of what may be called the elements of church song. The Christian Church has provided us with the elements for *thinking in sounds*, short turns of melody, short phrases, short cadences of every kind, character, and degree, portraying the mental condition of the singer. These elemental forms are founded on the modulations of tone used in human speech.\* They are mere sustainings of the staccato of ordinary speech. In common speech we use a range of five tones only, and chiefly only two—

\* In the old music, commonly called the Gregorian, there are no phrases indicating the bad passions of man. Those persons whose occupations in life bring them to the bed-side of the sick—such as the leech and the minister—rarely use in their speech more than the ordinary gamut of the old music. There are two seasons in a man's life in which he falls back to this limited range of expression. If a man, for the first time in his life, was somewhat ill, and thought he was going to be very ill, and sent for a doctor, he would be certain to talk Gregorian. Again, when a man falls in love, a condition to which we are all liable, he speaks Gregorian pure and beautiful. Woman, with her low, sweet voice, is also a great chanter in this way.

the rising tone, and the fall to the minor third below. "St Jerome" has the rising inflexion, the fall to the third, and the passage to the fourth. Many years ago I abstracted all the elemental forms, and put them into a melody, which you are about to hear. With the exception of the song of the Preface, in the office of Holy Communion, this melody contains pretty well the all of really old church song. The music to the Preface is not here; but, as a musician, I tell you it is a wonderful song—most heart-appealing, grand and sublime. So it ought to be, and so it is.

We will now sing this tune, Westminster Abbey, to "Come, Thou Fount of every blessing," a melody made from the *elemental* phrases of the church song.

In the hymn-tune should be considered its matter, its form, and its spirit. The matter, by which I mean thoughts, ideas in sounds, may be—I would rather say should be—of the old world. The form is of two kinds—the march, or the dance; for in these days all form comes to this. The *spirit* is another affair. There are three kinds of spirit—one where the composer says, *I believe*; the second where he says, *I make believe*; the third plainly saying, *I don't believe*. I propose to illustrate some of these positions. First, the litany—the spirit of prayer in music. In acts of worship we are not to resign our artistic perceptions of grace and beauty in sounds. No one is to lose anything of good by engaging in religious exercises. It is all increase this way, no decrease. In the tune you are about to hear there is much of art, but art within the capabilities of all the congregation, and appealing to all. As an illustration of the spirit of prayer, the choir will sing the "Rogation tune" to the hymn, "Lord, in this Thy mercy's day."

## Rogation Tune.

DR GAUNTLETT, 1861.

*Lento, Sostenuto.* *dim.*

Lord, in this Thy mercy's day, Ere it wholly pass a-way, On our knees we

*dim.*

*2nd verse pp and slower.*

fall and pray. Ho-ly Je-su, grant us tears, fill us with heart-searching fears,

*pp*

3rd verse major, and faster.

Ere that aw-ful doom ap-pears. Lord, on us Thy Spi-rit pour, Kneeling low-ly

at Thy door, Ere it close for ever-more; Ere it close for ev er-more. A - MEN.

No two Sundays are the same, hence the marvellous variety of spirit in hymn-tunes. The round of the Church season has made all this variety. When our Saviour was born, He came with His own choir, for there was no music in the world; and the presence of His choir announced that music was again to be restored to man. Hence the power of the *Festival*—the music for Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the other prominent days which have led to the creation of so much grand harmony. Our Christmas season has been badly off for bright music. The Latin tune, *Puer natus est*—the only Gregorian tune we retained—we turned into a funeral song, and called it “Old Windsor.” In these days we sing a German *Liedertafel*, to “Hark the herald angels sing;” and this, because Mendelssohn put it into a secular cantata for an Art Festival. So we say it is composed by Mendelssohn, and have made it our national Christmas carol! I have brought down four festival tunes, one for Christmas, one for Easter, one for Ascension-tide, and one for Whitsunday. The form for Christmas is new—the first line in crotchets, the second in minims—the first line having two syllables to the step, the other *one*. The second movement is in the dance form, a movement for which there is good authority in Holy Scripture. The Easter hymn is the old hymn, “*Finita jam sunt prœlia*,” set in a declamatory way—part in recitative and part in melody, like our English chant. In chanting, the declamation part is the comparatively *slow* portion, and the remainder the quicker movement. Our practice is the reverse, and one that, as I think, requires change. This Easter hymn will give you an illustration of the principle of intelligible declamation.

**“Finita jam sunt proelia.”**

*Vivace con spirito.*

DR GAUNTLETT. 1862.

Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia!

Org.

*Unison—Choral Recitative.*

*Choir in parts.*

The battle won—the fight is done! The crown is on the Victor's brow; His *accelerando.*

pier - ed hand bears acep - tre now. Al - le - lu -

cresc.

Musical score for the hymn "Al-le-lu-ia!". The score is written for a four-part vocal ensemble (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The tempo is marked "Moderato". The lyrics are "Al-le-lu-ia!". The score includes dynamic markings: *cres.*, *ff.*, *f*, and *Λ*. The piano part features a prominent bass line with a crescendo leading to a fortissimo section, followed by a decrescendo. The vocal parts enter in a staggered fashion, with the Soprano and Alto parts starting on a whole note, and the Tenor and Bass parts entering on a half note. The score concludes with a final chord marked with a *Λ* symbol.

Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

THE battle won—the fight is done!  
The crown is on the Victor's brow;  
His pierced hand bears sceptre now.  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

Lo! death's strong chain lies rent in twain,  
The gates of hell to man are free;  
For Christ hath won the victory.  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

The tomb unsealed—life stands revealed,  
Past are the three appointed days,

And Jesus lives! The strain upraise!  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

He that was dead hath captive led  
His and our foes, for evermore;  
The crystal stream is bridged o'er,  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

Lord of the fight, of light and life,  
Our fight assist, our life fulfil;  
Our Light be Thou to do Thy will.  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

The Ascension Hymn is syllabic as to melody, but has the neuma or roll of sound upon the alleluia. It breaks the monotony and iron-bound mechanism of the syllabic form, and on festival days adds brightness and joy to the hymn. The last hymn is for Whitsuntide, and I have set it to the famous melody of the "*Veni Creator*." The form is English; the spirit inimitable, lovely, imperishable. It is not easy to sing, and for this reason had been abandoned in this country; but I have a most excellent choir, and I hope you will hear it with effect. We will sing the four hymns—Christmas, in new form and with the dance; Easter, in real fighting form; for every Sunday we stand up for the resurrection, and give up what we may, we cannot give that up. Recollect the organ mentioned in the psalms was the bag-pipe, and the national odes in the psalter are all true war songs, songs we shall all want, and must learn to sing; then the Ascension Hymn with its joyous roll; and, lastly, the Pentecost and the *Veni Creator*.

A few words on the teaching power of music—teaching *dogma* through the imagination, and those glorious gifts, our senses. Music ought to make the fact more clear, the dogma more intense. The *doctrine* is made to run through the nerves and the muscles, and come forth from the ultimate—the mouth. It is turned into muscular Christianity, and we singers are all muscular Christians. I will now give you the Nicene Creed, set for a large choir, and in a way to bring out its dogmatic character. Repeat the idea, say it again in other and stronger form, this is the way to hammer it into people's heads, and sink it into their hearts. You will notice the setting of the words, "And was made MAN," and also "He suffered and was BURIED." "Buried"—but something must follow—the chords are all held in suspense, and then break away into a blaze of light. [The singing of this was deferred until the close of the meeting, when it was sung with admirable effect.]

*To the clergy*, I beg to say, Learn something of music. Not much is required, but you should know the two pillars on which it stands. The sounds in a key, and, what is harmony in music, the law of thought in sounds; the continuous stream of the proportions—4, 5, 6; the cause of beauty, and the law of order in the cosmos which surrounds us. Reward the poor for coming to church by giving them every opportunity for worshipping in song. I often question which was the greater sacrifice, the poor widow casting her mite into the treasury, or the poor mother who has brought her family into the sanctuary clean and bright, willing and able to help in the day's service. How few know what this has cost. Cleave to the old law in the chant, that of only one sound for the reciting tone, *and never use a chant which you cannot sing yourself*.



*To the really artistic musicians* I say, Why do you not go to church? for it is notorious you do not. Your use of music for artistic ends only, and divorcing it from worship as far as respects yourselves, tends to unsettle its purpose and character, to retard its progress, to destroy its spirit and truth, to impoverish your own resources, to isolate you from the great congregation, and to nip in the bud that great law of humanity, help for love's sake. You have the knowledge; give, as it has been given to you. Do not let your Sunday-coat be the only one with no music underneath it. Music, you know, cannot be put on; let it not be put off and laid aside when most needed. It is for all days part and parcel of your being. Only man can make his own tune, and have you no thanks and gratitude for this? Your presence in the psalmody-class will strengthen the hands of the clergy, encourage the laity, and advance yourselves, for teaching leads to thorough knowledge. Thus may we learn most and best. "I have learned," says Bishop Sanderson, "much from my masters, more from my equals, but most from my disciples."

*To all*, I say, Employ every one, find work for all in song. Create the psalmody class—*weekly practice* in worship-music for the congregation on Sunday. Form classes for the direct practice of worship-music,—not choral societies alone, not choir practisings, not harmonic unions; but real teaching of song, teaching of one another, giving thanks, in direct song for the sanctuary. It is the only safe and sure way to get congregational singing. Teach the child, the boy, and girl, something to recollect for life. Do not fail in this. As to the choice of music, use your moral sense. The people ultimately settle the difficulty. They will not sing bad music. *Cleave* to some good hymn and tune—use it as your closing hymn on the Sunday evening, until the whole parish sings it. Let it get into the streets. I like to hear my tunes in the streets and on the top of the omnibus. It is doing its mission when it comes to this. Employ the young men—give them back the old English Sunday orchestra, which I am old enough to recollect. Employ one hundred and fifty fingers, and a living bellows fifteen times repeated, and add all this to your organ and organist. A Sunday orchestra will cost about fifty pounds—oboes, clarionets, bassoons, horns, violoncellos, and the others. The bands that came over from abroad to our recent Exhibition, and that play in service worship-music, proved a great lesson to our own bands. We have no right to use a fine orchestra on a week-day and shut it up on Sundays. Again, do not sing boys' chants, and fail to make use of the women's voice. The young women's chorus is the charm of the service; boys' voices have no body of tone. Sing every day, and one day teaches another. Remember all your music at home is toned and tempered by your worship-music. If you do not sing the latter, and of the right sort, you have a poor stock of the former. All great musicians learnt their business at the church; and you will know little of music if you divorce it from your worship. Remember the child has a right to sing, and sing he will—he will get the song somehow or other. Nail him on our side. God's service is perfect freedom, and we must all work to prove that it really is so. There is a growth in song; nurture it,—it will extract the heart of song out of young and old. The aged must sing to encourage the young, the young must sing to comfort the old. Employ the young men. The organist has ten fingers; use one hundred and fifty other fingers in the restoration of the old and venerable

Sunday orchestra in church. Why not have the shawms, and trumpets, and cornets, and psalmodic organs in worship? or, in other words, the oboes, clarionets, violas, violoncellos, and horns of our present orchestra? The employment of living breath on the different orchestral instruments would get rid of the bad harmony now so rife in our modern hymn-tune books, and also of the childish melodies too much the fashion. We sing "Onward, Christian soldiers," to a soft, soothing melody, written by Haydn, to please the lady subscribers to the professional concerts of the last century; and we warble "We march, we march to victory," forgetting the great fact between the one and the other,—the *fight*. We may, and probably shall, want the old war-songs,—

"Soldiers of Christ, arise!"

"Equip me for the war;"

and others like them; but our tunes must not contradict our hymns. The German in the late war, when he put Luther's Hymn-book in his knapsack, well knew his glorious old tune. The hymn beat Béranger, and the tune carried the singer once more into the old minster of Strasburg. Work the strong hearts, heads, and hands of the parish. Employ also the women's voices, so pure, so graceful, so exquisite, possessing a charm far beyond that of the boys'. The one is the full-blown flower, the other only the bud.

To sum up, let us forget not to teach in song, to teach one another in song, and to give thanks. Rejoice in song. Sing at seed-time, that we may be prepared to sing at the harvest-home. Sow the good seed, it may be in tears.—What then? Sorrow is the salt of the sacrifice, the best preparation for the endeavour. The time will come when you will be seen panting and out of breath, it may be; but it will be from the sheaves on your back and the full joy of your heart. Then you will know why "the waster" in the great city of the world asked the captive from the city of our God to let him hear one of the songs of Zion. Think of the joy of music—the song and dance in the courts of the Great King—and that joy is to circulate all over the habitable globe. There is no joy in music to equal that of the Lord's song.

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#### ADDRESS.

C. LONGUET HIGGINS, Esq., read the following:—

THE history of the Church in all ages bears testimony to the fact, that seasons of great inward renovation and increase of spiritual life, have always been accompanied by the outward manifestation of an enlarged Church song. Whenever, after a time of more or less inactivity and decay of energy, it has pleased the great Head of the Church to send a divine spark to lighten up once more the dying embers, and heavenly life and light quickens again the Church's heart, then always there has burst forth from her lips words of humble, hopeful, thankful adoration. The harp and lute have taken up the strain, young and old have rejoiced in the joyful sound, and the song has ever been, "O Lord, open Thou our lips, and our mouth shall show forth Thy praise."

If we had time it would be very interesting and instructive to trace out the connection of spiritual song with divine life, in former ages. The psalm which arose from the shore

of the Red Sea, when God's ancient people had found great deliverance : and again in the days of King Solomon, when four thousand singers and musicians, from the heights of Zion, rejoiced in the glory of sacred worship, using words which have afforded comfort and peace, and have been the blessed expression of the Church's faith and hope and love for almost three thousand years, are instances in point. The purification of the temple by Hezekiah, and the great revival under Ezra, were both marked by an eminent restoration of Church song.

The hymns which have come down to us from early Christian times are very few, but they sprang forth in an age of persecution, and are endowed with marvellous strength and vigour. S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, did not only reform the music, but also gave some precious hymns to the Church. About thirty have his name attached to them. It is not certain, however, that more than twelve are genuine. S. Augustine often notices them, and in his Confessions breaks forth thus, "How did I weep at hearing thy hymns and canticles, being deeply affected by the voices of thy tuneful church. As the sound flowed into mine ears, the truth gently entered into my heart, the flame of my devotion was kindled, and mine eyes ran over with tears of joy."

It is not my purpose to refer in more than a very few words to the time of Gregory the Great, or to that long space of almost nine hundred years which rolled away after he was gathered to his rest. We are accustomed to consider those days, and perhaps rightly, as, in some respects at least, not the time in which the lamp of the Church shone forth the brightest. During this long season, however, there were found men of deep piety and learning, whose large loving hearts lived for Christ and His Church. They worked for God, they longed for better days, their eyes saw glimpses of better things, and their tongues divinely guided gave utterance to words which will live for ever. To this period belongs the "Veni Creator," attributed sometimes to Charlemagne; the "Pange lingua" of Venatus Fortunatus; the "Jesu dulcis memoria" of S. Bernard; and the great hymn of Bernard of Morlaix, which extends to more than three thousand lines, and from which so many hymns, such as "Jesu, the very thought is sweet," "Jerusalem, my happy home," "Jerusalem the golden," are taken. Others might be enumerated, passages from which afforded, during that long night, deep thoughts and sweet meditations to many a watching, aching heart. The grandest of the mediæval hymns is without doubt the *Dies Iræ* of Thomas Celano, the solemn and affecting majesty of which has been rarely equalled, and perhaps never surpassed.

When, after centuries of comparative dimness of spiritual vision and lethargy, it pleased the blessed Head of the Church that Europe should arise to new life, few things were more remarkable than the great impulse which was given to hymnology. It has been well remarked, by one who has written excellently on this subject, that a hymn is "an outburst not so much of eloquence as of life." A sense of blessed deliverance from darkness filled the hearts of the people. The fresh air, the bright light, the warm sun, and the refreshing dews of the Gospel, influenced the barren and dry earth, and sweet flowers of praise sprang up, which made the garden of the Lord rejoice.

The Bohemian brethren formed a collection of these hymns, many of which were afterwards translated into German by Michael Weiss. Some are quaint, and are almost forgotten, but others remain, and will delight ages yet to come.

In Germany, Martin Luther was the great restorer of sacred hymnody. Whatever was good for holy song in ancient or modern times, his large, earnest, faithful, rejoicing heart used for his Divine Master. A tumultuous life was his. On great occasions, whether of a joyful or depressing character, he was wont to express his thankfulness or animate his hope by writing a hymn, or translating a psalm; and so also many others, good and earnest men, specially raised up for special work, poured forth words of faith and praise. I believe that nearly four thousand hymns are to be found among the treasures of Germany, many of which are a portion of the Church's inheritance, and will remain so to the end of time.

"The infectious frenzy of sacred song," as Warton calls it, was very remarkable in

the early part of the Reformation in England. Bishop Jewel tells us that a change appeared among the people, which nothing promoted more than the singing of metrical psalms. All classes of persons felt the influence of Christian poetry, and as years rolled on, instances might be found, perhaps unexpectedly, of men whose natures were hard and unyielding, being brought to acknowledge its power. Even Oliver Cromwell is said to have taken delight therein. He had in his service one James Quin, who had formerly been a student at Christ Church, but who had been expelled for misbehaviour. This James was well up in Sternhold and Hopkins, and had a bass voice. He "being liquored well with sack, did sing psalms very strong and exceeding touching, greatly to the contentation, comfort, and edification, of the said Oliver."

It is a remark of the writer to whom I have before referred, that hymnody has always fluctuated with the spiritual feeling of the Church. A dead age has never produced living hymns. From the days of Wycliffe and Jerome of Prague, whose followers were nicknamed "psalm-singers," to the time of the last revival, spiritual life has always sought words by which its thanksgiving might ascend to heaven. We, in this age, have abundant proof of the same heart animating delightful truth. In spite of the infidelity, rationalism, carelessness, and self-seeking worldliness of the times in which we live, there probably never was a season in which the Church testified more prayerfully, earnestly, faithfully, and lovingly, for Almighty God, and for Jesus Christ His only Son, and for the Divine and blessed Spirit, than at present. And so, in addition to the hymn writers of earlier times, whose pleasant words have rejoiced so many hearts, there have been given to the Church, in our days, honoured names, whose harps, only lately laid aside, still vibrate with sweet chords in our ears: and thanks be to God, there live among us yet those who have given, and are giving to us, both original compositions, and translations fitted for holy worshipping song, so humble and prayerful, so fervent and devotional, so high and heavenly, so animating and inspiring, that the heart rejoices and almost labours under the excess of its spiritual riches.

The Church of England possesses the finest and fullest hymnody upon earth. The number of compositions of the kind from which she may draw, amount to many thousands. The stores of former days, and the wealth of the present, are at her feet. The Church has a great and blessed work before her, and the Divine Master is giving to her increase of grace to fulfil His will. She waits on the Lord, and He renews her strength: and this has manifested itself, is manifesting itself now, and will manifest itself continually, by mounting higher and higher on the wings of joy and praise.

Only a few words more. The number of unauthorised hymnals now in use is distressingly great. There is beyond all doubt a growing feeling in favour of a selection by some responsible authority, and it is therefore with the deepest thankfulness that we have heard that the learned and venerable Houses of Convocation have appointed a Committee for the consideration of the subject of an Hymnal, for the use of the Church of England. I trust that no fancied difficulties, or real ones either, may be allowed for a moment to interfere with this great catholic, evangelic movement. And let it be always most distinctly understood, that it is not intended that the liberty of any clergyman shall be in the least curtailed thereby. The book (if I understand rightly) will be permissive and recommendatory. All the authority which is asked for, is the authority of the Church's recommendation. For those who like to use it, there it is; and the compilers will, I am assured, be satisfied if those who may not choose to use it can find a better. Almost all sections of the Christian community have adopted, with the greatest benefit, forms for worshipping song. Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Presbyterians, the foreign Churches on the Continent, the great Episcopal Church of America, have all their hymnals, and these have been to them of almost infinite value, as tending to draw together, and unite in one family relation, the bodies to which they severally belong.

But our hopes and anxieties do not stop here. It is our privilege to join with the ends of the world in offering one voice of supplication and common prayer: Why should we not

have the privilege of uniting our voices with Churchmen everywhere in a blessed song of common praise? And to this end we would humbly, but very earnestly, entreat that the reverend houses of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury would, if in their wisdom they see it right, communicate with, and invite to common action, the Convocation of the Northern Province of York, so that the Church may speak with one voice in this matter: and that so united, they should further invite the sister Episcopal Church in America, the Church in Ireland, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and the Colonial Churches. There is reason to hope that an invitation so given, from both provinces in England, would be willingly and lovingly responded to by the American Church, which is entirely alive to the importance of this great question. In this manner an Hymnal might be provided, which would be large, catholic, and world-wide in its embrace.

What a bond of union would such a work be. Who can estimate its holy, heavenly influence. The poor people love their hymn-book, and love hymns too. We all do so. Our mothers taught them to us when we were children. The sacred words are mingled in our minds with tender looks and reverend grey hairs, may be also with loving tears, when we repeated our task correctly. Ah! such memories burn and swell in our hearts, and will do so till they shall throb no longer. A book such as we have spoken of, will unite, in a better than natural relationship, fathers and mothers in Nottingham and Lincoln, with sons and daughters in New Zealand and California. The bond of Christian churchmanship will be strengthened, and the Divine Master, who will have all His people one in Him, will be honoured and glorified.

Oh, happy blessed work! Happy are some of you, sirs, who are engaged therein. May heavenly wisdom guide you. Thousands wish you good luck in the name of the Lord; and pray that in due time the Catholic Church of Christ may possess a book of Common Praise, which shall be a not unworthy counterpart to our Book of Common Prayer: a book which shall be a joy for ever to the Church on earth, and whose deep wide spirit of humble, yet loving adoration, may enable many a poor weary heart to reach even to heaven.

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## DISCUSSION.

The Rev. R. B. STONEY, M.A., Rector of St John's, Wednesbury.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I have listened to Dr Gauntlett most dutifully, and he reminds me of what occurred in my childhood, when I was presented with a flute with silver keys, and beautifully mounted, but upon which I could not play a single tune, nor even sound a single note; for he has told us what to do, but not *how* to do it.

Could every one here sing as sweetly, and read music as easily, as the choir before us, how happy should we be in our own homes, and in the various churches where we meet to worship God! My Lord and my friends, allow me to tell you what has been done in a year and a half to render our church music more universal, more tuneful, and more devotional, because a plan which has succeeded is better than twenty experiments. The question came before me, How shall we meet the musical requirements of a large congregation, three-fourths of whom do not know one note of music from another, and who yet feel it their duty and privilege to join in praise as well as prayer? Secondly, How shall we meet the requirements of the remaining quarter, whose ears are wounded by the rough and untutored worship of their brethren? And thirdly, How shall we gradually improve the voices of the people, so as to keep pace with the increased musical knowledge of our time? The Sunday-school, consisting of four hundred children, were supplied with the Tract Society's Hymn-book. Out of its hundred hymns, fifty were

in the voluminous congregational book; so that by giving out one hymn from both books, the children could all join, at least, once a day, in the service of song.

We then procured Curwen's "People's Service of Song" in the old notation, and in Sol-fa. We hung up modulators in the schools, and in a year's time, fifty children were passed in music as the extra subject, by her Majesty's School Inspector.

The Tonic Sol-fa system, as the *Times* says, is the only national system worthy of the name. It is cheap, easily learned, and enters thoroughly into the science of music. Most of the modern hymn and tune-books, and all the great oratorios, are published in it. I can do more with this system in three months, than with any other in three years. I am only an amateur myself, but I recommend it to you as the only way of teaching large numbers in a short time. Having seen the results of this system from time to time, I can truly say that by it we get children, after a few months' teaching, to read at sight simple psalm tunes, and even minor tunes.

As my time is so limited, I have but a word or two more to say with regard to choirs. I wish most heartily we did not leave the singing so much to boys. Why should we not have females as well? In addition to a row of boys and men on each side of the chancel, might we not have behind them a row of girls and women (a guild if you like to call them that, or any other name); and if it be a surpliced choir, what dress could be more suitable than that in which the young girls of the Midland Counties attend the funeral of a child? The simple white muslin robe and veil would keep them individually undistinguished from the rest of the congregation, and serve at the same time to separate them for the solemn service of leading the people. If a woman was the first to receive from the Saviour's lips the tidings of His risen life, and was sent the first to impart that news to the disciples—if it be true that women were at one time the only visible members of the Church in that awful hour when, disciples having fled, they stood around the cross to give what consolation they could to the spotless Sufferer thereon—surely their service of song in the house of the Lord is not to be despised.

We fight against nature, and therefore against nature's God, if we rest satisfied to obtain from childhood's voice that fervour, that purity, that heavenly devotion which the earnest heart of a Christian woman can most fully give expression to. I should like to have spoken upon the solemn thrilling effects we might produce, while we fostered at the same time the congregational utterance, if, instead of dividing the already limited choir into decani and cantoris, we imitated the Lichfield Choir Festival of this year, where the whole refined cathedral choir in the chancel were the decani, and the country choirs in the nave were the cantoris, and made, in the towns at least, the practised choir the decani, and the school children and congregation the cantoris. My Lord, I have laboured in this matter with a zeal and an earnestness which only an entire confidence in its utility and success could have enabled me to do; and I wait with you, my reverend brethren and brethren of the laity, that coming day, when from every church and every home hymns and songs of holy joy and triumph shall arise, ever swelling louder, ever rising higher, until that burst of joy and wonder shall make the air to ring, "And the Lord shall descend with a shout, with the voice of an archangel, and the trumpet of God."

"O ye heavens, sing ye! earth, break forth and cry;  
O ye mountains! ring ye, with the voice of joy.  
For the Lord hath done it, His the victory;  
His own arm hath won it, His people shall be free."

## E. WREY WHINFIELD, Esq.

AFTER the interesting and eloquent addresses which you have heard from those who have preceded me this evening, I fear that my manner of treating this subject will seem hard and dry.

The subject itself is so wide, that a systematic and exhaustive treatment of it would be impossible in much more than the few minutes allowed to me. Besides, on many points, my knowledge and experience would be utterly insufficient.

I propose, therefore, to confine myself to one branch of the subject—namely, metrical hymns, and the musical treatment proper to them.

Further, there are two principal ways of regarding hymns when sung in the Church services:—

1st, As direct acts of worship, as our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to God, in obedience to His command ;

2dly, As helps to the spiritual life of those who use and hear them.

A discussion of the first of these branches of the subject (namely, of the fitness or otherwise of particular hymns to be offered to the Almighty as an acceptable sacrifice), lies rather outside of the province of a layman, as I think. Besides, it does not admit of being reduced to definite principles, since men will differ as to the fitness of particular forms of worship to be pleasing to God, according to the varieties of their natural temper and disposition.

And my main object in speaking at all on this subject is to try to remove it, if possible, from the domain of individual liking or prepossession, and to endeavour to lay down some rules, or main lines of thought, as to what hymns should or should not be, by which (if you accept them) you may afterwards test such hymns as come before you.

I propose to confine myself, therefore, to the consideration of hymns as a help to the spiritual life of the worshipper ; and I shall divide the subject (as so limited) into these heads :—

1st, The matter or subject of hymns ;

2d, The manner or form ;

3d, The musical treatment proper to them.

First, Of the matter.

We may assume that hymns ought to consist of, or to contain, poetry (though judging by many collections of deserved or undeserved popularity we might think this not to be generally thought). A great living critic has defined poetry to be “the suggestion, by the imagination, of grounds for the noble emotions” (such as love, joy, reverence, awe, pity, and the like).

Sacred poetry (including hymns) differs from secular poetry only in being concerned with the highest emotions possible to the soul of man, but it remains subject to the same general laws.

Now, if the poet is to touch our hearts, his own heart must first be touched ; but that is not enough. He must not only tell us what he feels, or what he thinks we ought to feel ; he must *make* us feel, and that can only be done generally by giving grounds for feeling. He must choose, arrange, and present facts (real or imagined) so as to reach our hearts ; and then, when he has done that, he may, if he pleases, guide and rule our emotions.

Secondly, Of the manner and form proper to hymns. ”

This branch of the subject much less admits of being reduced to definite rule ; but some points are clear. First, when hymns are to be sung, they differ from poems intended to be read in this, that they pass on, like a diorama, each portion rolling by, and its place being immediately taken by another portion ; whereas, in reading a poem, we can turn back to what has been said before. Hence it follows, that each stanza should be

to a great extent complete in itself, not requiring for its comprehension anything before or after it; also the connection of thought between the several portions should be very close, and almost obvious. Thoughts and imagery should be strong and suggestive, and not aim at detailed completeness. Words should be very plain and clear, allusions such as may be very easily seized.

The bell warns me that I shall have time to do no more than touch upon a question that has often been discussed, but not, as I think, in a way that can lead us out of the region of mere liking and disliking. I mean the question as to the use of the first person singular or plural in hymns.

I would not speak confidently, but my own opinion is, that both forms have their proper and fitting use. Where the emotion to be expressed is such as to be strengthened by sympathy, by the knowledge that others gathered together with one accord with us are sharing in our feelings, there the plural form is the natural, and therefore suitable one (such will be the case when the hymn is joyous, triumphant, aspiring, and the like); but there are emotions of another type, such as penitence and humiliation (for example), as to which it is at least doubtful whether the presence of others tends or not to deepen, or extend, or increase the force of emotion.

As the tone of thought (in a hymn) passes from the idea of communion with God's Church (visible or invisible) to that of actual personal union with Himself, the singular form becomes more and more suitable.

With regard to length, no absolute rule can be given; but owing to the diorama-like passing character of a sung hymn (as before spoken of) it would seem that it should not be beyond such a length as might be expected to allow a person of average powers of attention and memory to have some recollection at the end of a hymn that was new to him of what the beginning and middle was about.

Very solemn hymns should be short, and not on musical grounds only, but still more on psychological grounds—for the deepest emotions are not strengthened (but rather the reverse) by the grounds for them being set out in detail.

Of the third division of the subject, namely, the musical treatment proper to metrical hymns.

Observe, first, all music whatever draws away some of the attention from the words. It ought to make up for this by adding breadth or depth to the meaning. Perfectly fit music would be such as, when performed without words before hearers ignorant of what feeling the words were intended to produce, should independently suggest the emotions indicated in the words for which it was written (musical art is scarcely yet capable of doing this fully: seldom even attempts it).

Demand for simplicity.

What is meant?

Simplicity, generally, really means (as used) either poverty or commonplaceness of thought, often both. True simplicity, with force of suggestion or expression, is immensely difficult to attain. Only reached by happy accident; seldom, or never, by intention.

Consider the notorious difficulty of inventing a good proverb or aphorism. The difficulty of doing a similar thing in music is still greater, because expression is less definite.

The art of music, with its utmost resources, is barely capable of adequate expression of deep and complex feeling. We have to find out the men of genius who can feel the words deeply, and let them reproduce their emotion in whatever tones they best can, without our limiting their means of expression.

Here the question of "church style." What is style in a work of art? Style consists of such a treatment of all the various parts as suggests, throughout, the leading tone of the whole, and makes us feel its unity. Church style in music is such a treatment as will make the hearer feel that (whatever the varied phases of emotion that may be expressed in it) what he hears forms part of a religious service.



And now, at once, we see the cause of the very common opinion that Gregorian music, so called, is alone in the true church style—namely, that it instantly proclaims to the hearer that it has nothing to do with anything else on earth besides the church. It may not be able to raise our thoughts to heaven; but, at least, it cannot drag them down to earth by associations from the theatre, the ball-room, the concert, or the drawing-room.

But this is a merely negative merit, and there is a far higher and nobler church style possible in music; and that is attained when the musician, throwing aside all vanity, all desire to show his talent or ingenuity, and feeling in his heart the meaning of the words that he has to illustrate, sets himself with his whole strength to make us too feel what he feels; and when, by the use of the glorious talent that God has committed to him, he raises our thoughts above the divine gift to the Almighty Giver.

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### THE REV. R. BROWN-BORTHWICK.

MY LORD,—I shall not detain this Congress above two minutes. Indeed, I did not expect to be called upon before others who are much more qualified to speak on such a subject as this. My only apology for being here at all is—(1.) That I have devoted a great deal of study both to hymnology and church music; (2.) That I was particularly requested to say a few words. But as the time is so very short, I must be very practical. I must direct my attention to two points—hymn tunes and the manner of singing them. First, I think we must admit that there is a style of hymn-tune being largely introduced into our churches now which is anything but what those who are really musical would approve. I quite agree with what was said by Dr Dykes when he urged that we must have an infusion of modern tunes; but let them be thoroughly good. If all modern hymn-tunes were as good as that by Dr Dykes, to which we listened a short time ago, I should have little fear for church music. But there is no doubt that the music of our churches is being degraded by the introduction of tunes more fitted for the opera—not even for the opera, but for the street—than for the sanctuary. There is a sort of stereotyped pace too at which all sorts of tunes (however solemn or however joyous) are sung, even the grave German chorales—at the rate of about sixty miles an hour. It is quite painful to any one with true musical feeling; and I speak of it because, on going into some of our leading churches in London, which ought to set a good example, one is obliged to listen to the ridiculous speed at which the noble harmonies of Sebastian Bach and others are taken. They are sung at a speed that renders them simply ridiculous. If it is necessary, as some people say, in order to bring life into our service, to introduce this express speed, do not let us degrade these grand old tunes by thus using them. There are some things, however, my Lord, which are matters of opinion, and others that are matters of fact. It is matter of opinion, to a certain extent, whether this or that style of music is best fitted for church use. But, as a matter of fact, I utterly deny that, to obtain congregational singing, it is necessary to resort to such a pace in singing. I ask any one who can judge upon that subject to pay a visit, any Sunday evening, to Mr Spurgeon's Tabernacle, the Weighhouse Chapel, or St Pancras Church, where the music is accompanied by Mr Henry Smart, and then tell me that it is impossible to get congregational music without singing the tunes at a pace which renders them simply ridiculous. I should like to have had a little time to allude to one or two other matters, but that I cannot have. Therefore with these remarks I will close.

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### THE PRESIDENT.

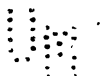
I AM afraid, ladies and gentlemen, that this meeting must now draw to a close, and as we have about five minutes left, and as I took the liberty of placing my own name before the Secretary as one of the speakers, perhaps I may be privileged to use those five minutes.

We have had this very interesting session opened by a nobleman to whom the Church of England is deeply indebted for setting before us the first example of an improved Hymnal—the Sarum Hymnal—Lord Nelson. That has been followed by others, especially by “Hymns Ancient and Modern.” We have received great benefits from them, from the time when the Salisbury Hymnal, under the auspices of that holy man the late Bishop of Salisbury, was ushered into the world. And now, I think, we may see the fruits of the work of that faithful Bishop, joined together with the excellent layman who has addressed us this evening. We are, I think, in a position far more advantageous for obtaining something—I say only something—like uniformity in the Hymnal, than we were twenty years ago. I should indeed be very loth to express an opinion that the time has come when we might gratify the aspirations which were expressed in those eloquent terms by another layman who has addressed us this evening, and to whom the Church is so much indebted—Mr Higgins—for that uniformity in singing psalms that we have in saying prayers. He hoped the time was near approaching when we might have a common Book of Praise as well as a Common Book of Prayer. Certainly there could be no greater blessing accorded to this Church, not merely in the British Isles, not merely in its colonial dependencies, but throughout the Catholic world, that wherever our emigrants proceed from our shores, they should be able to find those beloved hymns and familiar songs which they had learned to lip first at their mother’s knee. Surely, surely, my dear friends, nothing would be a better preparation for the harmonies of heaven than such a concord and concert upon earth of the Catholic Church throughout the world joining in an unison of praise. But perhaps the time has not arrived for that uniformity; still let us pray for it, still let us labour for it. A gentleman to whom I am personally very much indebted, and who has just left the hall—Dr Gauntlett—has said that it might perhaps be possible to adopt some hymn-book, if not for our Church at large, at least for a diocese; and though I am not prepared to endorse that opinion as yet, yet I do think in each of our dioceses there might be a diocesan Appendix, leaving liberty to each parish to have its own hymn-book, still providing certain hymns in the diocesan hymn-book which might be found in every parish, so that when we joined together (as I thank God we are so often joined) from different parishes in church openings, in confirmations, and on other diocesan occasions, those persons who come from the different parishes should not be perplexed, embarrassed, and, as it were, put out of the spirit of harmony with the proceedings, by finding something which was entirely alien and strange to their ears and to their hearts. It has been well said by one of the preceding speakers, “Take, if you like, the privilege of making the laws, but give me the privilege of making the hymns, and we shall then see who will have the advantage.” The hymns of a nation make the life of a nation. It is in the sacred poetry of a nation that the national life is developed; and if the nation has a hymn-book constructed upon apostolic principles—those principles laid down by St Paul the Apostle in his Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians—“Teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord”—then we should have a great principle for the conservation of sound Christian doctrine. We should have hymns which would be our companions on our journeys, which would be companions to us on our sick-beds, and which would be our consolation in the hour of death. You will remember that the teaching of *sound doctrine* is the attribute placed in the fore-front by the apostle; and if we have sound doctrine, I am persuaded, if we enshrine that in our hymns, we shall

be saved in our churches from the discords which now so much vex the air with their strife; we should have a melody of divine truth in our hearts, and that melody would burst forth from our lips, and we should obey the precept of the apostle, "teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." The great instrument in the hands of God against the plague of Arianism were the melodies of the Church tuned by St Ambrose. The melody of those hymns sounded in the churches of Milan, and when the conqueror was besieging the church doors, all the congregation joined together in sacred utterances, singing to Christ as God. They joined in the hymns of St Ambrose, and singing that psalm of victory, they were invincible. So it was in Africa. St Augustine (baptized by the Bishop of Milan, St Ambrose) used the Christian lyre as an antidote for schism, even as St Ambrose had used the Christian lyre as an antidote against the heresy with which he had to contend. St Augustine wrote hymns which dwelt in the minds of the people of Africa—in their hearts and on their lips. He taught them those hymns, and in teaching them those hymns he taught them a creed. The best hymn in the world is that of the Nicene Creed—the hymn which was sung by the Church triumphant over Arianism, as Miriam the propheteess took her timbrel when the Egyptians were overwhelmed in the sea; and the next best hymn in the world probably is the "*Te Deum*," and what hymn in the world does enshrine so much of Christian doctrine as is contained in that glorious halleluiah and hosanna of the united chorus of Christendom to the Triune God?

My Christian friends, I do trust that time will come when at last we may be all joined together in harmony in those principles of Christian doctrine, and then we shall be prepared for the great struggle which awaits us in the latter days. We shall be prepared with harps in our hands, like the Deborahs of old. Perhaps I may venture, descending to a somewhat lower platform, to speak here with something like expostulation against some modern compilers of hymns, as to the process of mutilation upon which they act. It would be egotistical on my own part to speak of what I have suffered from this process of amputation and curtailment; but in the presence of Dr Dykes, if he has not yet left the hall, to whom I am indebted for one of the most beautiful tunes set to one of my own unworthy hymns—viz., "O Lord of Heaven and Earth and Sea"—I think he will agree with me in the wish that I express that it had not suffered from that process. However, I cannot detain you further. I earnestly hope that this meeting, which has received so much instruction on a subject which lies at the very root of Christian doctrine and of Christian life—I mean *Sacred Song*—may be productive of great benefit to this diocese, and to the Church at large; that we may consider more and more what are the true principles of hymn-writing and hymn-singing; and my hope is, my dear Christian friends, that, as we have joined to-day in those beautiful melodies we have heard, so, as we approach the close of our lives, which cannot be far from some among us who are declining in years, we may be prepared, with youth and life renewed like that of the eagle, to soar up on the wings of song, and to take our places among the saints beatified in the choir of heaven.

The meeting was closed with the singing of the Nicene Creed, as set to music by Dr Gauntlett.



FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 13.

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The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at ten o'clock.

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THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO THE MORAL STATE OF SOCIETY IN VARIOUS CLASSES AT THE PRESENT TIME. CAUSES TENDING TO ITS CORRUPTION—REMEDIES—MEANS OF IMPROVEMENT.

The Rev. F. W. FARRAR, M.A., F.R.S., Master of Marlborough College, and Honorary Chaplain to the Queen, read the following paper :—

THE brief time allowed for a wide subject forces me to begin without formal preface ; it will even force me to leave what I have to say undeveloped, undefended, probably unfinished, and apparently unpractical. And yet there is such apparent presumption in my venturing to express any opinion on such a subject to such an audience, that I must at least beg permission to say that I did not obey the request of the Committee without deep misgiving, but that, having obeyed it, I humbly desire to speak, not in such a manner as to gain approval, but in such a manner only as may seem to me to be the simplest truth.

It was hardly, I suppose, the wish of your Committee that the readers on this subject should deal separately with each special sin and failing of modern life, and the methods of grappling with them. Not only would that be impossible in the limits of a single paper, but, further, all experience from the days of Plato downwards has shown that it is useless to attack the external manifestations of evil, unless the causes that underlie them be investigated and removed. To drive in the mere symptoms of a disease may only add to its virulence, and neither legislation nor philanthropy will cure the drunkenness of villages or the dissipation of cities, until the voice of religion can impress on men the unutterable majesty of the moral law, and speak to offenders with some echo of that thunder in her tone wherewith of old "God spake these words and said." Licensing bills and Vice Suppression Societies may do vast service, but they will never regenerate the life of nations until they have infused into the very heart's blood of the people a respect for the grandeur of man's nature, and a faith in his participation with the Eternal and the Unseen.

But apart from all particular vices, there are in every age certain strong influences which shape the common habits of society—certain great streams of tendency which set uniformly in one direction. Now it is not the clergy only who have traced with no favourable hand the currents of tendency in this age and this country. Be it creditable to us or discreditable,—be it due to our ignorance of evil or our fear of man,—to the timidity which will not condemn, or to the charity which does not believe,—certain it is that you will find far sterner and plainer

denunciations of the state of this century in our lay than in our clerical moralists. Yet whether you turn to sermons, or to satires, novels, newspapers, and reviews, you will find a picture of this age drawn in distinct and unflattering outlines; you will find an increase of light but a decrease of love;—a latitude of belief, to which it may be we have at times attached an exaggerated importance, but, what is infinitely more perilous, a decay of faith. In the despairing bewilderments of modern thought, in the abnormal increase of luxury, in the extravagant waste of wealth, in the dreary lack of public spirit, in the deepening cleft between different classes of society, we see a state of things which, if it be not decay, is at least decadence, and if it be not corruption, yet bears but little resemblance to living Christianity. That there is in the wealthier classes a tendency to exaggerated selfishness and ignoble ease; that there is in the middle classes a widespread dishonesty of commerce, and an eager greed of gain; that in the lower classes there is partly the same false standard, showing itself in coarser but scarcely more perilous forms, and partly a growing consciousness of irresistible power without any true conception of the good which that power may bring; that there is *throughout* society a gradual drifting from the distinctive ideas of Christianity as apart from morals, and an almost utter dearth of the grander and more splendid examples of humanity and self-sacrifice, will hardly be denied. Nor will it, I suppose, be denied that the true power of Christianity is hardly displayed in these our conventional virtues languishing in the thin soil of weak beliefs, or that its regenerating impulse is capable of nobler issues than to spread a veneer of outward respectability over worldly and selfish lives.

And if all this be so,—and it is, I repeat, a picture which laymen and not clerics have drawn;—if the age be settling on its lees, and men be living with more and more devotion to their interests and their appetites, then,—to say nothing of heathendom,—how vast a work even in England,—even after eighteen centuries,—remains for the Church to do! Need she fear, or shrink from, the task before her? Yes, if, as her enemies falsely say of her, she be the mere patcher-up of the existing, the mere upholder of the rich and strong,—yes, if her leaders cannot rise superior to the very vulgarest temptations,—yes, if she cannot display to the world the indisputable spectacle of priests without avarice and without ambition,—yes, if she shrink into a somnolent conservancy from an inspiring force,—yes, if, instead of the irresistible weakness of a purely spiritual ideal, she rely mainly on the treacherous assistance of an earthly arm; but not if, as is indeed the case, she be the Church built on the chief corner-stone of Christ Himself,—not if she be the Church of the Apostles, the martyrs, the prophets, the saints of God,—the Church whose sympathies and whose alliances were with the world's deepest feeblenesses against the world's mightiest oppressions,—the Church whose strongest champions were confessors who gloried in the dungeon, and martyrs who exulted in the flame.

For although we are loudly assured on all sides that we are the clergy of a Church ready to perish, and the preachers of a religion stricken with decay,—it seems to me that we ought never to be more powerful than now. If each decade sees the masses of the people strid-

ing more and more irresistibly to political power, then I declare with the utmost emphasis of my conviction, that in this fact, the Church of England, whether established or disestablished, ought, if she live up to her true ideal, to find not only a great scope for noble effort, but also a certainty of increasing influence and strength. For beyond all denial, the very origin, the very history, the very theory of the Church of Christ, identifies her with the many rather than with the few. Her sympathies have ever been with man as man, and it has been neither by the rich nor by the ruling that her great victories have been won. When her Bishops and her princes had lapsed into Arianism, it was her nameless multitudes that fought for her true faith; and when not a few of her priests were atheists, it was the indignation of her people that carried the Reformation. Never did she lose ground more irrecoverably than when she suffered the notion to grow up that she was the Church mainly of the wealthy and the refined, and when David Hume thought it wise to maintain an established clergy because it helped to stifle enthusiasm. Those were the dead days, in which, to the poor in myriads, the meanest whitewashed Zion or Bethesda seemed a better place for worship than stately churches, where freezing services were hurried over by worldly priests; the days in which Dissenters gained a hold upon the people which the Church could not gain, because they did among the people a work which she would not do. For the Church of Christ—when she is something more than a battle-ground of fiercely-contested shibboleths, and when her Bishops and curates are distinguished from other men less by an opinion than a life—is essentially a Church not of privilege or of exclusiveness, but of the many and of the poor. To her Divine Founder, born in the manger of Bethlehem, and bred in the shop of the carpenter and the hut of the fisherman, the prince and the Pharisee were less than the sinner and the slave, and therefore in His Church alone is there an absolute fraternity—she does not alter one syllable of her services whether she be sprinkling the dust and ashes over an emperor's or over a pauper's grave: and, recognising an equality which infinitely transcends all earthly differences, before her altars and there alone the greatest emphasis is but "this woman," and the mightiest conqueror but "this man."

If, then, the Church be like her Lord, *ὡς προσωπολήπτου*, "no respecter of persons,"—if from her very cradle, and when every other voice was silent, she have proclaimed "that every man is as great as he is in God's sight, and no greater," and that in virtue of his redeemed manhood he has a claim to liberty, to justice, and to hope,—then surely she may assert her right to a voice in those destinies which she, more than any other power, has done so much to form,—her right not to be flung aside as mere foam on the advancing tide of humanity; but to sway its reckless impetuosity, and direct its mighty force. At present—let us recognise the fact with sorrow if not with shame—such a claim would be listened to by many with a laugh of scorn. But how shall it be otherwise? How shall the weak Church of the present become also the mighty Church of the future by infusing into a regenerated society her living truths? How so identify herself for ever with the best interests of humanity, that the people shall be proud to acknowledge her authority, and eager to listen to her voice? To

answer that it must be by deserving their admiration, by exchanging narrow inflexibility for quick sympathy, by ceasing to quarrel about the infinitely little while we all set our faces like flint *against* every popular iniquity and for every persecuted truth,—all this is obvious. But *more* than this is requisite. Since the earthquake of the French Revolution shook the eighteenth century out of its hypocrisy and death, since the trumpet-tones of Wesley and Whitfield woke the Church of England from her fatal lethargy, and saved her, but so as by fire, with weakened influence and diminished force—from that day undoubtedly the vast bulk of the English clergy, stimulated, first by the Evangelical, then by the Oxford movement, have risen to their duty. The days of pluralities, and non-residence, and flagrant nepotism, and social subservience, and political truckling, and colossal fortunes scraped out of ecclesiastical revenues, are henceforth impossible for ever; nor, if they existed now, could the Church stand for a single year. Let us thank God that now almost every English parish sees the happy spectacle of Church duties honourably and conscientiously performed. It is impossible to overrate the value, it is impossible to be too grateful for the extent, of this noble and admirable agency. But while it may well absorb the best energies of many a lifetime, while it can never be abandoned without fatal loss, while I, for one, should feel humiliated if I even seemed to say one word in its disparagement, yet I trust that I carry you with me in the feeling that it is better adapted for the preservation of old ground than for the achievement of new victories—that it is preservative rather than propagandist—defensive against fresh rebellions rather than aggressive against rooted idolatries—powerful against new Baal-worships, weaker against the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin. Nor is it possible to deny that it is peculiarly liable to the very dangers by which it is surrounded. We, the clergy of the Church of England, do not stand apart from the temptations of our country or the influences of our time; we do not form an isolated class, fenced round by our very circumstances from the trials of other men: if others are worldly, we are tempted to be worldly; if others adopt a pleasant compromise between the sacred and the secular, we are tempted to adopt it too, and so sink to that dead level where, as has well been said, “every molehill is a mountain, and every thistle a forest tree.” The danger of such a life is stagnation, conventionality, contentment with the commonplace, acquiescence in the mean, the white ashes that flake over the quenched or smouldering flame. To shear the locks of Samson, to form a poor conception of the capabilities of our nature, to prosecute all who step out of the beaten path “to tame virtue and goodness out of their splendid passion,” to succumb to the narrow fascination of a mere domesticity, which is but a slightly expanded egotism, this is our danger. “Good men,” says the poet Wordsworth,

“Fall off on every side, we know not how,  
To selfishness, disguised in gentle names  
Of peace, and quiet, and domestic love.”

And so, in spite of virtues sweet but feeble, amiable but unimpassioned, the flood of national degeneracy rises and advances upon us like—if I may borrow the similitude of a great writer—“like the tide on the coast of Lancashire, always shallow, but always just deep enough to drown.”

If, then, it be our duty to clear the sluggish atmosphere of a careless age—to break the reign of religious conventionality—to substitute living virtues for their dead simulacra—to transfigure cold half-beliefs into burning and active faith, let us all lay deeply to heart the infallible certainty, that more is wanted than comfortable contentment and placid respectability. We must borrow from some quarter or other that kindling enthusiasm which reveals the high capacities of human nature; there must be some hearts in which the fire of God burns on the altar with an intenser flame—some to whom God has sent His seraphim to touch their lips with a living coal. “Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord;”—have we not forgotten that the second of those two clauses is as necessary as the first or the last? Fervent in spirit—*ζέοντες ἐν πνεύματι*—*boiling in spirit*. The cold-hearted and the hypocritical may sneer, but such have been the men whose volcanic energy, in ages of hollow and glittering civilisation, has burst through the soft tradition, and made good and evil start up from their specious compromise to grapple together in deadly conflict, shoulder to shoulder and hand to hand. And out of the bosom of churches—or if they be too far gone, beyond their pale—such men *have* sprung up from age to age to shatter with uncontrollable indignation the clay tablets of human tradition, and thrill, with the electric shock of what the world calls their fanaticism, the corrupt souls of greedy men. Elijah in his hairy mantle, St John with his scathing wrath, St Francis of Assissi stripping himself of every earthly possession to wait on lepers, Luther thanking God that He had made him poor and a beggar upon earth, St Francis Xavier dying in lonely ecstasy on the desolate and frozen shore, St Vincent de Paul preaching with all his soul among the degraded galley slaves,—what need to tell of all that mighty line of witnesses?—of Anthony and Boniface, of Fra Dolcino and Savonarola, of Calvin and Milton, of Wesley and Whitfield, of Howard and Martyn, of Oberlin and Lacordaire? These and such as these are the men who from time to time have saved churches and regenerated the age; and that by one way, and one alone. Immense self-sacrifice,—this has been the sole secret of their power; it is the sole secret of any power which is adequate to overcome the world. Well may we echo the intense cry of the great French preacher: “O God, give us saints!” Give us men not afraid to be singularly good—not afraid to stand painfully alone—not afraid to hate luxury and scorn ambition—not afraid to despise all that men desire, and endure all they dread—not afraid to burst into plain thunderings and lightnings against cruelty and oppression, against lust and wrong. Such men *have* been, and such men have wrought, and fought, and overcome, but never by weaker arms than these. Not by cautious timidity, not by commonplace respectability, not by prudent selfishness, not by making the best of both worlds in the vulgar sense, but by burning enthusiasm, by holy indignation, by manly hardihood, by inviolable truthfulness, by boundless love—in one transcendent word, by the Cross of Christ—the Cross, not as a hollow formula, but as a living fact—not as the petty ornament of a fantastic pietism, but as the thrilling and living symbol of agony and energy, of blood and tears.

And Christianity so interpreted has never failed; so interpreted, it



has been *adequate* to regenerate the very darkest and vilest age. Men begin openly to canvass the necessity of a new religion, but would it not be better first to try the old in its integrity? In the romance of a great Frenchman of genius, the villain is transformed into the hero by the powerful emotion created in his soul by the barest and most literal fulfilment of a precept in the Sermon on the Mount. No doubt, for the workings of ordinary society, those precepts must be pared down to the conventional interpretations at which we are all so glib; but an ordinary society is rarely a noble society, and to strip them of their significant originality is to empty them of their living force. And we want *some* men at least among us who will not thus empty them of their force—men who, whether single or in companies, whether bound by a common enthusiasm or a solemn vow—will forsake all, sacrifice all, literally sell all that they have, literally give the other coat and turn the other cheek, literally take Christ at His word and reform Christianity, by reverting to its earliest simplicity and its most uncontaminated source. Such never fail. Men throng to serve them; they are eager to work with them. We find it hard enough, and shall find it hard enough to the end of the chapter, to extract our conventional guineas for our conventional subscription list. With us to ask for a subscription is often to offend a friend; but to such as these men rush to give, and overshadowed by the hands of invisible consecration, fellow-workers with God, they go forth conquering and to conquer, even when it is also to suffer and to die.

Meanwhile this is not a bow which every man can bend. We are not all worthy of this high service. But, successors of the saints, can we not all at least do something? Can we not at least calm our jealousies, trample on our ambitions, lay aside our hatreds, combine our labours, simplify our lives? Can we not restrain ourselves even from things lawful, that we and others may be thereby preserved from things unlawful? Such a course may not bring what the world calls happiness or fortune, but it must in the long run tell on the Church and on the age, since it will show an active, not a cold belief in Christianity, a real, not a verbal disentanglement of heart. Men will believe in a religion which can thus inspire self-sacrifice, contempt of self-indulgence, enthusiasm in a noble cause. "They ask me," said St Francis de Sales, "for secrets for advancing to perfection. For myself I know of no other secret but this—namely, to love God with all the heart, and our neighbour as ourself." A simple rule, but which of us, alas! has not experienced that it is possible to profess it with our lips, and yet to violate it daily by every principle and action of our lives?

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The Rev. ANTHONY W. THOROLD, M.A., Vicar of St Pancras, Middlesex, and Prebendary of York, read the following paper:—

IN attempting to estimate the moral condition of any class or age, we should explain our use of terms to avoid misconception: we should contrast different periods to prevent injustice. Corruption, for instance, is by no means identical either with the advance of civilisation, the increase

of wealth, or the growth of luxury ; it is the darkening of the moral sense in man's soul, the enfeebling of his will in resisting evil, the refusal by his mind and heart of the true and the beautiful ; even the deterioration of his vital powers through vicious indulgence.

Then, again, as it would be a monstrous exaggeration even to compare the present time, bad as it may be, either with the condition of the Roman empire under the Antonines, or with the revolting coarseness of English manners a century ago ; when we inquire into the existing corruption, we ask, Why it is so great ? not Why it is not greater ? No one wants to know, Why we have gone back ? but Why we have not gone further on ?

Among the usual tests of the moral condition of a country are, I suppose, these four—The tone of the press, and general literature ; the prevailing character of public amusements ; the condition of the poor ; and the influence of religion.

Our public journals are, on the whole, pure, able, and honest ; and though our lighter literature is perhaps increasingly disfigured by sensational, if not prurient writing, the books on our English railway-stalls are a rough but not insufficient criterion of the wholesome tastes of the nation. Of the tendency and character of public amusements I hardly know enough to speak. No amount of optimism, however, can permit an honest observer even a moment's contentment with the present condition of our poor. The squalid savagery of the slums in our great cities ; the brutish ignorance of thousands and tens of thousands living under the sound of our church-bells ; the pollutions of their fetid and overcrowded dwellings ; their habits of unthriftiness and wastefulness ; and that terrible intemperance which annually wastes means, that in less than a generation would pay off the National Debt—are terrible blots on our English name, show dark and deep on the sunny background of our vast prosperity, and punish us by a pauperism which drains our resources of seven millions a year. What wonder is it, that side by side with these facts, too obvious to deny, and too perilous to neglect, we find ourselves, with the rest of Europe, plunged into the vortex of three revolutions, going on at the same moment—the struggle of labour against capital in the sphere of commerce ; of reason against authority in the sphere of politics ; of philosophy against revelation in the sphere of religion ?

This brings me to the last test—the influence of religion—of which it is hard to say whether it most puzzles our sagacity, excites our thankfulness, or stirs our alarm. The intenseness which characterises every movement of the age has penetrated the sphere of faith. Never was piety more active, never was scepticism more daring. It has been well said, that the question at stake to-day is not so much of Christianity, as of immortality ; and who can wonder that so many educated young men, fresh from the study of Mill, and Lecky, and Buckle, and Spencer, show an entire want of religious conviction of any kind ? Equally remarkable is the direct audacity with which modern scepticism, no longer content with impugning the authenticity of the Christian documents, or the possibility of the Christian miracles, abandons the outworks to attack the citadel—no longer aims at a limb, but strikes at the heart. In the fullest sense of the word, the infidelity of the present hour is anti-Christian. While one insinuates against the perfectness of our Saviour's teaching, and

another suspects the integrity of His motives, Positivism flaunts before a startled world a loftier morality than that of Jesus of Nazareth. The entire act of the Blessed Passion seems reproduced before us. While Renan, with his treacherous praise, says, "Master, Master," and kisses Him, Swinburne insults Him as He hangs on His bitter cross; and the secret though mournful conviction of hundreds of educated men is, that Christianity has had its day, and failed—out of the palsied hands of a dead Christ has slipped the helm of the world:—

"Oh! had I lived in that great day,  
How had its glory new,  
Filled Earth and Heaven, and caught away  
My ravished spirit too.  
No lonely life had passed too slow  
When I could hourly see,  
That wan nailed form, with head drooped low,  
Upon the bitter tree."

"Now He is dead; far hence He lies,  
In the lone Syrian town;  
And on His grave with shining eyes  
The Syrian stars look down.  
Your creeds are dead, your rites are dead,  
Your social order too.  
Where tarries He, the Power who said,  
'See, I make all things new.'"

Remember the extent to which a cheap press can circulate through the breadth of the land the latest speculations of rabid impiety; how, in calculating the probabilities of human conduct, you must, to be safe, strike but a low average of human prejudice and weakness; and it is only too plain, that the practical effect of a growing unbelief on the masses will be to stimulate self-indulgence and to diminish self-control. For love and fear will ever be the factors of human conduct. If there is no God to love, the noblest motive for goodness is lost to us. If there is no judgment to fear, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

There are three main remedies for the moral corruption of a nation apparent, as we look at them from the several, though consistent, stand-points of a statesman, a student, or a believer—they are, Government, education, and the grace of our Lord. Legislation, to be safe, must not be too much in advance of public opinion; to be useful, must be humble and commonplace. It is one thing to see what you want, another thing to know how to get it. When Acts of Parliament are the final and deliberate imprimatur of the judgment and conscience of the country on well-studied schemes, weighed and examined on all sides, they are an immeasurable gain; but hastily pushed through by a clever sleight of hand, they may be the longest road possible to the end of the journey, and are sure to provoke a bitter and successful reaction, retarding the question at stake for many a year. Unadulterated and lightly taxed food; plenty of pure water; open spaces to walk and breathe in; protection against contagious disease; education for every child in the kingdom; and a poor-law at once humane and severe—this is hardly too much to ask from the Government of the wealthiest country in the world; and though to persons not personally cognisant of the circumstances of our great cities, they may seem totally immaterial to the progress of morals, practically they imply the gradual removal of immense

scandals among the working-classes ; they will, at least, make it possible to be cleanly, temperate, and pure. As to the education that a man gives himself, it was the remark of Bishop Cotton, that "the chief want of the age in England is books to strengthen the faith and deepen the convictions of young men." Perhaps the Church of Anselm and Butler, and Berkeley and Mansel, need not quite despair of such a task being accomplished. As to the education given by others, it may be worth noticing, that if the policy of giving no education at all is at any rate intelligible, that of stopping half-way in the middle is simple madness. It is like putting loaded firearms in the hand of a savage, without explaining to him their use. We all admit that it should be religious as well as secular, so that the conscience may be trained even before the intellect ; secular as well as religious, for does God grudge us knowledge, or the careful perfecting of the faculties He has Himself bestowed ? May it also be urged that two things at least it should attempt to comprehend, and time be found for them ?—some rudimentary acquaintance with the natural sciences, for the familiarising the youthful mind with the laws of the material world, as a true revelation of the Almighty Father ; some study of history, both of nations and individuals, since the sovereign authority of facts is no mean guarantee against irreligious panics ; and to know how others have suffered and waited and conquered in the cause of goodness and truth, is a noble stimulus for the young. May the day soon come when the reading of English history and English biographies in all our public schools, shall be placed on at least an equal level of importance with the battles of the gods, and the vicious fables of Paganism. Nay, on behalf of many a Christian mother, and in the true interests of national morality, is it quite too bold to hope, in the presence of a former head-master of Harrow, that Juvenal and Aristophanes may soon be thought unfit books to place in the hands of growing schoolboys, and that the formation of a correct classical taste may not be deemed of such paramount importance as to justify what to simple minded people looks like the needless distillation of so much moral sewage into the excitable imagination of youth ?

Last in order, but first in potency, is the grace of our Lord, whether in the truths of His inspired Word, or in the healing virtue of His sacraments, or in the ordinance of His ministry, or in the fellowship of His saints. This is the old way and the new—the wisdom which we shall never fathom, the love we shall never comprehend till we see Him, the only life that quickens, the only presence that saves. And, indeed, grave as things may seem, there is no cause whatever for an ignoble or irrational despair. Christianity has not failed. Christ is not dead. The Church is not asleep. The world is not forsaken. The history of human thought is a history of reactions. The great bulk of society has never been more than very thinly veneered with what the apostles understood by Christianity. Heresy is but the inevitable revolt of Paganism against faith. There ever has been, there ever will be, more or less of a steady, though stealthy infiltration of practical heathenism into the thoughts and feelings of the world. And if a clergyman may be pardoned for saying it, the work to be done first, the work that lies at the root of all other work, the work that alone can prepare a safe way for parliamentary interference with the patent evils of our time, is the humble, simple, blessed work of us parish priests in declaring the gospel of our Lord. It is not

too much to say that we simply exist to keep religion alive among men, and that never was our task grander, our resources larger, our difficulties harder, our reward nobler. Only let us have a true spirit of progress, a faculty of clear insight into what is going on all round us, the courage to turn our faces, not our backs, to the problems of the day, a resolute determination to show an unbroken front in the face of our foes, and to love one another as He gave us commandment, even though conscience and honesty in some things compel us to differ; careful, while proclaiming that God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all, to give out the true revelation of Him, and not our own substitute for it; conscious that unless we know the world we cannot influence it, yet never dreaming that we shall regenerate society by dining with it, or that compliances with the world can ever glorify Him, who was born that He might overcome it.

On two other points, closely and practically connected with our subject, may I say a few closing words?

One immense advantage of a parish priest's position is, that in a sense he belongs equally to all classes of society, and is free to go where he pleases without fear of intrusion. Now there is one section of English society which, for one cause or other, is less looked after than it deserves. I mean that lower middle class immediately beneath the more wealthy tradesman, immediately above the labourer and artisan, exercising an immense and direct influence on the working classes, and the main constituent of the vestries and local governing bodies in our large towns. Almost invariably possessing the franchise, and eagerly exercising it, with dissenting proclivities familiar to the readers of "*Salem Chapel*," and politics that greatly preponderate to the liberal side, their theology the theology of the *Daily Telegraph*, with excellent qualities, moderate education, much worldly shrewdness and human kindness, they as much constitute the flock of an English clergyman as any other class of his parishioners: it is the Church's interest as well as duty to try to win them to her side.

No one will deny that the one object of our teaching is to help men to know God, that they may resemble Him. There is, however, reason to suppose that we are still suffering under an intelligible reaction from the Christless morality of the last century, and that in close and vital connection with a dogmatic teaching which expounds the ideas, and indicates the principles of our faith, a fuller, plainer, and more systematic method of Christian ethics is one great want of the day. It has been well said by an accomplished Nonconformist, that "if right principle is the logic of human character, right feeling is its rhetoric; and that one reason why modern preaching is less powerful than it might be, is because it does not dwell sufficiently upon the depth and intensity of God's delight in man's well-doing and the fierceness of His indignation at sin." What, in the same groove of thought, I venture to press is this, that simple elementary moral teaching, in close connection with our Lord's person, and constantly illustrated by His life, is the true development of the faith which works by love: the essential glorifying of the living and righteous Lord; and that, if given with such careful detail, as to be really useful, and on a system wide enough to cover the surface of our complicated modern life, it would conciliate to our doctrine many who now profess not to understand it—it would satisfy those who, while not so unjust as

to expect us all to be highly cultured, or powerful reasoners, can fairly demand of us that we be preachers of righteousness.

Professor Seeley has observed on the amazing success which has followed the universal inculcation of the duty of benevolence. There is a still greater success to be had, and quite within our reach. If we could make up our minds, as part of our didactic system, frequently to catechise our schools, occasionally to address our congregations on such homely but practical topics as the meaning of honesty and temperance, and brotherliness and sympathy and truthfulness; on the use of money, and the government of the tongue, on humility and purity, no doubt we should undertake a task needing tact and skill, tenderness, and courage; but we should be fulfilling our ministry, and edifying our brethren, and honouring our God: occupying the place of the old Hebrew prophets, we should denounce with equal justice and equal sternness the hardness of the rich and the craftiness of the poor, the tradesman's false weights and the scamping work of the journeyman. Professor Beesly could no longer taunt us with always being on the safe side of capital against labour; and without fettering the conscience in a subtle and fatiguing casuistry, we should strengthen it to be healthy, and train it to be free.

Here, at any rate, the ground is firm beneath us; and in a conflict, which is no mimic fight on heath-clad slopes, but a deadly grappling between good and evil, our task is plain, our work is one. Only let us trust in God, and not in parliaments; in the power of truth, not in the cunning of words: knowing that the Church is never so impregnable as when she consents to be united—never so deserves to be strong as when she dares to be true.

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The Rev. G. BUTLER, M.A., Principal of Liverpool College, read the following paper:—

WERE the Church to withdraw itself from all practical questions of politics and morals, and restrict itself to theological questions, this, during an age of mental and bodily inactivity, might cause little practical inconvenience. But in times like the present, when political and moral questions are keenly agitated, when their solution one way or another is felt by men to be of immediate practical influence on their lives, this attitude of the Church becomes very injurious. Religion becomes too much identified with a merely theoretic life, and an opposition is thus unduly raised against it.

The inevitable result of this state of things is thus expressed by De Tocqueville:—

“The religionists are regarded as the enemies of liberty, and the friends of liberty attack religion: the high-minded and the noble advocate subjection, and the meanest and most servile minds preach independence: honest and enlightened citizens are opposed to all progress, whilst men without patriotism and without principles are looked on as the apostles of civilisation and intelligence.”

These generalisations may seem to some to exaggerate the facts of

the case. But what is meant is, I take it, this—that the consequence of the abandonment of practical questions on the part of the religious portion of any community, is a perversion and disorganisation of the moral forces which influence society.

Moral questions will assuredly be dealt with actively. If those who are the friends of religion are observed to withdraw from that activity, religion becomes, however wrongly, in the minds of many identified with moral turpitude and inactivity. It is falsely believed to be the cause of that inactivity, and hence those who are active in moral questions are not unnaturally apt to inveigh against it. If the Church refuses to be our moral teacher, its influence on the active thought and progress of the nation towards good is at an end.

Some apparently are of opinion that a negative protest against evil, on the part of the Church, is enough. But in these aggressive times something more than this is needed. Churchmen need to show not only the example of blameless lives, but a bold and vigilant front against the aggressions that are made—sometimes openly, sometimes insidiously—against the principles of social order, religion, and morality.

There are many social problems and troubles of the existence of which no one is ignorant, and a solution of which all true philanthropists earnestly desire. Besides, there is a great mass of people who derive their information entirely, and their principles in great part, from the public journals. They are impatient for the solution of questions which more deeply thinking men are patiently considering; and any one who steps forward with a specious, plausible remedy for an acknowledged evil, is gladly welcomed by them. Having given a hearty welcome to a measure, they do not look too particularly into it. Some schemes, indeed, having been accepted by men just because they offer a pretence for doing something, are maintained and supported in spite of flagrant violations of morality and decency, and constitutional right, which they can be shown to contain. "At least," it is argued, "something is done."

Now although inactivity in any community leads to stagnation, and decay, yet there are few symptoms of returning life which require more narrowly watching than just this—"a desire to have something done," If the Church is not to abdicate its high function of being the witness in a corrupt age to the morality of the gospel as well as to the special doctrines of Christianity, it must be prepared, in the first instance, jealously to watch the character of legislation which touches social and moral questions; and in the next instance, to array its forces and direct its influence, actively and positively, as well as negatively, against all crude, immature, and ill-considered attempts on the part of the Legislature of this country to deal with social problems. The duty of such resistance rests upon clergy and laity alike, upon Christian women no less than Christian men. But it concerns the clergy especially to do their utmost to give a healthy bias to public opinion. I heard of a clergyman recently, who was pressed to take an interest in a social movement of great importance; and his answer was, "I am so fully occupied in praying for the souls of those committed to my pastoral care, that I have no time for social questions." Surely, one would think, one of the objects which a zealous minister would have most at

heart in his intercessions for the souls of his flock would be that they might be kept pure from that moral defilement which is fostered by an immoral law being enforced. An immoral law is a worse thing than a bad man ; for the influence of the one is short-lived, that of the other is handed down from generation to generation. Therefore our preachers should inform their minds, and open their mouths, and utter words of timely warning against evil, and not be as "dumb dogs who cannot bark." They should in no respect fall behind the vigilance of the Non-conformists, who are generally well-informed about all matters that concern the moral well-being of their congregations, and who have recently uttered, with singular unanimity, a voice of well-deserved reprobation against certain legislative enactments which they deemed no less prejudicial to English morality, than repugnant to English notions of fairness, self-respect, and personal right. "There is a party," says De Tocqueville, "at the present time, whose object it is to materialise mankind, to hit upon what is expedient, without heeding what is just, to acquire knowledge without faith, and prosperity without virtue."

This materialism, which has long been silently working, has culminated in legislative enactments highly typical of the evil referred to—I mean the Contagious Diseases Acts. Against these and similar embodiments of materialism, the Church ought to form a standing protest.

We have heard lately the statement of a great advocate of morality, as well as freedom of thought and justice to all classes alike—the Prime Minister of England—that provincial opinion is very useful as a corrective to the opinion of the London clubs, as expressed in the leading journals. I heartily endorse that opinion. I regard it as a fortunate circumstance that the Church Congress is not a metropolitan Congress, but that it gathers in turn from the great centres of provincial life contributions towards the common stock of experience which help the Church of England to fulfil—or at least to recognise—its duties as a National Church.

I think that the intermixture of North and South, of manufacturing and agricultural interests, and of the various parties into which the Church of England is divided, has a very healthful influence in promoting mutual good understanding, mutual sympathy, and union for good. But the clergy of the Church of England are, it seems to me, in a position to do that for public opinion which the provincial press does in reference to the metropolitan press. They are brought into daily association with men of all classes—with workmen and employers of labour—with landed proprietors and tenant-farmers—with miners and agricultural labourers. And they, if they use their opportunities aright, have the greatest facilities of modifying anything that is crude, or misconceived, or erroneous in the opinions formed upon the statements and leaders of the public journals.

And when I speak of the clergy acting as a corrective to the extravagancies, and occasional want of truth, and meanness of the press, I do so simply because their office brings them more face to face with the great eternal verities of the Christian religion. They have an unfailing talisman at hand, if only they have the intellectual and spiritual insight, and the moral courage necessary to apply it to the vexed questions of the day.



But it is not to the exclusion of the laity that I speak. They, too, can do a great work in maintaining a high standard, not only of Church action, but of legislative morality. If I quote the instance of a layman whose voice was raised against a legislative measure which I am not allowed to name—if I but mention the name of one of the patriarchs of the House of Commons, Mr Henley, I shall be borne out by the memory of many in the assertion that words of greater weight never fell from the lips of any British representative than those which were uttered by that venerable statesman on a recent occasion.

It is in no party sense that I refer to such utterances. But regarding the welfare of the British nation as intimately bound up with that of the National Church, I hold it to be the duty of all true Churchmen to make up their minds whom they will serve. For these are critical times. There is approaching, even if it has not already begun, a contest between materialism and all that we have hitherto regarded as sacred. If the material forces preponderate over the moral and religious forces, then we can anticipate for this Church, for this nation, nothing but downfall and decay. But if a voice be uttered by the Church of England like that which has been uttered recently by one after another of the Nonconformist bodies, condemning all immoral legislation, then we may hope for a reprieve. And I may here add, that the importance of these considerations is greatly increased when we take into account the responsibilities of the Church of England in its missionary character, and in reference to our colonial empire. How can the Church consistently preach Christian purity on the one hand, and on the other tolerate the imposition on our dependencies—especially in British India—of a law based on the doctrine of the necessity of vicious indulgence?

Of one thing we may be certain—that we shall be judged by our deeds. If we, the clergy and laity of the Church of England, are found in all questions as the advocates of morality and virtue; if we show that we can duly estimate the claims of various classes of men—that we can respect their convictions without abandoning our own; if we not only practically reprove the evil deeds of drunkards and profligates by living virtuously, but try to check and strike at the root of drunkenness and vice, then we may continue to retain the respect of the various classes of which society in England consists. But if we constantly take the wrong side; if we are found continually acting in opposition to the conscience of the mass of the people, in public questions; if we walk in the steps of those, whether Papists or Churchmen, kings or Parliaments, who burnt the martyrs, drove out Wesley and Whitfield, taxed the American colonies, upheld slavery, trafficked in Church preferments, supported monopolies, withstood the application of our endowments to the purposes of general education, worshipped mammon in pews, tied up land by vexatious laws, connived at drunkenness, and made sin easy and safe,—then, I think, the cry will come from all parts of England—ay, from every corner of the United Kingdom—against the Church of England, “Away with it! why cumberest thou the ground?” But there is no adequate reason, I trust, for such apprehension. The clergy and laity of the Church of England are, or ought to be, the best educated class in the country. Why should they

have less discernment than Nonconformists as to what are "people's questions?" Partly, I may throw out as a hint for further discussion, that the education of our ancient universities is not of a sufficiently practical nature.

One piece of advice I may venture to offer, and that is, not to neglect on "people's questions" the voice of the intelligent and active women of England. Depend upon it their voice will always be raised, whether it be listened to or not, on the side of religion and morality. Knowing how strong and high a sense of duty actuates them, I can scarcely repress my indignation at the tone in which their labours for the public good are spoken of by some organs of the press, and by some legislators in the House of Commons, who seem not to be aware that they are slandering nobler and higher natures than their own. From the clergy, at least, such efforts for the moral and social welfare of the nation ought to receive a hearty welcome. For they know what questions touch poor men in their homes and in their families. They know how useful to them in their house-to-house visitations are their own wives and daughters, or the ladies from the hall. They know the advantage in dealing with children—especially orphans and poor girls who have been led astray—of feminine tact and gentleness. Therefore, if the Church is to be looked up to as a mother by the people of England, let her by all means cultivate friendly and cordial relations with the matrons and daughters of England, and not only that, but let the deep-felt convictions of thoughtful women be taken more seriously into account, and their independence of judgment respected.

These views are not confined to one class of men in politics, philosophy, or religion. They are held by earnest and able men of different nations—of whom I may mention two representatives—Father Hyacinthe and Dr Dollinger. Both are strongly of opinion that in a corrupt age the Church must greatly develop in her social character, unless she resigns the functions of a moral teacher and a national guide. But as yet the Church of England is very deficient in organisation for moral purposes and schemes in comparison with some bodies of Dissenters—viz., the Wesleyans and Baptists.

And now it is time that I should conclude. Let me urge upon this Congress the necessity of organisation. It was organisation that secured for the people of England the blessing of religious education last year, and there must be organisation to expose and successfully withstand all endeavours that are made to demoralise society. The sword of faith is an aggressive weapon. Men of great faith have been men of great activity. Want of activity argues want of faith. Errors in judgment may have sprung from want of knowledge, but when once the truth is known there is no excuse for erroneous judgment or for faltering action. Let the Church awake to the great issues which are dividing nations and setting class against class, and let her throw her great influence—derived no less from memories of good deeds done than from her present connection with the State—unhesitatingly into the scale of truth, and justice, and moral purity, and then we may hope to see the people of England recognising the Church's value as a national institution, and the Church itself growing in favour and spiritual power as it grows in activity, known even more than now by

the enlightenment and piety of its prelates, by the learning of its dignitaries, and the self-sacrificing devotion of its pastors and curates; and regarded by the nation as the stay of those who waver, the supporter of those who faint, and the organiser of those who strive—often amid sore trial and discouragement—to fight against every assault of Satan in defence of Christian morality, Christian liberty, and the truth of God.

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### The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

WILL my friend Mr Butler just permit me to occupy those two minutes which he did not occupy, by making one observation, and that is this. My dear friend Mr Butler has drawn something of a contrast between the energies of our Nonconformist brethren, which energies we welcome whenever they are exerted in a good cause, and the seeming apathy of the clergy of the Church of England. Now, of all the moral questions which at present occur to our minds, I suppose there is none that forces itself upon us with so much anxiety as that of temperance. I suppose we all allow that the curse and scourge of our nation is intemperance. Now, I think it due to an absent friend of mine, the venerable the Archdeacon of Coventry, to say, that in a place that is called rather old-fashioned—Convocation—he did me the honour of asking me to second him in a proposition which he made to that house, and which resulted in the appointment of a Committee upon the subject of intemperance. I believe, that of all the documents that have been produced upon that important, grave, and vexed question of intemperance, no document is more important, or has received more general attention, than the Report of that Committee of the Lower House of Convocation.

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### ADDRESS.

The Rev. C. W. FURSE, M.A., Vicar of Staines, Middlesex, Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford.

MY LORD,—The first question I have to ask myself, in the face of the subject which is now before us, is this,—Can the Church of Christ expect the blessing of God when it deals with the moral disorders of society, if it applies any remedies except the very best of all good remedies within its power? I mean, in other words,—Can the moral corruption of society in a great country be expected to be healed by anything less than spiritual and supernatural means? If, in a Christian land, the water is bitter, it never will be cured by the natural savour of common salt, but only the salt that is shed from the prophet's cruse; and if the Church herself goes forth to preach to the world as if it had no real faith in its own gospel, is it at all likely that the world will have faith in that same gospel? If the Church (as it has been deplored by almost every speaker that has preceded me) has failed to a great extent—I do not wish to exaggerate the fault—in leavening society, and on the contrary, has been often too much leavened by it, trying to convert it, as Mr Thorold said, by dining with it,—then I believe, the real cause has been that the Church has been afraid of her own power, and that fear has chilled the fervour of her lips. When she has come forth to speak to man, she has spoken with stammering lips, where hesitation has been fatal, instead of revealing the whole counsel of God. The Church of Christ—it is a truism, I know, to say so—must be true to herself. Her powers are supernatural, and when she goes into the world, every branch of the Church

must be true to itself, and every section of every branch must be true to itself. Every member of every theological school in this and every country must be true to himself. English Catholics, for instance, will do no good by aping Roman Catholics,—Episcopalians will do no good by aping Presbyterians,—lest the many outsiders that we have looking on, well pleased to see our entanglements, shall, according to their respective partialities, assign to each party that which they think best, and say that the lion is wearing the ass's skin, or the ass the lion's. (Question, question.)

THE PRESIDENT.—The reverend gentleman is quite in order.

THE REV. C. W. FURSE.—My Lord, I cannot understand the Church ignoring the fact that there are among us, in the promiscuous assemblage of Churchmen so-called, persons—sad to say that there are men, and sadder still to say that there are women—who are not ashamed to say that Christianity is paling before the dawn of a higher civilisation. (No, no.) It is perfectly true, though if you like to shut your eyes against the very truth, you may; but I speak that which I know, and testify that which I have seen; and I will say to those who cry “No, no,” that while persons holding such an opinion are to be found in that microcosm of the Church and the world which may be seen in almost every Sunday-morning congregation in the fashionable churches of a large city, and when it is notorious that persons tell us that it is expedient for us that the supernatural Christ of St John, and St Paul, and St Augustine, should go away, and that, instead of that, the Christ—the ethical Christ of that—I will say it in a parenthesis—beautiful book “*Ecce Homo*,” shall come back to us instead, then I say it will be seen how possible it is for the Church, having so little confidence in its own power, to come forth and engage the confidence of the world. I cannot conceive it possible, my Lord, that any Church can expect to gain the confidence of outsiders, unless there be real discipline within the Church. The Church is a body, and there is an analogy certainly between the mystical body and the natural body. You cannot conceive of a body performing the functions of a body with vital health and strength, unless it has power to expel from itself poison. No more can the body of Christ exist on earth and perform its functions, unless it has that same power, which is discipline. You may remember that for many of the later years of Mr Keble's life, the desire for discipline filled a large portion of his great heart; and when I see our younger clergy, and think of the noble work they have before them, and the greater ventures of faith to which they will be called, I do feel that experience and common-sense, without the aid of any preconceived theory, will make them see the necessity of discipline in the Church. But I know very well there is a great danger, especially when we are speaking of the most solemn things, of losing the pith and point of practical wisdom in using general terms, such as the “church” and the “world,” or, as the subject-paper puts it, “society.” Now, what I desire to insist upon in the time that remains to me is this, that society, or the world, as well as the Church, after all, when you look at the very root of the matter, is made up simply of individual souls; and if the moral corruption of society is to be cured, it must be by the application to individual souls, and, in the main, by an individual hand, of those supernatural remedies which Christ has given to the Church. I am speaking in the presence, I am thankful to say, of more than one headmaster of our public schools; and I will use a public school as an illustration of what I mean. We have heard for many years of our life, and many surrounding me have been almost tired of hearing, a good deal about creating a high, moral, and gentlemanlike tone in the public schools. I am not depreciating it, but every one of us knows who has had to deal with souls (and with his own soul first), that there is no possibility of establishing a high, moral, and religious tone in a public school, unless you deal with individuals. How often have fine eloquent sermons been thrown broadcast upon us, and uttered in vain, trying to raise us to this standard, when our own souls have been festering with unforgiven sins! And when I am asked to go and preach, as other gentlemen here are also asked—as my friend Mr Ryle, if I may call him so, has been asked to preach to eight hundred boys in Eton Chapel, I say we have had doubtless the same thought in our hearts—namely, that it is no use to

talk to those boys about high morality and gentlemanlike conduct, unless we apply the saving grace of Christ to every individual soul amongst them. I would say to them when I address them, when they are going to universities, into the army, or to parliament,—Why leave this school, dear friend, with one single unforgiven sin festering in your heart? and every sin is unforgiven unless it is repented of, and unless it is confessed. (A voice—"To the Great High Priest.")

THE PRESIDENT.—I think we must ask Mr Furse for an explanation of that; confessed to whom?

THE REV. C. W. FURSE.—To God. I do think there is one advantage in speaking instead of reading, which is that you can take advantage of every interruption. I do not think that interruption was called for, but I shall take advantage of it. I began to speak of the Church being true to itself, and every member of that Church being true to himself. That interruption has put me out: but its effect will be to make me say at once what I intended to say later in my speech. I have not the slightest hesitation in the world in speaking out before every one in this place what I believe to be the truth. If any man standing here choose to say that his grandfather was an ape instead of a man, he may. If he choose to doubt his identity, he may. And if a priest standing here does not believe himself to be a priest, let him say so; but for myself, I know that I am a priest, and I say that I am a priest. Now I do believe in my conscience that whatever instrument you use, there is a personal application of that saving cross of Christ which must be made to every diseased member in society, and that the corruption of society can only be cured by that personal application from an individual to an individual. ("No, no," and dissent.) My friends, when a preacher is preaching to an assembly, and holding up the cross of Christ—preaching the gospel—is not the test of his being a good preacher, his making a personal application to the soul of the person to whom he is preaching? (Cheers.) Very well; the means are nothing, the end is the thing that we desire. So long as you can attain your end by your means do so, but let me try, so far as it be legitimate, to attain my ends by my means. Thousands of persons, when the springs of their hearts are moved by the power of preaching, the moment their conscience is made active, require to apply what they have heard to themselves. Amongst those thousands there are hundreds who cannot apply it to themselves without distinct help from the hand of a brother; and—let me be hissed and hooted or scouted down—I shall say what I believe to be the truth, that God has put into our hands as priests a ministry of reconciliation, to be exercised with a discriminating, prudent, sober, and loving hand; not like a quack-doctor, who supposes that one medicine is a panacea for all cases, but dealing with each case as skilfully as you can. If you have a row of narrow-necked bottles, and you desire to fill them, you are not to do so by taking a pitcher of water and throwing it broad-cast over them; but you will take the pitcher and the bottle into your hands, and not set any one down until you know that it is properly filled. I have heard, since I came to this Congress, of an engine-driver who said of his clergyman, "That man knows more of my inside than I know of the inside of my own engine;" and if the corruptions of society are going to be cured, you may depend upon it, whether it is in a public school, in an ordinary congregation, or in the Church at large, they are to be cured by a personal application to each individual, in his vocation and ministry, of the saving cross of Christ. In its relations to the world, the Church must reveal the whole counsel of God, and be true to itself. In its own organisation it must have discipline, if it is to make an impression on the outside world; and with regard to individuals, the ministry of reconciliation—I am not using the words in any narrow sense—must be used in individual cases, by the individual hand, with the utmost discretion, and with sobriety and faithfulness to Christ and the Church.

The Rev. E. T. LEEKE, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, and  
 Vicar of St Andrew-the-Less, Cambridge.

I MUST ask the indulgence of this great audience in listening to one who is not able, on account of age, to speak with authority to the majority of those present. You cannot expect me to come with information and instruction and advice; but we are met together to consider difficulties,—we are met together to consider how best we, as the Church of England, may affect society,—how we may affect the moral state of society. We all feel that to be a great difficulty. We shall never touch that difficulty by being satisfied to deal in generalities, by being squeamish, by being frightened to look into questions of which we may well be ashamed. There are times, and this may be such a time, at which it is necessary to speak more carefully about one subject than one would do at other times. There may be subjects which we can only just allude to or touch upon; but do not let us, as members of the Church of England,—as members of this Congress,—forget that those questions, whatever they are, if they are not to be enlarged upon to-day, are at least not to be forgotten by us. We all much prefer theory to practice; we all much prefer to hear discussions—say on papal infallibility—than to go and set to work in our parishes; and, I think, when we go away from this Congress, the best lesson we can carry with us, at least the best lesson I can learn,—and numbers of those who are as young as I am will know that it is the best lesson they can learn,—is that we should go back to our parishes, as has been said this morning, fervent in spirit, as well as determined to serve the Lord. Oh, that we might but learn that! If we can but go back determined, by all the means in our power, to speak, individuals to individuals, and try to lead men to the knowledge of that Saviour for whom we are so thankful, we shall indeed have got a blessing in this Congress. On one or two practical points, I wish to say a few words; and first, on the subject of intemperance. The present state of things we are all agreed is awful, and something must be done. We are not agreed as to the means. There are two aspects in which we may look at it: the one is an aggressive aspect, and that pertains to our Legislature, and to us in so far as we can act upon the Legislature; and the other is the strengthening from inside,—the question of helping men in spite of Acts of Parliament, or in spite of license allowed by our law, to live sober and godly lives. Against the first,—the aggressive,—we have the world; against the second is arrayed, I think, in many cases, the flesh; and against both is arrayed the devil. We do want, as a Church, to give more definite support to any movement which our Government may make in the cause of temperance. We cannot do without that. Now there are one or two questions which would be touched upon in any legislation, such as the closing of public-houses on Sunday, for part or the whole of Sunday, and a large diminution in the number of public-houses. I can only say that public opinion in the North of England is far more advanced than it is in the Midland Counties and in the South; and the effect of that has been seen most powerfully in the action of the magistrates in the different towns in giving effect to the Suspensory License Bill. In the northern towns that Suspensory Bill has been something more than a dead letter. In many other towns in the Midland Counties and southern counties of England, the magistrates have acted as if the Suspensory Bill meant nothing at all. (No, no.) I name one town, and that is Cambridge, the town in which I live. In our town the magistrates have practically acted as if Mr Bruce's Suspensory Bill was a dead letter, in sending, in almost every case of an application for a fresh license, a petition to the Home Secretary to grant it. I maintain, therefore, that we must bring to bear upon the Government, upon our magistrates, and upon our members, pressure from without on this question. Then, with regard to temperance,—teetotalism, if you like; I do not care which you call it,—you won't perhaps like all that I am going to say,—it is just a subject on which indifference prevails amongst the better classes, indifference does not prevail upon it amongst the lower classes; and indifference prevails upon it in our

Church of England, as contrasted with the great bodies of Dissenters. (No, no.) I can only say, that the apparent results do point to the existence of such indifference in the Church of England. In spite of the report to Convocation, which is, as has been said, the best report upon intemperance that has been produced, and which is circulated very widely indeed by the Dissenting bodies,—in spite of that, the Church of England is indifferent upon the subject of intemperance—(No, no),—at all events, indifferent compared with the action of Dissenting bodies; for we do find amongst them, because they see the terrible evils of intemperance, a vast proportion of the ministers of each denomination willing to give up what they do not consider to be wrong for the sake of their weaker brethren. Now, to give up for the sake of our weaker brethren anything, we know is not only right, but we know it is absolutely our duty. I do not say teetotalism is absolutely the duty of the clergy of the Church of England,—I should be the last to say that,—but I do think we want to give far more consideration than we have ever given to this subject, because we find that the consideration of it amongst the Nonconformists has led an immense number of their ministers to become teetotallers; and, I think, if it had been equally well considered by the clergy of the Church of England, a larger proportion would be teetotallers amongst them. Now the practical result of this indifference has been that Dissenters are the chief advocates of temperance and teetotalism. Dissenters claim the vast majority of teetotallers. I do not wish the Church of England, however, to emulate the narrowness of a certain chapel in Cornwall, the members of which, when a preacher came down on trial, did this. They had “Teetotal Methodists” written over the door of the chapel; and before they would allow him to open his mouth in the sermon, they said—“Are you a teetotaller?” There was no answer. “Are you a teetotaller?” Still no answer. They repeated the question, “Are you a teetotaller?” and so at last they sang him out. I do think we might learn a lesson from what was told me the other day by a young man in Liverpool, who has lately left us for that city. He is in the excise. He said—“At the church to which I go, the minister is a teetotaller, the churchwardens are teetotallers, and most of the members are teetotallers; and I tell you what it is, sir,—you can hardly get on without being a teetotaller.” I said, “Well, that does not suit you very well;” and he said, “Well, on the whole, I think it is a very good thing; I have been a teetotaller myself for the last month.” Now, there are plenty of things to laugh at in teetotallers. Our reasons against them as members of the Church of England very often are that they bring unfair arguments in favour of their views. Another thing is that we have objections to the form of pledge which they use, and which most teetotallers use for both adults and children. Another, and the greatest reason, is, that we do not happen to be teetotallers ourselves. Now let me tell you,—I am perfectly certain it is the truth,—the moment a man becomes a teetotaller, he looks at the question through a different pair of eyes; and when some of our clergy are brought face to face with the terrible evils of drink in our great towns, they are obliged, though they may not hold with the vagaries of teetotallers, or go all the way with them, yet they are obliged to take up the question; and, in taking it up, they very likely find that they are obliged to become teetotallers themselves. There are plenty of us, I know, young clergymen in this conference; do let us consider this question, and not be driven by the fact that we are not teetotallers ourselves, into neglecting the whole question of organisation against intemperance. We dislike intemperance; we warn people against it; but we are much too apt to be shy of organising against it; and if we do want to save men from some of those things which hinder them from accepting the gospel of our Saviour, we must touch this question, and we must not be afraid of it. Don't you think that we ought to remember that we are set by Christ as shepherds of His flock? and must not we meet the wolf? Is it enough to go to some individual afterwards,—some one of the sheep,—and stroke it, and say, “We are sorry for you; we are sorry that you got hurt;” and yet never to go to meet the wolf ourselves? We are very glad, indeed we are very anxious, to save people from

being drunkards ; we are very sorry that they are drunkards ; and whatever organisation exists, whatever means come to our hands by which we can resist intemperance, oh ! do let us use it. There was another subject on which I meant to speak, but for that I have not time.

THE PRESIDENT.—The subject was “Refuges ;” and I am sorry that Mr Leeke has not more than half a minute left.

REV. E. T. LEEKE.—I will use the half minute to say that in the course of my address I was very anxious to state that I think refuges, as at present used, are a necessary evil. I think if the members of the Church of Christ rose to a proper appreciation of their duties, they would make refuges unnecessary. I have to do with one myself. I think, whilst things are in their present state,—whilst society is in its present state,—we ought to work hard, heart and soul, for them, to try and support them in no niggardly spirit, so that they may be really useful, and really draw to them those whom we wish to draw into them. But I do think those persons whom we seek to bring into refuges ought to be drawn one by one by kind, loving, Christian hearts.

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## DISCUSSION.

### LORD FITZWALTER.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I am requested to say a few words upon this great question to this great assembly. I feel myself utterly incompetent to add to those great arguments and those important statements that have been made to you by previous speakers. But there is one respect in which I differ in position from all those who have gone before me. Those who have gone before me in this matter have all been ministers of our one great Church. I stand forward as representing the other body of that one great Church—the laity of this country ; and I invite those who are laymen among this assembly to join with me in declaring that we recognise to its full extent the responsibility that rests upon us, as well as on the ministers of our Church, in reference to these matters. As for saying anything upon the causes which contribute to the vice and ignorance and wretchedness of so many persons in this country, we know perfectly well, every one of us, that they are inherent in the hearts of human nature. A general statement of that kind may well be said to be useless when we consider the remedies for that corruption. We must go more deeply into the consideration of questions that influence the human mind, to enable us practically to grapple with the remedies for this evil ; but the remedies for the evil, I may say, are of that character that it is impossible for the ministers of our Church to cope with them without inviting the laity to join with them. I am prepared, as a most humble individual, to take my part in this responsibility. I know that our venerated Chairman, the Bishop, has invited us to say nothing but what we really believe will add to the information of this meeting. I have relieved myself of the anxiety I felt to express, on the part of the laity, our cordial acquiescence in those general principles that have been put before us by the ministers of our Established Church. I trust the recollection of what we have heard upon this occasion will induce all of us to co-operate in the measures that are necessary for the destruction, or at all events the diminution, of the corruption of our times.

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### The Rev. JAMES COHEN, Rector of Whitechapel.

MY LORD,—I cannot pretend to enter at length into any of the grand principles that have been enunciated before this assembly ; but as the minister of a large parish in London, with about sixteen thousand people, the greater part of whom consist of the



very poor, I may be allowed to say a word or two on the more practical part of the subject that is now before us. I do not think it is any new problem that the Church has to solve in dealing with the corruptions of society. I think it is only the same that the apostle Paul had when he set out from Athens to Corinth, and that we are to deal with the problem in the same way, and on the same principles as the apostle dealt with them. Whatever may have been the cause of such a result of St Paul's ministry in Athens, certain it is that in Athens very few indeed were brought to the saving knowledge of Christ; and it seems to me that, pondering on this fact on the journey from Athens to Corinth, the apostle formed the resolution of which we read in his first epistle to the Corinthians—viz., that his ministry in Corinth should be devoted more especially to declaring the one grand, fundamental truth. He says—"I determined not to know anything among you but Jesus Christ and Him crucified;" and I think that the whole substance and essence of the problem we have before us now is concentrated in this one thing—viz., How can we best set forth this grand truth of God's Word, and bring it to bear most effectually upon the hearts and consciences of the people? That is the great end and aim which we ought to set before us; and all our machinery should be directed to the promotion of that one particular object. Now, I have listened with delight to the manifestations that have been elicited from time to time whenever the names of Wesley and Whitfield have been heard in this room. What was the secret of their power over the masses of the people? I think we have not far to seek; and if we would have that power again manifested in our land, let those who applaud Wesley and Whitfield go forth and preach the same truths that they proclaimed. Then, indeed, I think we should see that these truths have lost nothing of their vitality or their power; I think we should see souls brought to the saving knowledge of Christ, and the corruptions of the times dealt with, in a manner that would surprise ourselves. If time permitted, I should have liked to deal with these two parts of the subject: first, the means to be used in the parish itself; and, secondly, those which belong to the Church at large, as a body corporate, whose mission is to do God's work in the land. How is the parochial minister, as the agent of the Church, as the messenger of Christ, to bring the Word of God to bear most effectively upon the hearts and consciences of the people? I reply, by various means. I do not intend to enumerate all those means; but one grand means is open-air preaching. The people delight to come; and I can testify, of my own knowledge, that nothing has produced a greater effect—I won't say in conversion, but at any rate in making the people feel that we desire their conversion—than open-air services. And I have ventured upon another step, and I take the liberty of stating it here; for I listened with great delight to the eulogium that our President passed yesterday on the Nonconformist minister of this town. I have ventured to ask some of my friends, the leading Nonconformist ministers of the neighbourhood, to conduct open-air services in my parish, and I have stood by them while they have done it. Another thing I should like to say with regard to the general work of the Church, in its corporate capacity. Don't let the Church give us, who are ministers of large parishes, an impossible task, and then stand complacently by and see how we cannot do it. We talk of our parochial system: it is the greatest satire upon the Church of England to call it a system at all; it is only a parochial theory at present. I cannot understand why there should not be a better use of the great ministerial power that we possess. I say that the exercise of the ministry among the masses is work for our best men, and that our ecclesiastical arrangements, and especially the financial part of them, ought to be so adjusted as that our best men should be sent among the masses, and ecclesiastical incomes should be such as to provide adequate maintenance for such men while doing such work.

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## The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been asked, quite unexpectedly, during the address of the last speaker, to say a few words to you upon this most important subject, for I take it that no subject has engaged the attention of this Congress that can really compare in importance with this. His mind and heart must be very differently constituted from mine who has not felt some strange desires and yearnings rise up within him as he listened to those moving papers with which this discussion was opened. I hope they will, as has been said by a previous speaker, send us all back to our several homes with that burning fire of enthusiasm in our hearts, controlled, however, and modified by wisdom and experience, which will enable us to do better and more successfully than we have done hitherto something to the lessening of these great social evils under which the fabric of which we form a part, seems to be in some danger of crumbling even into dust. Earnestly and affectionately, and speaking humbly, yet as a Bishop of the Church of Christ, I pray you every one, in your own station of life, cultivate the restraint of the desires, and a more pure and refined simplicity of living. The luxury and the self-indulgence of the upper classes is imitated by the middle classes, and that again by the lower classes. A great deal has been said about the duty of the clergy to become teetotallers. I do not entirely subscribe to that doctrine, for more reasons than one. In the first place, what would be the worth of my example as a teetotaller upon the five hundred thousand people living in Manchester? It is all very well for me to get up on the platform of the Free-Trade Hall, and say that I am a teetotaller, when people may suppose that I have my cellar of wine at home, and indulge myself in private; but I do say, that greater simplicity of life is imperatively demanded, and I say that the clergyman who abjures port-wine, but loves turtle-soup, is not doing much to mend the manners of the age. And I venture to say further, that the clergyman who does not himself make a god of his belly, yet allows his wife and daughters to make gods of their backs, is no better; and I think, that when the apostle laid it down amongst the principles that are to govern the life of ministers that they ought to be able to rule their own households, not only is the clergyman to teach Christian principles to all that are brought within the range of his influence, but also to show to the world outside the practical effect of those principles in his own home. We are terribly loosing sight, I think, of true refinement in this vulgar love of money, and what money can buy. We forget what constitutes the true nobility of manhood and womanhood.

It is not the number of carriages and horses that we keep in our stables—it is not the changes of toilet that our ladies can produce at theatres or race-courses, that really make life graceful or refined—it is not the number of courses that we can put on our dinner-tables that makes a dinner-party pleasant. Who has not sat down with venison, and turtle-soup, and seen the sideboard laden with plate, and gone away, when all was over, with utter weariness? And who has not sat down at an hospitable table, with the plainest fare, but in company with refined and cultivated hearts, and spent an evening that sent one home with a sense of pleasure that perhaps from Lord Mayor's feasts we could not carry away? I am trying to bring a scheme into action, which I hope may lessen some of the difficulties produced by our vast social inequalities. I have mentioned it to several of my leading lay people in Manchester—and I hope to be able to develop the scheme in the course of this present winter. I want to form in Manchester a great lay organisation. We must have money—that is the first thing we must have. When we have formed ourselves into this organisation, I want a hundred of us to map out Manchester into ten different districts, to form ourselves into committees to go into those districts with money in our hands, and loving hearts guiding those hands, and wisdom also, and see what each district wants, and throw ourselves heart and soul into some of those terrible gaps, and see whether in Christ's gospel

there are not to be found bridges by which these chasms may be passed over. One more word, and this is the last. Simplicity of life—that is my first maxim; the next is—do try, dear friends, to identify yourselves more with the great social system to which you belong; do try and go out among these poor, these outcasts, you men and women on whom Providence has showered so undeservedly, so far as we are concerned, the choicest gifts. God has not given them to us to be wrapped up selfishly in our napkins, or used merely for our own comfort at home. We are bound to diffuse whatever Christian influence, whatever power for good God has given to us. And can we use them in a nobler cause than in trying to bring back the lost and fallen to Him who came to seek such and to save?

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### The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I am sure you will pass a bill of indemnity on me for having called on my right reverend brother the Bishop of Manchester. In some respects it exceeded my powers; but I think it would have been much to be regretted that one of the right reverend prelates, who presides over one of the most populous dioceses of England, should sit by and should say nothing on this question; and therefore I earnestly entreated my right reverend brother to rise and speak, and you have heard the result. But, my Lords and gentlemen, I must be fair. I hope you will stay five minutes beyond one o'clock, in order that I may not abridge the time allotted to other speakers.

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### BENJAMIN SHAW, Esq.

MY LORD,—My excellent friend Mr Thorold has spoken of three great remedies for the state of things which we so much deplore. He has spoken of the Government, of education, of the grace of God. I heartily assent to them all, and I presume to add yet one other—healthful intercourse between the different classes of society. In what I venture to say now, I do not so much presume to speak to the clergy, but rather, as better becomes me, to my brethren of the laity. I want to see if we cannot find out some bridge, as the Bishop of Manchester has so aptly called it, which may be of use to cross that great chasm which so unhappily separates the upper classes from what we may call the mechanics, the operatives, and the working classes. Can we find any common ground, which is at once accessible to us and acceptable to them, on which we may meet them in a form in which they may submit to be met. The upper classes have visited the lowest classes, but I am afraid it is true that they have very little hold on the mechanics and the operative classes. Now, it does appear to me that something may be done in this way by means of mechanics' institutes. It appears to me that if a kindly interest be taken in the management of those institutes, by lecturing to the men, teaching them, and going among them, a more friendly spirit will be generated among these classes of society, because the working classes will be met in a way that they can fully appreciate and value, and which will show them that those above them are their friends, and not their natural enemies. I venture to speak chiefly to the younger men, to those who have not contracted domestic ties, who can spare perhaps one or two evenings a week,—young professional men, young medical men, young men in business. I ask them to go to these institutes, as far as possible, to talk to the men, to make the men their friends, to lecture to them, to see them, and to give them everything that they will willingly receive, without unduly pressing themselves on them. I believe a great deal may be done in this matter if the upper classes will bring their superior intelligence and education to bear on those below them in an acceptable form. Now, I

may be told that this is not religion. I know it is not religion. I know it is not among the *spiritualia*, but it is in *ordine ad spiritualia*. I venture to say that we are in the position of a general with an enemy before him a few miles off, but with an impermeable jungle between him and that enemy. Now, how is he to get across that jungle and bring his artillery to the front, for the artillery cannot get across it as it is? He must first make roads on which the artillery can travel. And that is where we are: we have many of our clergy and laity, with the gospel in their hands, who are ready to work; but they cannot get utterance because they have not got personal influence. Now, I think it is not fair or wise to put this instrumentality upon the clergy. I am not sure that it is fair, because I think the clergy have enough to do as it is; and I am not sure that it is wise, because the clerical name sometimes creates a prejudice. Let the laity work heartily with the operative classes, and make themselves their friends in a way that they can understand, and then they will have made a road for the clergyman to come hereafter with the gospel of Christ, with its inestimable benefits,—benefits which that gospel, and that alone, can impart either here or hereafter.

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The Rev. H. T. EDWARDS, B.A., Vicar of Carnarvon.

MY LORD,—I shall occupy the few moments that I have, by dwelling upon one point which, I think, has not been touched upon this morning. Nothing has been said of the influence which the cheap press exercises upon the masses. In the country from which I come, I think the Church has suffered greatly by depreciating the extent and importance of this influence. For many years in Wales the cheap press has been exercising a very great influence upon the masses. The various dissenting sects have ten cheap penny weekly newspapers. They have a very large circulation in the town from which I come. Two newspapers, representing the political and religious opinions of two sects, are published every week, and have a very extensive circulation. Now the Church has only one exceedingly small and rather feeble newspaper, and I am bound to say she loses a great influence over the masses from not being fully and adequately represented in the press. Now, the cheap press has had a demoralising influence hitherto to some extent upon Wales. It has turned the religious life of the Dissenting chapels very often into a wild political and rabidly Radical life. We greatly require, that the influence of the press should be exercised in behalf of the Church. The fact is this,—there are very few of the clergy in Wales capable of writing Welsh, so as to influence the Welsh masses; and this is one of those evils that has arisen in the Church in Wales, from the fact that the Welsh element and the Welsh tongue has not been appreciated. I, for one, long to see the day when there will be one language spoken by all throughout the island, so that I do not wish to be misunderstood, as one of those Welsh fanatics who would uphold the Welsh language exclusively of English from sentimentality. But, as long as the Welsh language does exist, I am bound to say that it is our duty to make use of that language to influence the masses in every possible way.

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The Right Hon. EARL NELSON.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—We shall know one day, if we do not know it now, that the great question of this age in which we live is the raising of the lower classes in the social scale, just as in the time of the first Edwards, the question was the raising of the middle class in the social scale; and if the Church would realise her duty in carrying out the work of her Divine Head, she must not forget that she is

appointed to be the social, as well as the spiritual, regenerator of this nation. And when I say the Church, do not let it be imagined that I mean the clergy alone. I say to every layman who takes up these social questions—for the thought should give him more energy still—that he does not take them up as mere fancy questions; that he does not take them up as mere political questions; but he takes them up as his bounden duty as a Christian man; and this remark is true of all the people,—for example in the matter of temperance, of which you have been speaking. The working-men must, as Christians, endeavour to help themselves. There was a great truism uttered by Mr Akroyd, at the Church Congress at York: “You can do nothing for the working-man, unless you do it with the working-man.” And at that Church Congress we had the voice of a working-man telling us that they deplored this sin of drunkenness, and were working and praying and hoping to put it down; and if it is to be put down, the Church must do it in this way, for in no other way can it be done but by putting forth the right hand of fellowship to the best of the working-men and mechanic class, and trying how we can best work with them in putting down an evil which they consider the bane of their class as much as we do. But the one thing I want to press upon you is the responsibility which accrues to the Church as being the great almsgiver and the alms-distributor of the nation. I can assure you, that if we do not distribute our alms with judgment, we may do an immense deal to lower the people, and make them dependent instead of self-respecting. We do not want our regenerated Englishmen to be like the workmen of free Italy, where, I was told, if you go to see the glass-works of Venice, every scientific workman there will ask you for an alms. We want to raise them above that; we want to give them self-dependence, and we cannot do that if we distribute our alms carelessly; and I can assure you there is little that does more to estrange the intelligent working-man from the Church, than the knowledge that we clergy and laity are often so utterly taken in, and that we reward sham working-men and sham cases of distress. I am also certain of this: if they see that we, as a Church, are carefully working with them, carefully making our alms a means of raising the people into independence, instead of pauperising them, then we shall have them flocking round us, and acknowledging that we are doing the work of a National Church, as the great moral and social regenerator of this nation.

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### THE REV. S. THORNTON, M.A.

IN common with many more, I earnestly desire to return to my parish, not only with my spiritual life quickened, but also furnished with fresh suggestions for practical work. I propose therefore to deal practically myself with the subject before us. It is perfectly true, as it has been said, that it is of little use attacking symptoms instead of the disease; but in matters like this it will often be found that symptoms are the seeds of and means of propagating disease, and thus require to be dealt with. Thus, in scarlet fever, the peeling skin is the symptom of a malady in process of healing in a patient, and yet it may communicate disease to others; we therefore cut him off from contact with them. We must deal with the outward phenomena of moral corruption to a certain extent, though of course what is most needed is to attack it in its citadel, the fallen human heart itself.

I will touch on one symptom of moral corruption often met with, especially in our large towns—I mean profane speaking. In passing down the streets of a parish like mine, one is incessantly reminded of the psalmist's words, “Their throat is an open sepulchre.” I am a cemetery chaplain, and know what graves are like on a hot day in August; but they are not so pestilently foul as much of the language heard in the purlieus of our great towns. Are we doing anything to grapple with this evil? Here is a symptom involving contagion, and therefore calling urgently for treatment. The children catch up these expressions from their earliest years; they live in an atmos-

phere saturated with profanity; their minds are habituated to the desecration of holy things, and familiarised with what is vile, till the mental soil, as it were, is scraped away in which anything pure and elevating or reverential can grow. What are we doing? We must get the working classes themselves, as my Lord Nelson said with much truth, to work at such things as these, if much is to be done for their suppression. They would be nobly engaged in such efforts; better, some people think, than in some of the clamorous agitations in which they are often engaged. If we could wisely inaugurate a crusade against profanity, we should have all the best of the working-men on our side, and be providing a platform on which they could co-operate along with us. I believe one great help in this matter is the diffusion of pure and wholesome cheap literature in our parishes; another is, careful attention to the subject in our schools. One most important aspect of distinctly Christian education is this, the gentlemanly and refined tone which is sure to prevail in truly religious schools. I do not relish such contrasts as a previous speaker drew between the religious and the gentlemanly. There is an organic connection between what is spiritual and what is truly gentlemanly. Of course there is a sham gentlemanliness which is worth nothing; but there is a true gentlemanliness which is worth a good deal, and goes towards the completion of a Christian man, such as Tennyson describes—

“Who breaks the heathen and upholds the Christ,”

But not only this, but—

“Speaks no slander, no, nor listens to it;”

But loves—

“High thought, and amiable words,  
And courtliness.”

A truly gentlemanly tone infused into a school is a deadly antidote to foul and profane speaking, which is felt to be vulgar as well as sinful.

I fear I have no time to deal with another point, but I will allude to it—I mean lying. There are many marriages and churchings in my parish. With regard to the first, it is a deplorable fact that the majority of addresses handed in with banns of marriage prove, on inquiry, to be impostures. I have very little doubt that the same state of things prevails at registrars' offices. With reference to the latter, I am in the habit of having the names and addresses of those who come for churching taken down, in order (as is explained to them) that a friendly call may afterwards be paid. Will it be believed that the vast majority of the addresses so given are fictitious? In dealing with his parishioners who are not decided Christians, the minister is sometimes disposed to come to the harsh conclusion that the people are so habituated to falsehood that they never tell the truth except under special circumstances. (Oh, oh!) I am mentioning facts, and I think the parish clergy of large towns will go with me to a great extent, as such matters are of a kind about which the parochial clergy know better, perhaps, than some of the laity.

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### THE REV. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A.

MY LORD,—The Bishop of Manchester roused the enthusiasm of the meeting by touching on a chord, which was also glanced at slightly in the most eloquent address of Mr Farrar—viz., that the life and opinions of the upper classes must always react and assert an influence on the classes below them; and to that subject I wish to address myself for the five minutes at my disposal. Mr Furse excited some signs of disapprobation when he said that he found in society, among men and women alike, a prevailing belief that Christianity was almost dead. My experience in London society confirms to a large extent what he has said. Let me mention, by way of illustration, what one of the most intellectual women I ever met said to me the other day. When people

want to convert you to their opinion, they generally barb their bait with some compliment, sincere or insincere. So this lady opened her attack with a compliment. She said, "I wonder that any man possessing your brow can believe in Christianity." Finding me obdurate in my belief, I think I could see that she changed her opinion of my brow before the evening was out. She actually and sincerely thought that intelligence and Christianity were incompatible. Prebendary Thorold quoted, if I rightly remember, a passage from the melodious ravings of Mr Algernon Swinburne. (No, no.) Well, I will not dwell upon that point. But, at all events, you find this—that men like Professor Huxley are looked upon in large and influential circles of society as moral teachers who ought to be followed. When I was coming down here the other day, I happened to have one of his latest volumes with me; and in an address delivered to an audience of working-men, I found this passage, "Education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of nature, under which name I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways, and the fashioning of the affections and the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with these laws. For me, education means neither more nor less than this." That passage seems to me to ignore a fundamental fact in morals, namely, that the intellect is never in itself an originating power in human conduct, inasmuch as it is, and ever must remain, the obedient slave of the passions. Purify the affections, and ennoble the passions, and then you may educate the intellect as far as its inherent powers will admit of. But to educate the intellect, while leaving the affections and passions unpurified, would be like putting a blunderbuss in the hands of a madman, which he may employ innocently in shooting fowls, or mischievously in shooting men, and perhaps even himself. But how are you to purify and ennoble the passions? Men of Professor Huxley's school would tell us, by prescribing moral rules of conduct and ignoring dogma. Let me test that for a moment. I look over the page of ancient history, and there I find that the two great nations of antiquity arrived at the same time at the culmination of their intellectual brilliancy, and at the lowest depth of their moral degradation—Greece in the age of Pericles, and that period of Roman history which Juvenal has damned to everlasting infamy. Others tell us that the Sermon on the Mount, divorced from dogmatic teaching, comprises the whole duty of man. But let me suppose myself teaching morality to a child with that sermon for my text. I tell him that he is to forgive his enemies, to restrain his passions, and even to do good to those who do him harm. But if he asks me why nature prompts him to gratify his passions and have his own way,—I am not to explain to him that human nature has been brought under the dominion of some terrible aboriginal calamity, and so has been perverted from its true end. Or, again, if I tell him that he must fulfil the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, because such is the will of Christ, and he asks me why Christ should be obeyed,—I am not to tell him who Christ was. I must not tell him that the Preacher of the Sermon on the Mount was the Son of God made man. No; depend upon it, such teaching will never elevate humanity or cure its ills. And to those who think it can, I would say this: Your intellectual instruction may do very well while the sea is smooth and the sky serene; but when the storm arises, and the billows surge around you, you will find, like Sinbad the sailor, that instead of fixing, as you imagined, your grapple in the solid ground, you have in fact cast anchor on the back of a whale, which will sink beneath you in the hour of need, and leave you to perish in the deep.

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### The Rev. R. M. GRIER, M.A.

I WISH to speak for a few moments on the subject of intemperance. I do not believe that it is confined entirely to the working classes. The drinking customs of this country are the source of frightful evils in every class of the community; and every now and then, when the habit of drinking does not lead to the habit of drunkenness, it con

stantly so inflames and maddens the brute within us, that it breaks through all restraint, both social and religious.

Now, I want to bear my testimony to the practical value of teetotalism in dealing with the drinking customs of this country. My Lord Bishop of Manchester has said that it would be productive of very little good if he were to become a teetotaler. I think he under-estimates his influence. I am most perfectly convinced that it would add irresistible weight to the denunciations of drunkenness by the clergy if they were teetotalers. I do not believe that all clergymen could be teetotalers; but I am certain that ninety-nine out of every hundred could, and that it would be much better for them and their people.

And now one word about some mental stimulants. I believe that the excessive novel-reading of the present day, prevalent in all classes, is extremely injurious. Some of those novels are most pernicious in their tendencies. I do not read them myself; and I should just like to say this to those who write them: I have known novels of a wicked tendency put, by men of wicked lives, into the hands of those whom they intended to make their victims, as the first step to lead them to their ruin. And even when they are not of a pernicious tendency, I am convinced that they do great harm to the mind. They make life unreal, and tempt people to put themselves in positions to which they are not called by God, and never could be called. Of course the only remedy for this is for parents to see that their children do not read novels which are of a bad tendency, and that they read all novels in moderation. I am certain, too, that the masters of our public schools would do well to see what sort of literature is common among the boys. I have no hesitation in saying this, that the boys at our public schools need a closer supervision than they have at present.

Now one word about intercourse between the clergyman and his people. While Mr Furse was speaking of the means he has used, I heard expressions of dissent. May I tell this story. A person came to me in my parish some time ago with a very sad story indeed. I asked, Why, in the world, when the temptation was at hand, the same means had not been adopted? I was immediately turned upon with this reply, "I did not dare to come to you, sir." "Why did you not dare to come?" "I was tempted not to." "Who tempted you?—it was the devil, my child." The answer was, "No; there was such an outcry against people consulting you that I did not dare to come to you."

Sometimes, I know, moral evils have been traced back to this close intercourse between the clergy and the people; but I want you to understand this, that there are very great moral evils in society that result from the absence of it.

Just one word more. Dr Arnold has said that the clergy of the Church of England contrast unfavourably in some points with the Roman Catholic priests; and Professor Barkley (in some pamphlets which are very common indeed among working-men at the present time) makes the same accusation when speaking upon the subject of the laity and the clergy. He says, the great function of Protestant ministers of all denominations is to set an example of duty as ministers; and he says, the Roman Catholics are the only clergy that dare attack vice in the concrete.

I do not say that his accusation is well founded, but I say that I am glad to read it, as it may teach me a lesson, and I just throw it among you as a suggestion from the hands of an enemy.

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The Rev. JAMES BARDSLEY, M.A.

THE corruptions of society spoken of in the paper must be first traced up to the source pointed out by our Lord when He said, "Out of the heart of man proceed evil thoughts," which, of course, are the seed of actions—intimating that the seeds of the worst actions



are sown in all our hearts. This corruption, then, is aggravated by various things. First, by bad habitations. I tell the landlords who are here present, that some of the working classes sleep in houses where decency is impossible. It is in vain that we teach and preach, unless the dwellings of the working classes are improved. If this be not done, hardly anything else can be done. But, besides this, we are become too much like our Gallican neighbours—a pleasure-loving people. Formerly, Englishmen played to work, now they work to play, in this life. In the next place, I am very glad that no speaker, at the beginning of this session, uttered that pointless platitude—"We cannot make the people sober by Acts of Parliament." Why, who ever thought so? The question is not so much making people sober by Acts of Parliament, but whether people ought to be made drunk by Act of Parliament; and if the Legislature put down in a street a dozen or twenty drinking-places, and then expect the clergyman to go to work in such a place as that, why it is like ploughing upon a rock, or sowing seed upon sand. I have felt that, my Lord, for thirty-six or thirty-seven years, and I have become—I say it in the presence of my good Bishop—a full-length total abstainer. I believe it has increased my usefulness among the working classes. My eldest son, thirty-six years old, was asked when he became a teetotaler? He said, like Topsy, "I don't know; I s'pose I grow'd." My Lord, unless the clergy study the fearful statistics of intemperance, and realise the importance of this subject, they labour amongst the working classes to great disadvantage. There is hardly a clergyman here present in this great assembly, who is acquainted with his parish, but must know that the great hindrance to his work is intemperance amongst the people.

I quite agree, my Lord, with all that you have said about the value of the report of Archdeacon Sandford. Its worth is beyond all estimate, because it is to be found in the hands of magistrates, members of parliament, and of all who are interested in the welfare of our great community. I am thankful to say that the Northern Convocation has moved in the same direction, and as a humble member of that venerable body, I thought it right to follow in the steps of Archdeacon Sandford, and to move upon that very question; and I believe the report of the committee of the Northern Convocation, from the numerous reports already received, will supply a valuable contribution to this momentous question. It is quite impossible that we can enter into details in five minutes. I will only say—but I hope none of my reverend brethren will suppose, because I have referred to intemperance, that I would wash only the outside of the cup and platter—natural and moral virtues are most valuable, but they only adorn nature; they do not transform it; they refine it, but they do not renew it; they cover, but

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## ERRATUM.

Paragraph 5, Line 3.

For "Barkley" read "*Bresley*."

Same Paragraph, Line 6.

Omit "set an example of duty as ministers" read instead

"say ditto to the middle class Members of their  
congregations."

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ing with individual souls. I differ from many of my brethren in our personal individual

dealing with souls ; but I am quite sure of this, and I wish to put it before my reverend brethren, that there can be no good preachers, no good parish priests, no clergy who are looked up to by their people as their counsellors and as their friends, unless they accustom themselves to deal with the individual souls of the people. We are reminded continually that the most eloquent sermons are preached, the congregation disperses, thousands go to their homes, and not one single soul is saved. For myself, I believe that I am doing more good for God in receiving the first confession of some poor, humble penitent than in preaching before the largest audience in the world. And therefore I pray my brethren to consider this in their thoughts about confession. They may not altogether receive what we do when we speak of sacramental absolution and the sacramental grace of confession ; but I pray them to consider how they are to deal with the sins and corruptions of the heart, unless they accustom themselves to deal with those sins individually. I have had experience in various parishes ; and I am quite sure that, of all my past work, that which I shall most thankfully remember when I come to my death-bed, is the time spent in my vestry, or in the church, in dealing with individual souls. When we think of those for whom we are answerable—of the sermons which we have preached—of the material works which may have been raised up by us, there is in these things no such comfort as in the remembrance of even a single soul that has been brought out of sin to God. I am sure, moreover, that there is no greater attraction than the desire of absolution which will draw persons to undergo the humiliation of confession, and the trial and difficulty of coming to their clergy to unburden their griefs. I am also sure that those who are the best ministers of reconciliation will be accounted in all respects the best parish priests. We may have our missions, we may preach our crusades, we may have our prayer-meetings ; but the work is not done. The work is done after these missions, after these crusades, after these prayer-meetings, when we are teaching each individual soul how it may best come back to Almighty God. If the clergy are not aware of the difficulties of their flock, they cannot speak home to their hearts, they cannot teach each individual soul how best to do its work for God ; and they cannot assist it in that struggle which it has with the difficulties and temptations around it, whether that soul be in the palace, in the higher classes of society, among the clergy themselves, or amongst the very lowest and most degraded. They cannot tell their people how to do their work unless they are thus accustomed to deal with their souls. And, therefore, if there is one word that I would pray my brethren to carry home with them, one thought as to how they may best help in regenerating society, it is the bringing home the cross of Jesus Christ, and applying it to each soul by the grace of sacramental absolution.

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### The Rev. F. F. GOE.

MY LORD BISHOP,—I wish to say a word or two, first, about the question of the Lord's-day, which has scarcely been touched upon this morning ; secondly, with respect to what fell from Mr Lowder as to the question of Confession. I cannot help feeling that the morality of society is inseparably bound up with our firm maintenance of the sanctity of the Lord's-day, not merely as being a useful social institution, or a useful ecclesiastical institution, but as being the day of God, which we are bound by God's revealed Word to respect and keep holy ; and I trust the time will never come when the clergy of the Church of England will shrink from endorsing the prayer which their congregations repeat after the Fourth Commandment,—“Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.” A word or two with respect to the question of faithful dealing with individual souls ; because I cannot help feeling that the principles and practices of the Evangelical clergy, in respect to this question, are in danger of being misinterpreted and misunderstood. There is no man to whom I yield in maintaining the

vast importance of grappling with the individual conscience. Again and again when I have preached a sermon upon which I have felt that the Spirit of God has rested, I have longed to have some means of ascertaining what particular souls have been affected by the Word preached, in order that I might be able to lay hold of them at the time before the impression has been worn off, in order that I might ascertain their special difficulties, sins, and temptations, and administer counsel and guidance according to the circumstances of each case. With respect to myself, I long to obtain this knowledge of individual souls, in order that my own preaching of the gospel may be more varied and more conformable to the different cases to which I am called to apply it. But with respect to the individual, what is it my duty to do? I hold that there is but one means of relief to the conscience—namely, to direct it to the cross of Christ; and what I am commanded by my Church to do in the general absolution, that I do in private. I say to each anxious inquirer, “Almighty God hath given power and commandment to me, His minister, to declare and pronounce to *you* individually, being penitent, the absolution and remission of your sins.” But as to what has been said by a previous speaker, that individual confession is essential, because there is a variety of remedies, I hold that there is only one remedy for the troubled conscience, and that is that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.

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The Rev. S. GARRATT, M.A., Vicar of St Margaret's, Ipswich.

MY LORD,—I never felt more anxious than at this moment to use five minutes aright. I am most desirous to express two things. Nothing, I am persuaded, is more important than that ministers should be able to speak to those privately whom they have addressed publicly. So far I entirely agree with Mr Furse. I agree with him that it is one of the greatest possible blessings that a minister can have, when he has the opportunity of addressing in private more personally that blessed gospel to the individual which he has addressed to him in the public congregation. But sacramental confession requires, as Mr Furse has stated so well, the knowledge of a man's soul, even as an engine-driver knows his engine. Is that necessary? Is it desirable? Is it desirable that the minister should have that knowledge of a man's soul which, when he has it, makes the man a slave? And then I say—and I wish to say it calmly, and in a way that will not excite more offence to those who differ from me, than the words themselves, or the fact itself must do—that it does appear to me that in sacramental confession, when the minister professes to know all, and if he does not know all he cannot judge at all,—when he professes to know all, and then of his own knowledge to judge, the man places him in the position of God, and his absolution in the place of Christ's absolution. It has been my happiness to speak over and over again—and I hope it may be so to the end of my life—to those whose hearts God has touched. I know numbers of those to whom I have so spoken, and I stand here to testify that I have found but one remedy needed—and that one remedy effectual—and that I needed not to know the individual sins. I have spoken to those whom I could not but know myself that they were great sinners, but from whom I neither wished to know what their individual sins were, nor did they think of telling me. But when I told them of the love of Jesus, the grace of Jesus, the promises of Jesus, I did in that way, not by any words of absolution, but by the ministry of God's Holy Word, give them all the benefit they could possibly have, because I directed them to Him who is the Great Absolver, and who alone can say to man or to woman, “Son, or daughter, *absolve te.*”

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The Rev. W. CAINE, M.A., late Chaplain of the County Gaol,  
Manchester.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I have lived with 12,000 prisoners, and I have inquired into the antecedents of nearly 4000 of them ; and I wish I had time to tell you the causes of crime and corruption which have come under my own notice. I have had to deal with 8000 males, young and old, and 4000 females, young and old ; and I am very much afraid that intemperance is growing amongst females, and this owing to various causes. Our grocers' shops are now selling drink ; and there is another powerful cause of female intemperance which I must slightly glance at, and that is the injudicious prescriptions of medical men. I am not going to allude more to that ; but there is another cause of female immorality which has been alluded to by my own good Bishop, and that is the love of dress ; and I only wish that our Bishop were not a bachelor himself—I am afraid that he would sometimes get a little lecture when he refers to that subject. However, my brethren, I believe that that is a great cause of crime and vice amongst females. I would like to tell you of the fearful amount of evil produced by intemperance amongst our Sunday-school scholars and teachers also, if I had time ; but I have not. But I wish to corroborate all that Mr Bardsley has said, that we ought to get the aid of our legislators to remove these temptations. Our Prime Minister said some time ago that it is the duty of Government to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong ; and I know, from personal conversation with hundreds of prisoners, that they are really anxious to continue in the prison until the liquor traffic is suppressed outside. I have heard poor prisoners express an earnest desire not to be forced to leave the gaol. A poor Irishman once said, when he was congratulated on getting out of prison—"Troth," said he, "I wish they would let me stay here all my days, because if they did, there would be some chance of my getting to heaven ; but as sure as I go out, I shall be led into the beer-house and the public-house, and I will get drunk again, and my poor soul will be lost." Now that is the feeling of thousands of wretched creatures in England. They are beseeching you Christians to remove these temptations, and I do trust you will do all in your power in that direction. When candidates for parliamentary honours come before you, do not vote for those who will not vote for the Permissive Bill. Just say to them, as Lord Nelson has well said—"Help the people to help themselves." That is what we wish to do in Manchester by our United Kingdom Alliance. We want to give the ratepayers themselves the power to remove the temptations out of their own way ; and I believe, if we could get the Permissive Bill passed, in a very short time, hundreds of our parishes would be entirely freed from public-houses and beer-houses.

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The Rev. W. E. LITTLEWOOD, M.A., Ironville, Derbyshire.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I am almost afraid of the Episcopal censure if I also announce myself as a teetotaler ; but my own Bishop—the Bishop of Lichfield—being fortunately absent in America, attending another Church Congress, I trust that you will not inform him of what I have stated, in case his sentiments should be like those of my Lord Bishop of Manchester. Now, enough has been said with respect to the teetotal question from a legislative point of view. Suffer me to occupy the very few moments at my disposal by saying something about it from a personal point of view. Mr Caine has already drawn attention to the fact that a good many persons are led into intemperate habits by the injudicious prescriptions of medical men ; and I believe myself, that numbers of my brethren in the ministry would be very glad to make use of teetotalism as an accessory—and mind you, only as an accessory, not as the principal

point in their work in this world—and are prevented from making use of that accessory by the fear that they require the use of stimulants. Now I would only say, if the doctor recommends a lady or a gentleman to use stimulants, let such a person put something into the stimulant which he or she uses which will make it like medicine, which is usually nasty. My belief is, that if a lady is recommended porter, and if a gentleman is recommended sherry, if she will put into that porter, or he into that sherry, a few drops of gentian, or something of that sort, they will soon find that their constitutions do not require its use. My belief is, that a great many people take up the use of stimulants in order that they may benefit their constitutions, and then they continue them because they like them. Now I would just say one word as to another aspect of this question. We clergymen have to deal very much with the young. It is upon the young that we place our choicest hopes, and it is to them we look to fill up the ranks of our Church hereafter. Well, I say there is no more powerful agency, and I speak from a considerable experience, than the establishing amongst those young people of Total Abstinence Societies. There is no occasion, I feel quite persuaded, for those who begin teetotalism young, except in very rare cases, to alter their method of living. We have already heard of one conspicuous instance of one gentleman who agreed to be a teetotaler—and I know of many others—for the sake of example. I was speaking to a foreman in my own parish recently, who probably works at harder work than any gentleman in this room does. He is now thirty-two years of age; he has been a puddler ever since he was eleven or twelve; he is the father of six children, and a most healthy man, and he has never tasted a drop of intoxicating liquor from the day of his birth until now. I see I have only one minute more, and I will use that to urge to the utmost of my power on my clerical brethren that they should not “Pooh, pooh!” this great question. It is not a question to be “Pooh, poohed!” Reference has been made to the activity of Dissenters in this work. Are gentlemen aware that 24 per cent. of the Wesleyan ministers are signed teetotalers? and how many of them practise temperance that are not teetotalers? Are they aware of such facts as these? I hold in my hand this very Convocation report, and I recommend my clerical friends to read that report. Do not let us allow any trifling question of personal feeling to interrupt us in this great and good work. If God can say of us, “Thou hast gained thy brother,” what a thing that will be for us! Don’t let us put out of sight the cross of Christ. Never is the cross of Christ applied by one individual to another individual, but it is applied by the grace of the Holy Spirit itself. It is the cross of Christ to which we must bid the sinner look. But let us use all means, and any means, if by some means we may gain some.

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### The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—Merely two minutes, and then this meeting will be dissolved. I should be very glad if this hall were filled with socialists and communists. And why? Because I believe that the Church of England, and especially the clergy, can and ought to show that the Church of England is able to do all those things which communists and socialists think ought to be done—I mean, produce a feeling of genuine brotherhood and philanthropy. I maintain that the Church of England, and all truly Catholic churches, are essentially communistic and socialistic; and I would wish my reverend brethren to carry home with them, and declare to communists and socialists, this truth, that they may have in the Church that which they most seek—a spirit of love and unity, in Him who alone can give it, by communion with Him. And I would next take the liberty of saying, with regard to that vexed question of “Confession,” that I think there has been hardly a sufficiently distinct reference to-day to the mind of the Church of England herself. I apprehend that, by being joined here in a Church Congress, we all, by the very fact of our being assembled here, imply

and profess that we hold ourselves to be loyal members and children of the Church of England. Well, then, I may speak to my friend—and I hope he will allow me to call him so—Mr Furse, on the one side, and say this, first of all,—that I believe the stringent enforcement of confession, as an imperative duty upon all (which is the Romish doctrine), is the very thing that has brought confession, as allowed by the Church of England, into contempt. I believe it is because you require that everybody should come to you to confess, that therefore it is that that moderate and temperate and wise use of confession which is recommended by the Church of England has fallen into contempt, and is despised and has become obsolete. But it is so always, that when a thing is pushed too far, there will be an excess of reaction in the opposite direction. I speak under correction, to my dear brother—if I may call him so—who gave utterance to that sentence, and I trust he will agree with me, that we ought to comply with that proposition which is put forth in one of the exhortations of the Communion Office, that if there is no other method by which a person can relieve a troubled conscience—I say, if there is no other method of unburdening his conscience—then he is to “come to me,” says the priest, “or to some other discreet and learned minister of God’s word,”—(observe this; and therefore an *indiscreet* or *unlearned* minister, however zealous he may be, ought not to be permitted to receive any confession at all)—“and open his grief, that by the ministry of God’s holy Word, he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.” Now, that is the feeling and the expression of the Church of England; that is the way that the Church of England would have her ministers, her loyal ministers, and dutiful ministers, to deal with individual souls. Then, I would say to Mr Furse, and other friends of mine, who, perhaps, have recommended and practised something more than this prescribed method of dealing with young persons in their congregation, that they possess excellent opportunities of private intercourse with every member of their flocks, especially the young, in preparing them for Confirmation. Now, if our parish priests would prepare their candidates individually, not merely in classes, but if they would have them privately into their studies, and would say to them, “My dear child, you are going to a most solemn ordinance, an apostolic ordinance of the Church of God; you are about to receive, we hope, the gift of the Holy Ghost, but you must remember, that for such as receive this gift, the heart must be cleansed by repentance.” Well, then, is there not a glorious opportunity, in preparing our young children for Confirmation, to speak face to face and heart to heart with the lambs in Christ’s fold in our parish? And, I venture to say, the clergyman who does not use it faithfully is not a loyal and dutiful son of the Church of England. Let us not stray into alien pastures for food while we have more wholesome nourishment in the meadows which flow by the living waters of Christ in our own land, lest, leaving those for other pastures, we should ourselves feed upon noxious weeds, and should impart, perhaps, some of those poisonous and noxious weeds to those whose souls we desire to save. Let us all rejoice—I am sure both on the right hand and on the left hand we may rejoice—and thank God that we have in the Church of England, properly understood, everything that is needed for the salvation of souls. If the Ministers of the Church of England, instead of straying from the Church of England into bypaths, will be true to the Church of England, instead of complaining of the Church of England, they will find that the Church of England is true to them; and God will enable them, in the faithful discharge of their ministry, by the prevailing efficacy of the blood of Christ, and by the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, to make full proof of their ministry, and to save souls, and in the great Day of account to present their own flocks in the presence of the Great Pastor and Bishop of our souls, and say, “These are the souls which Thou hast redeemed, and which Thou hast entrusted to me—O LORD, I give back unto Thee those that are Thine.”

The Right Reverend PRESIDENT pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting closed.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 13.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.15 P.M.

THE DEEPENING OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE :  
ITS HINDRANCES AND HELPS AMONG CLERGY AND PEOPLE.

The Rev. G. H. WILKINSON, M.A., Vicar of St Peter's, Pimlico,  
London, read the following paper :—

MUCH, thank God, which a few years ago had need to be written on this subject is now accepted by the common-sense of the English Church. Holy Communion is fast recovering its proper position. The Mission, the Retreat, Classes of different kinds, Guilds, and Associations, —these and such like agencies are gradually winning their way amongst us. Yet, in spite of all these multiplied means of grace, old principles still need to be reasserted ; old obstacles still remain, to hinder our onward progress. For the human heart is still unchanged. The old adversary has lost none of his ancient power—yea, rather has gained increasing subtlety and increasing courage by the experience which he has won, the souls which he has slain.

May the Holy Spirit now indeed be present with us ! May He overrule what is said amiss, and bless what is according to His will, for Jesus' sake !

To begin with Hindrances, I would note, first, the WANT OF ATTENTION TO TRIFLES. Let me gather into one dark mosaic the fragments which have been found in different churches where earnest work is marred by despising the day of small things. The service will soon begin. "The Lord is in His holy temple. Let all the earth keep silence before Him." We are preparing to speak to the King of kings ; but the school-children are chattering, the seatholders are whispering. The echoes of voices are borne through the half-opened vestry door. During the prayers, the preacher's eyes wander over the congregation, as if he were taking an inventory of those whom he is about to address. The chanting of the *Gloria* is chosen as a convenient time for finding the Lessons ! The Lessons are so read as to be almost unintelligible.

There is not time for details. The gossip in the church-porch, summoning the birds of the air to devour the good seed which has been sown,—the few who remain to pray, disturbed by a fussy pew-opener. These, it may be, are trifles ; but trifles destroy reverence, and without reverence the spiritual life can never be deepened. He who contemneth the day of *little* things shall fall by little and little.

The second Hindrance is the WANT OF COURAGE TO USE ALL THE HELPS WHICH GOD HAS PLACED WITHIN OUR REACH—awakening addresses, hearty prayer-meetings, the observance of Friday and Lent and Advent, systematic self-examination, a beautiful church, daily prayer, even the frequent celebrations of Holy Communion. How many deprive

themselves of these helps in the spiritual life because they distrust the sections of the Church by which they are severally employed !

“Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes !”

So it becomes a point of honour to make the sermon contemptible, lest preaching should be exalted above worship ; or a noble address is prefaced by a slovenly service, with which God is dishonoured. Surely we have had enough of this narrow cowardice. Surely, if we believe in a living Spirit, we may trust Him who divides to every man severally as He will. Surely, as Evangelical Churchmen, we can open our mouth *vide*, and thank God for the fine wheat flour, whatever be the hand by which it is bestowed.

The third hindrance is NEGLECT OF PRAYER. Theoretically, we all believe in prayer. Yet how little is there in our lives of that *practical* recognition of its power which shines out in every chapter of the early Christian history ! They “continued in prayer.” When they heard of any fresh trial, they lifted up their voices to God with one accord. What can be more deadening than the preface to many of *our* meetings ! A prayer hurriedly said, as a sort of parenthesis, in the midst of the general conversation !

How seldom, in times of peculiar anxiety, do clergy and laity meet together for united supplication ! How few even of our earnest laymen are willing to sacrifice a single day for such a work as this ! How surprised we should be, if from time to time we received from our Bishops letters written in loving confidence,—that confidence for which we yearn,—telling us of their difficulties, and asking us on some appointed day to gather our people together for special intercession ! Yet Jesus Himself first looked up to Heaven ;—*then* He spoke His word of power : “Ephphatha ! Be opened.”

The last Hindrance to which I can refer is OUR OWN WANT OF DEFINITENESS AND CONSISTENCY as ministers of God’s Word.

If we lower the Bible ideal, and tacitly admit that it is impossible in the present age to develop the higher life of the early Christians,—if, as years roll on, we see in our believers no fresh baptism of fire, no burning love for souls, no longing to speak for Christ, no new desires to sacrifice time and strength and money for the sake of Him by Whose precious Blood they have been redeemed,—if we are surrounded by few instances of real heart-surrender,—if we see men dying all around us for whose future we have at best a vague and uncertain hope,—if, with our work thus barren of results, we never acknowledge to our people the miserable failure, but allow ourselves to talk in a half-complacent way about our beautiful service or our crowded church, the number of our lay helpers, or the prosperity of our clothing clubs, what can be the effect upon our communicants of this want of distinctness in our teaching ? What else but to rock them into

“That torpor deep  
Wherein we lie asleep,  
Heavy as death, cold as the grave.”

From which, may God deliver us all !

Still worse is the effect of our *inconsistent lives*. I speak not now of those whose highest ambition is to be accounted good riders, suc-



cessful gardeners, victorious croquet-players; I speak not of those who can postpone God's work rather than disappoint a patron, or be deprived of some pleasant dinner. The world itself is learning now to tread under foot the salt which has lost its savour. I speak not of such as these. Their number is fast decreasing. Yet which of us is altogether clear in this matter? How many a layman is thrown back in his religious life by the careless talk, the irreverent use of God's Word, the bitter party feeling, of his spiritual pastor! How often are we all obliged to go to the feet of that loving Saviour whom we have dishonoured by our cowardice, our worldliness, our want of self-recollectedness! Each one knows best the plague of his own heart, and God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. "O Lord, Thou hast searched us and known us."

May I go further? When we meet as brethren, surely we may speak to each other in all frankness. "Can the blind lead the blind?" If life is to be *deepened*, it must have first been *quickened* into being. Are all of us *alive* to God through Jesus Christ? Have we all yielded our hearts to Him—found for ourselves that peace which passeth understanding?

A letter was once written to an old clergyman whose ministry had been greatly blessed. "My people," said the writer, "are cold and heartless. Tell me how I can effect a revival of religion in my parish." The answer was very brief. May God the Holy Ghost write it on our hearts! "My brother," he said, "REVIVE THYSELF."

I pass on to consider certain principles, gathered from our Lord's earthly ministry, of which we need, I think, to be continually reminded.

1. The kingdom of heaven is like LEAVEN. The clergy discharge for the most part the duties of English citizens, and of ministers of God. In both characters, if they would *deepen* the life of their people, they must work *from the centre to the circumference*.

As CITIZENS, they will begin with the Parsonage. The influence of the Parsonage is readily acknowledged; yet how often are we tempted to act the part of the infidel, and fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our own households! The servants who see us in all our varying moods—the children from whose hearts the sting of an awakening sermon is so often extracted by the after-talk of the earnest, Christ-loving preacher, who, tired with the long day's work, has cast aside his armour in the quiet evening hour. The wife, above all—how little help does she receive! Even in the holiest seasons—the management of her household, the provision for receiving the mission preachers, the manifold secular cares—how little leisure is left from all this serving of tables, to sit like Mary at the Redeemer's feet! Yet how much is expected from her! I hope the time is not far distant when an annual Retreat will be arranged for the wives of the clergy—a Retreat conducted by one whose name shall command the confidence of every section of the Church—a Retreat so ordered as neither to overtax the physical strength of the feeble, nor demand at first too high a standard of spiritual attainments,—a holy season from which each one shall return strengthened by the Holy Ghost, to become, unconsciously it may be, but not less truly, a mighty power for God with all amongst whom her lot is cast.

The same principle of working *from the centre to the circumference* applies also to the clergyman, as PASTOR of his people. If I were asked how to begin work in a new parish, without, of course, ignoring more obvious agencies, I should answer as follows:—Urge your people, in well-nigh every sermon, to treat you as a friend, and speak freely to you of their spiritual needs. When *one* man has come, teach him, help him, pray with him, till, so far as you can judge, he has really repented and believed. Then send him out, in the freshness of that new-found peace, to tell to some friend what the Lord has done for his own soul. Let Andrew find Simon, and let not Philip rest till he has brought Nathaniel to Him of whom Moses, in the law and the prophets, did speak. Then let the *two* friends pray together till a *third* is added to the list. When Sunday-school teachers and visitors are given you, pray with them. Teach them all that they are able to receive. As our Lord employed first St John, then St Peter and St James, then the Twelve and the Seventy, as channels through which the divine life was diffused, so let the Church-workers and praying people be used as instruments by which the neighbourhood may be leavened; till, like circles widening round on some clear blue river, orb after orb, the wondrous sound is echoed on, and the parish is filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

2. These thoughts lead naturally to another principle, of still more vital importance. Alike in the perfecting of His saints and in the saving of sinners, our blessed Lord had a SEPARATE INDIVIDUAL CARE FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL SOUL. The education of St Thomas, St Peter, St John, His dealings with the woman of Samaria, the nameless mendicant in St John ix., the sinner in Simon's house, are instances with which we are all familiar. His disciples came to him *privately*. "If a man have a hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine?" &c.

How this individual dealing can best be accomplished is one of the problems which the Church is now called to solve. I am not here to ignore its difficulties, still less to unfurl a battle-flag by dogmatising on the subject of Confession. So far as I can understand it, it seems that to *enforce* Confession, directly or indirectly, is alien to the mind of the English Church. To refuse it, or—by silence—to ignore its existence, is to rob our people of a part of their Christian heritage.

Be this as it may, on two points I am thoroughly convinced. First, that unless pastor and people are brought into individual personal contact with each other, the spiritual life of a parish will not, as a general rule, be deepened. Secondly, if we wish to win the confidence of our congregations, we must invite them again and again, and so invite them that our meaning shall not be misunderstood.

If we intend to enforce Confession, let us say so, and some will answer to our summons. If we are ready to help our people in a more informal manner, let this also be clearly explained. Let us speak out what we mean, in an honest, straightforward, English spirit; and let us pray God that *men* as well as women may be brought in answer to our prayers.

Lastly, we must HAVE FAITH IN GOD. By trust in the Eternal Father, the victories of the Incarnate Lord were achieved. By the force of the

same ancient *Credo*, the victories of His Church have been won in each succeeding age. Without the like confidence, no single soul will ever grow up "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." "He could not do many mighty works, *because of their unbelief*." When we dwell on dark memories of the past, or gaze on clouds which even now are gathering round and casting their shadow on our onward path—when we think of our own helplessness, and of the power of our threefold adversary—we are paralysed and perish. When we look through the opened door, and gaze on Him who is there—there with the pierced hands and wounded side—there at the right hand of God, our Mediator, our Advocate, our Omnipotent Deliverer—then the weakest becomes invincible. This is the will of God, even our sanctification. We are fellow-workers with GOD. Θεοῦ γυνάγιον Θεοῦ οἰκοδομῇ.

God is with us—ay, God Himself dwells *in* us—worketh in us, both to will and to do of His good pleasure. Whatever the trials or temptations of the nineteenth century, the prayer of this week's Collect (18th Sunday after Trinity) *can* be answered, the ideal of this week's Epistle *can* be realised, by the power of God the Holy Ghost. "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts. This is the word of the Lord. Be strong, O Zerubbabel; be strong, O Joshua, the High Priest; be strong, all ye people of the land, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord. According to the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, so My Spirit remaineth among you. Fear ye not."

The Rev. OCTAVIUS WINSLOW, D.D., Incumbent of Emmanuel Church, Brighton, read the following paper:—

It betrays no little wisdom and sagacity on the part of those to whose hands the programme of the present Congress was confided that they should have reserved for its last and closing topic the one which it is the design of this paper briefly to present,—“The Deepening of the Spiritual Life; its Hindrances and Helps among Clergy and People.” The subjects discussed with such varied and consummate ability have more especially related to *Church Work*; the present more specifically and solemnly refers to *Church Life*—the one to the machinery by which the mission of the Church is fulfilled, the other to the Divine, living power by which that machinery is preserved in healthy and vigorous action. What is a Church destitute of spiritual life? Its polity may be scriptural, its articles orthodox, its bishops brilliant, its clergy learned, its laity earnest, its organisation perfect; yet, wanting the Divine Spirit of life, His all-quickening, all-pervading, all-energising power, it is but as a vast temple, magnificent for every splendour, and hallowed by every attraction but—the indwelling Deity! This is the concealed and treacherous shoal lying in our onward course and laid down in our divine chart, of which those who man and those who steer our barque have need to be prayerfully and sleeplessly on the watch.

The question hence arises, What are we to understand by *Spiritual*

*Life?* what its nature, its restraints, and its aids? The reply to this question involves a fact at once obvious and universally admitted. The Church of God, of which we claim to be a true and vital member, is essentially a spiritual and living Body, deriving its life and perpetuity from its vital and mystical union with Christ, its Divine, spiritual, and living Head. It is not so much that the Church of God lives,—for she possesses no inherent, independent existence,—as that Christ lives in her by His indwelling Spirit. She is nothing without Christ, possesses no exclusive and supreme authority to enact a law, to frame a dogma, to interpret a canon, or to control a judgment—in a word, to usurp the place and government of Christ, who is the “Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.” In the clear light of this truth we recognise the essential and indivisible unity of what our creed so beautifully and expressively terms, “the one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church.” A reluctance to acknowledge this involves the excommunication and dismemberment of ourselves from the Body of Christ; since, by ignoring the indwelling of the Spirit in any one branch of Christ’s Church, we necessarily ignore His indwelling in our own; “for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.” “Unity, and not uniformity,” should be the motto emblazoned upon our standard. The one, it is the duty of God’s children everywhere to cultivate and promote; the other is as impossible in our present earthly state as, perhaps, it would be undesirable. The unity of the Christian Church with herself, resulting from her vital and mystical union with Christ, is independent of all forms of church polity and of all modes of religious ritual, and will remain in deathless vitality and bloom when all establishments and all non-establishments shall, as the scaffolding of the building, fall from around the sacred edifice it aided to erect, yet contributed to conceal; and the Church of God, His spiritual house, “built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone,” will appear in its perfect symmetry and unclouded splendour,—the terror of hell, the wonder of heaven, the admiration and song of eternity! This is not a matter of opinion, but a patent and admitted fact. And, with this fact in remembrance, how can any intelligent and spiritual student of ecclesiastical history insist upon one form of polity as more divine than another, or desire to see in the government and ritual of our time-honoured branch of the Christian Church any analogy to an effete system of priesthood, sacrifices, and exclusiveness, such as that which marked the temple service of old?

A rapid survey of some of the prominent *hindrances* to spiritual life in the Church, the clergy, and the people, will necessarily suggest a few of the means most promotive of its growth. Among those hindrances we bespeak an unprejudiced and serious consideration of the following.

We quote, as an existing and prominent one, *an exaggerated religious ceremonial*. No reasoning is more strictly logical, or is more fully sustained by facts, than that in proportion to the increase of religious ceremonial is the decrease of spiritual life. The religion of the unregenerate heart is the religion of lifeless formalism; and as this is fed and nourished with its own aliment, so it thrives and grows. Religious formalism and spiritual life cannot co-exist in the same body. The eva-

poration of the spirit of Christianity leaves a *residuum* of dead, cold pietism, which chills and congeals the vital and warm current of the higher life, paralysing its energy and arresting its advancement. The soul, abhorring a religious vacuum, endeavours to meet its intense craving by the introduction and increase of a religious ceremonial, having all the external attraction of the form of godliness, without its living, vitalising power. We cannot conceive of a check to the healthy, vigorous action of spiritual life in the Church, or her ministry, more potent, deadly, or fatal than the increase of a material and objective form of worship. If the Church of England, true to herself, is to retain her asserted and acknowledged supremacy,—if she is to fulfil her high and holy mission as a witness for Christ,—if she is to disarm prejudice, conciliate opposition, and triumph over palpable and acknowledged defects—for what ecclesiastical system is perfect?—then must she sternly frown upon every attempt to unchristianise her creed—to materialise her worship—and to unprotestantise her charter,—holding no fellowship with those, and bidding them not God-speed, who would impale her fair form between a Romish ritual on the one hand, and a Rationalistic faith on the other.

This thought suggests a second hindrance to the progress of spiritual life, perhaps yet more prevalent and alarming. We refer to the existence and extent of *doctrinal error*. God has appointed the Church the sacred depository of His truth, and His truth the conservative principle of the Church. No chapter of ecclesiastical history is more richly replete with instruction than that which illustrates the influence of fundamental *Error* as an element of spiritual decay. Error in doctrine is the moral *upas-tree* of the Church, beneath whose deadly shade all personal piety droops and all ecclesiastical life dies. God has united the purity of His truth with the promotion of our holiness; and no Church, or minister, or individual, may venture to divorce these conjoined elements, but at the peril of the most momentous and precious interests. “Sanctify them through Thy truth: Thy word is truth.” Hence, the irresistible inquiry,—how far may the acknowledged and deplored decay of spiritual life in the Church and her clergy be fairly traced to a defection from the purity, and a relaxed hold upon the power, of God’s revealed truth—to a galvanised heterodoxy on the one hand, and to a torpid orthodoxy on the other? Error, finding an easy access between lukewarmness in the truth and disloyalty to the truth, has broken in upon the Church with all the power and impetuosity of an overwhelming flood, tiding over the hallowed footsteps of apostles and martyrs, and sweeping before it the ancient landmarks of gospel truth; while upon its troubled and turbid waters the enemies of our Church, and the foes of her faith, have disported themselves in bold and defiant resistance of creed and of law, of God and of man! The relation of false Christian doctrine and artificial spiritual life finds a significant and impressive illustration in the history of the Reformed Churches on the Continent of Europe. Where once stood the “golden candlestick,” shedding a pure and brilliant light, the dark cloud of Papal superstition now rests; and beneath the eaves and the altars of sanctuaries, once resounding with the fervid eloquence of Christ’s preached and pure gospel, the cormorant, the bittern, and the owl of a Christ-denying Rationalism peep and mutter. If, then, we desire to elevate the clergy and the people to a higher standard of spiritual life, if we would clothe

the pulpit with increased divine power, and throw more vital energy into the vast machinery of Church work, we must "buy the truth and sell it not." Whatever it may cost us of feeling and of friendship, of preferment and wealth, we must be loyal to Christ, true to conscience, faithful to our vows, and by God's grace helping us, "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered unto the saints."

Closely connected with a revival of healthy and vigorous spiritual life, we must quote a more decided and full exhibition of Christ as the substance and staple of the ministry of our Church. It is a cause of devout thanksgiving to God that, in the ranks of the clergy, there is so goodly a company of those who preach, not the Church, but the Saviour; not the sacraments, but the Cross; not Christianity, but Christ,—who maintain with unswerving, uncompromising fidelity—in opposition to the views of an advanced school of religious thought—the inspiration, integrity, and truth of God's Word,—and the one great theme of whose ministry is Jesus—His obedience our righteousness; His death our atonement; His life our pattern; His expiatory sacrifice, once offered for all, the one only hope of a lost world; His holy communion, the spiritual and believing memorial of His love—nothing more and nothing less. Such is the preaching which the Holy Spirit—whose office it is to glorify Christ—will own; upon such a Christ-uplifting ministry He will impress the seal of His divine *imprimatur* in the quickened pulse of religious life in the souls of the people—in a large accession of converts to the Saviour—who shall "fly as a cloud, and as doves" to the dovecots of His Church. Thus will her moral power be augmented, her holy influence widened, her usefulness extended, her cords lengthened and her stakes strengthened, while "upon all her glory there shall be a defence."

A closer fraternisation of the clergy and the laity for prayer and conference would add not a little to the deepening of spiritual life in both. The Church has been slow to learn wherein much of her great strength lay—even the union and co-operation of her godly laity and her earnest clergy in counsel, sympathy, and prayer, in diocesan and parochial work—in stemming the tide of inrushing error, in furnishing the arsenals and manning the ramparts of Christian and Reformation truth—truth given by inspiration of God, embodied in the glorious Articles of our faith, proclaimed in the ministry, and sealed by the blood of the martyrs.

In conclusion. It is of infinite moment, in the maintenance and increase of spiritual life in our Church, that we take heed that we ignore not the fact that the present is essentially and emphatically the economy of the Spirit. Joel's prophecy yet remains unfulfilled. The "day of Pentecost" was an earnest and instalment of the baptism of the Spirit which he predicts; and who, as he bends over that illuminated and entrancing page of the Church's early history, is not conscious that he stands beneath a cloud spreading and darkening above him, freighted with heaven's divinity, wealthiest boon, wanting and waiting but the arrow of believing prayer to pierce its bosom, and bring down

"The richest treasure  
Man can wish, or God can send?"

Nothing short of this,—the Christian Church flooded with the Spirit! His deeper, broader baptism,—will impart, maintain, and increase, the

spiritual life of our Church, in her devoted ministry, in her earnest laity, in her spiritual services, and in her ramified evangelistic agencies throughout the land and the world. This wanting, all is wanting! Not the increase of her Episcopate—not the riper scholarship of her Ministry—not her rubrical exactness—not a religious ceremonial, dramatic and idolatrous,—gorgeous vestments, and lighted altars, and curling incense, and fragrant flowers, and floating music,—the positions and the genuflexions of the celebrant,—will save her from a catastrophe the very thought of which is shuddering, and the shock of which would move Christendom to its centre! Let the Church of England cease to be a Christ-witnessing Church, a “burning and a shining light” of God’s truth—let her abjure her ancient Protestantism, sacrifice her evangelical faith, and prostrate herself before the golden image which a rationalistic philosophy and an idolatrous worship have set up within her pale—

[The President hoped the speaker would kindly withdraw an expression which must necessarily exasperate many persons present.]

Then the days of her existence are numbered, the splendour of her glory is departed, and her sun, draped in funereal gloom, will have gone down while it was yet day!

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S. A. BLACKWOOD, Esq., delivered the following :—

- MY LORD,—As your Lordship has observed, the subject we are met to discuss this afternoon is, I presume, to most minds here—certainly to my own—of the very last and deepest importance. The subjects which have previously occupied the consideration of this Congress, though in their sphere and place of unspeakable importance, have yet more to do with the external activities—the external operations of the Church; and each one of those operations will be utterly powerless as to its effect upon the world around us unless it proceeds from, and is energised by, a deep, strong current of spiritual life. What will our education be if it be not energised by the Spirit of life which is in Christ Jesus? What will our worship be unless it is the worship of living souls? What will our missions to the heathen be unless the missionaries are men filled with the Holy Ghost, as they were of old? What will our efforts after deeper unity within ourselves and with our fellow-Christians be unless they likewise proceed from that one Spirit of life? What will our church music be unless it is the outward expression of the melody in the hearts of those who know that their sins are forgiven, that they have eternal life in Jesus Christ our Lord?

In speaking, therefore, of the deepening of the spiritual life, we go this afternoon to the very root of the matter. We have discussed the best evidences of Christianity. I know of no evidence like living Christians,—a living Christian is a witness to a living Christ. We may have excellent lectures, well-written treatises, to meet the different forms of scepticism, and I thank God for them; but they will fail to reach the masses; whereas one living Christian going amongst his fellow-sinners, exhibiting to them by his life the truths which he preaches with his lips, will be a better witness than a thousand books. Again, how, Christian

friends, are we to meet that fearful state of society which we heard described this morning, which every one of us who looks a little bit below the surface of life, whether in the upper or lower classes of society, knows full well exists there—how are we to meet it? It must be by life in ourselves; it is only by carrying that life—the life of Christ Jesus—in a deep, strong current in us, and about with us, that we can possibly be preserved ourselves from the contagion of the poison both in morals and of doctrine that floats in the air around us, or hope to elevate the spiritual or moral tone of others.

The deepening of the spiritual life. Does not the very word tell us that it is shallow? The river of the water of life has spread abroad, but in proportion to its breadth, I believe (and with sorrow I must say it), has its depth diminished; it is no longer seen to be the mighty power which, in twelve poor men and their followers, turned the world upside down, and overthrew the power of Pagan Rome.

Though our missions are in the ends of the earth; though our Congregations are large; though our meetings are well attended, and our churches well filled, oh! where is the depth of spiritual life in the Church of God except in very isolated instances? How, then, may this spiritual life be deepened? What is the spiritual life? I must *have* the life before it can be deepened. Incarnate Truth says—"I am the Resurrection and the Life;" not doctrines, not ordinances. "*I*," a personal living Saviour—"I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." That life must be in me, or I am dead before God. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." I can only eat the flesh, and drink the blood, of One that has died.

I must therefore receive a crucified, a slain, but now a risen and a living Saviour. Receiving Him, the apostle tells us, is believing in His name—for "as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believed on His name." It is by trusting in a crucified and risen Lord, by appropriating and receiving into my heart by faith that slain and risen Saviour, that I obtain life. "He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." Then, if the life is there, how may it be deepened? Just in the same way as it was received—"As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him." How did I receive Him? not by the works of the law, but by the hearing of faith. As I received so I must walk. As it was by a reception of the incorruptible seed of the Word that we, who have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, were born again; so it is by constantly receiving the sincere milk of that Word that we are to grow. As it was by drinking the water of life, the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, that I obtained eternal life; so it is by constant draughts of that living water that my life is to be sustained and continued. As the just by faith shall live, so he who is just shall live by faith—"As the living Father hath sent me," said the Lord Jesus, "and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me shall live by me." If, then, the spiritual life is to be deepened in any one of us—and I prefer this afternoon to deal not generally, but individually; because it is only as that life is deepened in individual members of the Church that the life of the whole body is strengthened—Christ must be formed in us; not Christ, the babe in the manger, but Christ filling the temple; not kept in a



corner because there is no room in the inn, not put off with a little bit of my heart, but every whit of it filled with Him ; and, therefore, all of it uttering forth His glory. That is what I feel I need ; that is what I believe the Church of God needs.

What are the hindrances ? We have heard of some, and there are many more that might be specified ; but I would sum up what I believe to be the main hindrances to the deepening of the spiritual life of the people in one. It seems to me that it is now, as it was in the days of Isaac, when the Philistines had stopped the wells which Abraham his father's servants had digged, and filled them with *earth* ; that it is now as it was in the days of King Ahaz, when the inner part of the house of God was filled with filthiness ; that it is now as it was in those remarkable days of the great reformer Nehemiah, who found, when he came to Jerusalem, that the great chamber which had been appointed for the reception of the corn, the wine, and the oil which should have sustained the Levites, and the singers, and the porters, was prostituted to the service of the enemy of God, and that Tobiah the Ammonite had filled it, with the connivance of the high priest, with his "*household stuff*." It seems to me that it is now, as it was in the days of our blessed Lord and Master Jesus Christ, that the temple, which should have been a house of prayer—"My Father's house"—was turned into a house of merchandise, and made a den of thieves.

How has this happened ? What have we done ? We have stopped the wells with earth ; worldliness has been eating out as a canker the very life of our souls, as the Right Rev. Prelate the Lord Bishop of Manchester said this morning when he referred so strikingly to the refined luxury of the upper classes. Does it not stare us in the face ? Can we go about in the world as we are obliged to do without seeing that in many and many a heart where life has we believe been planted, it has been choked with worldliness, with the cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of other things ; that the filthiness of the flesh and spirit has been allowed to fill the heart, or, if not totally to fill it, at least so much that Jesus has been kept in but a small corner of it ; that that "great chamber" which there is in each of us, so expansive that it can take in the world, so expansive that it can take in Christ, but not both ; that that great chamber has been filled with "*household stuff* ?"

Who is there, Christian friends to whom I speak now—who is there that is not conscious in his very heart's experience that if the spiritual life has been deadened, almost quenched, it has been by letting the world, in its thousand shapes, come in ? What, then, are the helps ? Dig the wells as Isaac did ; dig them with your staves, as the princes of Israel did in the days of Moses ; cleanse the innermost place of the sanctuary, as Hezekiah did ; cast out the household stuff, as Nehemiah did from the great chamber. Let us cleanse ourselves from the flesh and the spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

If my Lord and Saviour gave me Himself and kept nothing back—if He gave me His heart, His whole heart—He asks nothing from me less than my whole heart. "Will a man rob God ?" Yes, if you keep back your heart from Him ; if you keep back one particle of your heart, saying, "I love my idol ; I will give Him all the rest ; but in this little corner this little sin, my besetting lust, shall be worshipped there, unknown to

others but known to God." Oh ! then, you are robbing God ; and worse than that, you are grieving Him who died for your sins, whose heart was torn on the cross and broken with reproach, who poured out His life's blood for your salvation.

Dear Christian friends, let us see to it in our souls that we get the living water of life flowing freely into our hearts. We rightly pray—we have done so to-day—"Cleanse our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy holy name." If we come short of that, we come short of all that God has purposed to do for us and in us.

There are other helps on which time forbids me to speak at length ; but I will mention four, and the first is prayer.

"Prayer is the Christian's vital breath,  
The Christian's native air."

Food : the Word, the written Word, testifying of the Living Word, received constantly, moment by moment, dwelling in us richly.

Light, for without it we shall be colourless as a plant in a cellar, cold as the frost in a dark night. We must have light, and we must have warmth. He is the Light, and He is the warmth.

Exercise : Last of all, work for Christ, digging in the vineyard—the world ; sowing the seed, warming up the cold and frozen hearts of our fellow-sinners.

Thus, praying in the Holy Ghost, feeding on the Word, looking unto Jesus as the Light and the Sun of our souls, working under the consciousness of His approving smile, the power of the spiritual life in our hearts will be as a deep river, which, though the winds may ruffle its surface, retains peace in its depths, and rivers of living waters will then flow forth from us into the thirsty dying world around us, to the glory of that God who has saved us through Jesus Christ our Lord.

## ADDRESS.

The Rev. G. BODY.

DEAR CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN JESUS CHRIST,—I prefer to salute you thus, because I would try, as best I can, to maintain the solemnity which—blessed be God—has, all but uninterruptedly, breathed over our deliberations this afternoon. And I desire, in the first place, to apologise for my appearance before this vast audience this afternoon, when I am perfectly conscious that I ought to be with those who are taught, and not among those who profess to teach.

Let me claim your consideration, your kind attention, upon this plea. I have not sought to stand here—I have been called on so to do. I should not have ventured to have intruded upon your attention this afternoon had I not been bidden so to do. And I think I shall only be acting, not only with honesty to you, but with faithfulness to my own soul, and faithfulness to my God, to whom I have to answer for speaking to you, if I speak as lovingly as God will give me grace, yet as firmly and as boldly as you and He would have me speak.

In the first place, then, I find it is necessary for us to remember what the spiritual life is. We use the term "life" in two distinct senses. We mean by life, first, the outward conversation ; and then that inward energising principle from which that outward conversation flows. What is spiritual life, then, considered as our outward conver-

sation? Is it not this, dear friends, is it not the passing above things temporal and transient to that which is eternal and abiding? is it not the raising up of our life in all its varied divisions unto Him in whose heart and mind we have existed from eternity, to live that life beneath the shadow of the throne of God, beneath the power of the thought of Him from whom we come, to whom we go, in whom we live, and move, and have our being? He lives who lives his life beneath the shadow of the throne of God. He liveth not who liveth not beneath the shadow of that throne.

But this outward life is the result of an inner principle communicated to the soul. As in the power of natural life I mount up to the claims of my natural being, so in the power of supernatural grace I mount up to the claims of my supernatural being. The gift of grace is as necessary for the soul to pass within the veil, and to live beneath the shadow of the throne of God, as the gift of natural life is to us if we are to take our place in the ranks of living men.

What is grace? It is not a mere movement of God's mind to us; it is the outflow to us individually, and in varying proportions of that life which is in Him. And when we come to speak of the spiritual life, we are speaking of nothing less than this—of the life of God as manifested in the soul of man. This life of God, mark you, is to embrace all our whole being; it is not merely to act upon what we call the soul. As I am, God made me, body, mind, and heart, as well as soul; and as I am, God embraces me, body, mind, and heart, as well as soul. He sheds, in the first place, upon me the grace of faith, that supernatural faculty imparted by the Spirit to the soul, which is to the supernatural life what the senses are to the natural body. Acting upon my mind, that I may know through the Spirit of life and understanding, He then acts upon my heart, that I may love that which with my mind I grasp; and then, acting upon my will in the power of the Spirit of holy fear, He subdues my whole being before His presence, and thus, recreating me in mind, and heart, and will, He changes my outward life, for “out of the abundance of the heart the mouth doth speak,” and out of the abundance of the heart the mind doth act. This, then, is spiritual life—the life of God communicated to the soul through Jesus Christ our Lord. This spiritual life, as it seems to me, is communicated to us, in God's own wise providence, according to His own will, in the Sacraments of His Church. He gives it to us in holy baptism—through the gift of that indwelling Spirit whereby we are baptized into Jesus Christ, and are made members of Christ and children of God, and the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. But since we are moral beings, if this union with Christ, thus created, is to be vital, it must be met on our part by an act of our will. Willingly we must embrace Him as He hath embraced us. Willingly we must sink ourselves in the arms of Him who hath folded us in His divine embrace. Willingly we must enthrone Him over our whole being. Conversion is needed for the perfecting of regenerating grace. The spiritual life, as far as I understand it, then, is this—the life of him to whom God by an act has communicated the grace of the Spirit, and who has responded to that act, and by faith in Jesus Christ hath found pardon and peace in the living God. How is this life to be cultivated, and what are its hindrances? There are very many hindrances that arise, and if we look at the bottom of them, we shall see that they are the old hindrances of the world, the flesh and the devil. Yet, after all, in our day, they take certain special manifestations.

Undeniably one of the great hindrances of the spiritual life at the present time, in the clergy and the laity alike, is the restless activity in which we live. It is not that we not only have no time to give to the cultivation of our souls—it is more than that—this restless activity affects the whole inner temple of our being; and when we retire to the wilderness, as it were, to listen to the Voice of God, we cannot catch its sweet and blessed tones, for we live so much amid the clash of the earthquake and the loud sound of the blowing-tempest, that we fail to catch, in the deep depth of our being, the still, sweet, small Voice of God. This is the cause of spiritual weakness even in those who love Jesus Christ. The real cause of the want of deep spiritual vitality, I am convinced,

is to be found in the restless activity of the present time. If so, we must take into our life the law of retreats. Do not misunderstand me for a single moment. I do not limit the term retreat. In the first place, I would commend to all who are here present the great subject of retreats; I would commend it especially to my dear brethren of the Evangelical School of the Church. There is no reason why anything that is peculiar in our mode of conducting the retreats should be imitated by them; but surely to come apart and rest awhile; and there, in prayer and in teaching, be refreshed for their great work, is a movement that is worth the consideration of all men, who, in this active age, have no leisure for themselves. Yet, after all, apart from this formal law of retreats, let me say that the spirit of retreat must enter into our spiritual lives. Oh! would to God, that those of you who love Him would remember that wise advice, "Go into your chamber and be still." Not go there merely to pray—not go there merely to read your Bible—not go there even to meditate, but just to go into the presence of the Lord God, and, lying down, still in outward form, in the stillness of that chamber, to wait until the sense of the Blessed Presence of God steal over you, and you realise the presence of that Father and that God. This is the great thing I would enforce upon you as a hindrance and a help.

Another hindrance and help I cannot pass over,—that is, the worldliness that has been alluded to. I may be allowed to remind you, dear brethren, that our Dear and Divine Master hath told us that it is impossible for us to serve two masters, and that it is only by coming out and being separate that we can know really what it is to be the sons and daughters of the living God. You cannot live in the world and in the Church. You cannot live in Egypt and in the wilderness. You may have which you like; but if you are going to know Jesus, and be one of those who are vitally united with Jesus, passing through the Red Sea of His precious blood, you must see that between your present and the world there is nothing less than the separating mark of the Blood that streamed from His side on Calvary. There must be a giving up of the world, and that for this reason—that worldliness creates distraction. Wheresoever you try to lead this divided life there comes a divided heart within. Power becomes powerless, as you know full well. God, who seems so near, is a God far-off, and you will have lost Him through clinging to the world.

But there is one other hindrance, on which I wish to remark in passing—that is, the absence of self-knowledge, which is the case with the vast majority of people; for nothing strikes me more than this, when I go up and down England, in retreat or mission work, as it is my lot to do, and speak about the necessity of fighting against definite sins. It is common for real honest people to come to me and say, "I don't know what my besetting sin is after all." Do you, dear brethren? Do you know what your besetting sin is? How can you expect to live for God? How can you expect really and truly, to mount up the greater heights in holiness unless you know what that besetting sin is? Fight against it, and put it away.

I did hope to have spoken to you about other helps in the spiritual life. I believe God Himself has given us great helps in the sacramental grace of His Church. I believe it is in the constant and regular receiving of the Blessed Sacrament—that is, of Jesus in it—and through union with Him there, that the soul is to grow; and I must be allowed to say this, with faithfulness to my own conscience—that whilst I do not believe Sacramental Confession is necessary to every individual soul—whilst I believe that to very many souls to try to enforce it on them would be simply to interfere with the leading of the Spirit as He influences the heart—whilst I believe that, directly or indirectly, to bind it on this Church as a practice necessary for all, would be to bind on it a tyranny that would be intolerable to be borne; yet, at the same time, I am convinced, from what my God has done for my soul in confession, and what He does for the souls of others, that it is a real help not likely to be disregarded when it is used in that liberty of the Christian conscience to which the Church of England ever hath respect.

## DISCUSSION.

### The Rev. W. D. MACLAGAN, M.A.

IN the few moments which I have to speak I will endeavour to be as practical as possible, and to suggest to my brethren and sisters in Christ some helps towards that deepening of the spiritual life which is by far the most important of the subjects which have come before us at this Church Congress. And, first of all, let me say, I will confine my remarks almost entirely to the clergy, because I look upon the deepening of their spiritual life as of infinitely more importance than the deepening of the spiritual life of the laity; for, if there be true spiritual life in our own hearts, we shall find a thousand different ways for the deepening of the spiritual life of our people. We must remember that our work in Christ's Church is not to fill our churches simply with admiring hearers, or æsthetical worshippers, or to increase the number of our congregation, but to win souls, one by one, to a conscious sense of acceptance with God, and reconciliation with Him through the blood of Jesus Christ. Now, as a means of deepening the spiritual life in the clergy, let me go to the very beginning of their ministerial life. I repeat here, under some modifications, the demand which, my Lord Bishop, was made upon you, and all the other Bishops of this Church, yesterday, for a period of retirement for devotion at the time of our ordination. I do not ask so much as my reverend brother asked of you, but I do plead with you for one day—or, better still, one day before and one day after ordination—that men may go forth to their work, not full of all the exciting thoughts of their examination, or even of the ordination itself, but full of the Spirit of God which they have drawn into their souls in a season of retirement before and after the receiving of the Holy Ghost.

Again, in reference to the spiritual life of the clergy, how much is dependent upon us to whom the care of the younger clergy is committed; I mean incumbents of large parishes who have two or three of their younger brethren working with them. I know of no more important charge committed to the incumbent of a parish than the charge of those younger clergy; let us gather them together, week by week, for purposes of devotion, and reading devotional works, and stirring up each other to a truer love of souls, and this may well be done not only with the clergy, but also with our people. We should draw our people together in prayer meetings, or by any other means we can devise, so that our prayers may be united with theirs on behalf of the parish and other great objects that form the subjects of intercession for Christ's people. Again, let us never forget that just in proportion as our people who work with us as district visitors and Sunday-school teachers, have strong spiritual life working in them, will the work in our parishes be effectively done. Why should we ever see a district visitor or a Sunday-school teacher who comes to us, even about the most trivial detail of their work, without asking them to kneel down with us and ask God's blessing on the work in which they are engaged? In deepening the spiritual life of our people, let us seek to draw them, one by one, into personal intercourse with ourselves. No hours, I believe, are more profitably spent by the parish clergyman than those which he often spends, at the close of a long Sunday's work, in his vestry with those who have waited to see him—those who have learned to get over that awful barrier which lies for the most part in the way of Churchmen to going to their clergyman as a friend, and speaking about their spiritual state. For myself, my Lord, I trust I shall be able in the world to come to look back with far greater thankfulness on those times of intercourse with individual souls than on all the sermons I have ever preached, or all the other work in which I have been engaged.

I had many points to bring before this meeting, but I will only mention one more. It is all important for the deepening of our own spiritual life, and for the deepening of that of others, that our people should pray for us. In the words of one of the most devoted of England's parish priests, the saintly Bishop Armstrong, in a work which

is, I trust, familiar to my brother clergy, entitled, "The Pastor in his Closet," "I fear the priests of Christ's Church are little prayed for through the length and breadth of the land." How many of you, dear friends—I am speaking to you now rather than to the clergy—how many of you pray as though you really desired God's blessing on the work of your pastor? If you did so, should we not go forth strengthened to our work, day by day, conscious that there had gone up many a prayer that very morning, real heartfelt prayer, that God would bless our work, and keep us from its many temptations? How many of you have prayed this morning for your parish priest? How many of us have prayed earnestly for God to bless our conference together this afternoon? Let prayer be earnest alike in the clergy and in the people, and spiritual life will be deepened in us both.

It was said, my Lord, yesterday, by one of my reverend brethren, at one of our sessions, that there is life in the old Church yet. I go far beyond him, and say, Never was there more life than now, for never was there more of the Holy Spirit among us; never was there a more prayerful spirit among the clergy, and never was there, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, more real drawing together of the hearts of those who love the Lord Jesus Christ.

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### THE EARL OF HARROWBY.

I AM imperatively called upon by your President to say a few words. Perhaps the words I have to say will not be so germane to the special subject of the moment as to the general subject of our meeting. At the same time, in regard to the helps to spiritual progress, I think I might speak of this meeting itself, and ask if it is not one great element toward the spiritual health of a nation? I believe these Congresses have done much in this direction; and, I think, none have been more valuable in that direction than the one at present assembled under the presidency of your Lordship. I have attended many Conferences, yet at none have I ever seen so deep a spiritual sense prevailing—so deep and earnest a desire of seeing it in the Church of Christ, and that for its own sake. Will you just allow me to say one word? There has been, during the latter part of our discussions at least, too much of the tone of Jeremiah—too much of the tone of Lamentations, as if everything had been going to the dogs—as if there had never been such a country or age as the present. I think we ought to take a more cheerful view; it would be a great deal truer, as well as more encouraging.

Surely, we ought to compare ourselves with what we have been. If we compare ourselves at all with what we ought to be, you cannot paint the picture too dark; but if we compare ourselves with what England has been in former ages, or what our contemporaries are at the present time, I do think we have reason to thank God for the position in which we now are.

Has there been ever a time in which we could have had such a meeting as this which we have here at present? Could we ever before have had such a meeting of Churchmen of every shade of opinion? Could we have had laymen, brought from all quarters, high and low, inspired with only one feeling, and that how best they could promote the work of Christ in His Church and Kingdom?

Could you only look back for fifty years, would this sort of tone have been held? It would have been an object of ridicule only to have dared to call together such a body as the present. Surely, if you compare the present time with the time of, say, Queen Anne, for instance, there is great cause for encouragement and congratulation. Do any of you recollect the treatise of Dean Swift, giving, with the most admirable irony, "reasons why, on the whole, it is perhaps desirable not yet to abolish Christianity in this country." Why, that indicates, you know, the tone of that time. Every man at that time almost professed infidelity, except the few; these indeed were the eminent lights of science of the time. We had Sir Isaac Newton, John Locke, and Robert Boyle;

but at the present time, have we not had a Herschell, a Brewster, a Faraday, and a Sir Charles Bell? Have not we had lights in every department of science, who have boldly affirmed their deep faith in our common Christianity? Why, surely, ladies and gentlemen, we ought to take courage among ourselves.

Just look at the operations going on. Look at the Scripture-reader—at the Bible-woman—the Church Pastoral Aid Society—the Additional Curates' Society, and the numberless other elements of good which are at work in almost every parish of this country.

And just look back a few years, would you have found then any one of these things? There is not one of these that has not risen up within my own recollection; and I am happy to say that I know two or three have risen up within my own walls.

There is really great ground for encouragement. We ought not to sit down lamenting over these things. To expose boldly our deficiencies is a good method in some respects, but not in all.

I only now take leave to congratulate you upon the success of this meeting to-day; and I hope we shall not go away in the spirit of Jeremiah, but in the spirit of those who look beyond the deficient present to the better future.

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C. H. BURBIDGE HAMBLEY, Esq.

MY LORD,—On so solemn a subject I dare not attempt to speak without first asking your Lordship that, if I speak not the words of truth and soberness, you will kindly and gently request me to sit down.

My Lord, it is in consequence of the burning words of truth which fell this morning from the lips of the Lord Bishop of Manchester that I venture to stand here. Those words, wherein he spoke of temperance in eating and in drinking, and in everything else, should go throughout this country; and I think that the natural conclusion that should be drawn from them is a certain definite teaching, which I fear—I speak in the presence of a large number of the clergy—does not take place.

My Lord, I speak of one thing which I fear is neglected—it is the duty of fasting. I speak not of legal fasting. I speak not of that person who fasts to-day that he may feast to-morrow. I speak of that fasting which is undertaken with a desire of increasing the spiritual life, not for the purpose of winning God's favour by a meritorious act, but simply as a means to a far greater—a tenfold greater aim. I think that that duty by the clergy of the Church of England, especially when they are addressing the middle classes of our countrymen, is not brought forward so strongly as it might reasonably and very profitably be done.

My Lord, there are thousands of our middle and upper classes who, whilst living in ease and luxury, are yet conscious of an inner life, which they are striving to intensify, but they too often miserably fail in their efforts, and know not why. It is a matter, I think, that must come home to everybody—everybody must know who is striving to realise a higher inner life how difficult it is, and how valuable any aid that can be given him must be that will help that object.

My Lord, why do we neglect to teach from our pulpits the advantage, the necessity of fasting? Why is it that our luxurious self-indulgent middle classes are not told that their spirits and their souls are in a large measure dependent upon their bodies; and that we can never rise to that which we seek to rise to, and which the early Churchmen did rise to—namely, saintship in its higher form—while we continue to pamper unduly our souls and our bodies?

My Lord, I have said all that I have to say, and will sit down.

## The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF SYDNEY.

MY LORD, MY DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—I would not say one word to interrupt the devout and harmonious feeling that has pervaded this assembly; I simply desire to call attention to that part of the Nicene Creed that we continually repeat with reference to this subject—namely, that we do believe in the Holy Ghost as a Divine Person, the Lord and the Giver of life; and although there has been continual reference to the need of the Holy Spirit, yet I think it may not be inappropriate to remind you that there is a Divine Person who is ever near to us and ever around us, ever willing to impart to us the grace that we require, concerning whom our blessed Lord has given us that gracious promise, “Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you;” for a loving Father will give His Holy Spirit to those who ask Him.

For the purpose, then, of deepening the spiritual life, I would suggest that stated, fervent, frequent prayer to Him—as we are accustomed to address Him in our Litany, “the Lord and Giver of spiritual life”—will be one of the most effectual means of obtaining that quickening, deepening, strengthening, comforting, and sanctifying influence which He is so ready to impart. And here, for one moment, I would do justice to a venerated friend of mine, who has long since gone to his rest—I mean the Reverend James Haldane Stewart, who, year by year, was accustomed to make earnest and affectionate appeals to members of the Church of England, and members of all other Churches, that they would set apart one day in the year for the express purpose of praying for the outpouring of the Spirit of God; and who can tell how much we owe to those seasons of prayer? Who can say that such an assembly as this has not been in some measure gathered together by those petitions which were offered up at the suggestion of my beloved friend thirty or forty years ago. I would also observe, in justice to that body which is represented here under the name of “Evangelical,” that many of the practices that have been recommended by my younger brethren from this platform, have been continually—years ago—used by the members and clergy of that body. Though I am not so old as the Bishop of St David’s—who was a tutor at Trinity when I was an undergraduate—yet I do agree with the testimony that he bore in Convocation not long ago, that he had lived long enough to see practices and modes of preaching, which were universally condemned, and which were ridiculed as being the practice of those who were then stigmatised as “Low Church,” adopted by that body which is now styled the “High Church.” I think, then, in justice to the Evangelical body, this should be borne in mind. We have prayer-meetings now recommended to us. I attended prayer-meetings thirty-five years ago. I do so still. I have a cathedral in which daily service is offered up to Almighty God. I have a large schoolroom attached to that cathedral, in which members of the congregation, ordinarily worshipping there, are invited, on the first Monday in the month, to attend a prayer-meeting, at which I continually preside. I would also state that the practice which your Lordship recommended so earnestly and appropriately this morning, of caring for individual persons, especially at the season of confirmation, has been the practice of myself and others with whose mode of conducting their parochial duties I am acquainted. When I was a parochial clergyman, a quarter of a century ago, I never presented to the Bishop any individual for confirmation with whom I had not had private conversation and private prayer, and I still perform some of the functions of a parish priest. I delight to preside at the meetings of district visitors, and none ever come to me without being invited to join in prayer. Let me repeat that warning given by our beloved President this morning with reference to confession. If it is termed “sacramental,” that is a term which the Church does not give and does not recognise—we have no sacraments but Baptism and the Lord’s Supper; and a great deal of prejudice has been stirred up against what may be a legitimate practice when



it has been spoken of as "sacramental confession." It is a term which I repudiate, and which I do not believe the Church of England sanctions. I beg pardon for having said this, but I could not in all honesty withhold this expression of my own feeling. I wish to state that there is very much in this Congress institution of the Church for which I thank God and take courage. I believe with Lord Harrowby that we do well not to say that the former days were better than these, for that we do not rightly consider concerning those, and that we have great reason to bless God for that peace which is the gift of the Holy Spirit.

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The Rev. W. WALSHAM HOW.

MY LORD,—Although forestalled by an eloquence almost unrivalled, I wish to bear my testimony to the blessedness of retreats for the clergy.

In this busy, restless, hurrying age, these opportunities of going apart for a few days to hold intimate communion with our dear Master and with our own souls are most blessed. I wish, my Lord, to confine myself, in the few minutes in which I may address you, to speaking of a few of the objections brought against them.

First of all, many are suspicious of the name, because it is borrowed from Rome. Now I think that we must not, if we can get a really good thing, mind much about the name. The name is a very proper and significant name, and I really know not a better by which we can call the thing; and it strikes me that if we were to borrow any machinery, or any hint for our own well-being, from a neighbour, and then to call it by another name in order that we might seem to have invented it ourselves, there would be something of disingenuousness in it. But then, secondly, the thing itself comes from Rome. Well, I dislike extremely any imitation of Romanism. Nothing makes me more sad and sorrowful than to see practices adopted because they come from that quarter. But, again, I must say that if we can get a really good thing for our own souls, I do not care where it comes from. Again, it is said retreats lead to the practice of confession. Now I feel the peril very strongly myself—I know many will differ from me—not only of *enforced* confession—as has been freely admitted by so many—but of *habitual* confession; but yet I cannot forget what I may call the dying words of one whose name is revered in the Church of England,—the late Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield,—who, on the very day that he was called to his rest, spoke so nobly out upon that subject, saying, that so long as nothing was done contrary to the express directions and spirit of the Church of England, he would uphold it. And I would say, if any clergyman is moved at such a time as that of a retreat—if he is moved by the remembrance of past sin, or the trouble that he has in dealing with his own soul—to open his grief to one more experienced than himself, "that he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice," I am not the one to blame him. But let me add this: I heard the conductor of a retreat say, when I was present, that it was of primary importance that we should grasp and hold fast this truth—that sins confessed to Almighty God alone with true penitence are absolutely and fully forgiven.

I have one word more to say, and that is this, that retreats are supposed to be party things. Now that is just what I hope and pray they may cease to be. I thank Mr Body for what he said on that point. I was about to make a similar appeal. I am thankful that one whose name will be long associated in many hearts with the mention of "personal religion" has himself approached the subject, and made a first beginning in London of conducting something like a retreat; and what I hope is, that in a few years it will be forgotten where the name comes from—forgotten where the practice comes from; and that, in a period to come, the Church of England, as a Church, will be enriched by an instrumentality for which all those who have ever made use of it have, I am certain, to thank God from the bottom of their hearts.

## The Rev. E. H. BICKERSTETH.

MY LORD BISHOP,—There is only one thought that I would venture to throw out for the consideration of this great meeting. It was one deeply impressed upon my own mind by an elder Christian brother twenty years ago, when I had been about four years in the ministry. He said to me, "I am not afraid that God's Word should not do God's work; but I am often very much afraid, lest I should not preach God's Word in God's proportion;" and I feel that is a thought which may be practically useful to us to-day in considering the helps and hindrances to the deepening of spiritual life. I believe, that for ourselves in our own studies and for the progress of our own souls in the knowledge of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, it is all-important that we should observe the proportion of the faith—that we should make those things first which Holy Scripture makes first—that we should hold those things central which hold the centre in Holy Scripture. We are called to run the race that is set before us looking off unto Jesus. He has been named again and again this day as the centre of our spiritual life. And then I think that we need to give that honour to God's most Holy Word, which that Word claims for itself. I believe that just as we meditate therein day and night, our leaf will not wither, neither shall we be careful in the year of drought. And then we need to give that place and that position to the sacraments of Christ's Church, and to the other means of grace, which we find assigned to them in the Word of God—that place and position and no other. I trust that this Congress has been helpful to us—helpful to all the schools of Christians who have here met together, in that it has shown them that there is so much spiritual life stirring amongst all. Only let us who are pastors and evangelists maintain this symmetry of the faith, preaching first Christ and Him crucified—then preaching and appealing to the Word of God, and then setting forth in their scriptural proportions the Sacraments and other means of grace. I think those who have been called—though I am not fond of the name—the High Church party—as I am not fond of the name the Low Church party—have not been slow to acknowledge, but they have gladly and willingly and gratefully adopted, the free preaching of the everlasting gospel, which God used for the regeneration of His work in England at the close of the last century and the beginning of this; and I hope we have learned something from them of earnest, faithful, patient diligence, in setting before our flocks those pledges of grace ordained by Christ Himself for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls.

## The Rev. E. A. HILLIARD.

MY LORD,—In speaking on the spiritual life, I should like, if I could, to ask some of our brethren, whether we have not lost sight also of the fact that the Lord and the Giver of life is also the producer of multiform life—whether there is not in the spiritual life a counterpart to that which meets our eye in the natural world? He gives diversities of gifts, and, as a necessary consequence, these diversities of gifts require differences of administration; and because God the Holy Ghost gives life and gives it to differing souls in differing measures, therefore does it come to pass as a necessary consequence that there pervades the Church of God vocations of spiritual life of differing grades; and therefore, as a necessary consequence, those who are thus called to higher or lower grades of spiritual life demand a constant and attentive and individual care, which is given amongst those who are described as the High Church party under what has been called habitual confession? For it would seem to me—I may be wrong—but it seems to me to be a hard thing to limit that freedom of access to the throne of grace which we claim so largely, in any degree, except we entirely object to the mode. Does there not

lurk beneath the hearts of those who object to the fact of habitual confession a suspicion of the means? And what after all is that means but the application of the precious blood of Jesus Christ to the soul of a repentant sinner? And if this be so, is there not also in that ordinance an opportunity for that pastoral, spiritual, inner guidance which cannot be given by exhortations cast broadcast into the midst of a vast assembly? Have we not made shipwreck in the Church of England of those higher vocations and those higher degrees which lead on to the higher spiritual life and sanctity, simply because the first pulse of spiritual life was not cherished, nourished, and fostered with loving and constant care? So then, I say, that I am constantly an advocate for the use of confession, as often as ever a soul feels burdened and grieved; and I would point out also, that there is another great means by which souls may be carried on in their progress in sanctity, and that is in the practice of habitual meditation—not that vague, wide, and undefined thing which goes by the name of meditation, but the meditation which is formal, a meditation which is systematic, and which goes on the rules of him who was said, by one I love, to have taken for his kingdom, “man in his relation to the living God.” I mean, in fact, that meditation which is founded on the “Spiritual Exercises,” which have been the guidance of religious orders in every age of the Church.

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#### ARCHDEACON EMERY.

MY LORD,—I make one remark, for I see there is a slight movement in this assembly. I trust that for another half-hour there will be that quietness and calm here which we have had hitherto, and that, as far as possible, the members of this Congress will wait to hear what I am sure will do their souls good—some remarks from yourself.

And now one or two thoughts have suggested themselves to me upon this most solemn subject. It is a solemn thing to address an assembly in whom, if we are to believe the Word of God, the Spirit dwells, and a most important thing it is for laity and clergy in every possible way to seek to know how to deepen the Spirit's life within us,—how to show forth the deepening of spiritual life within us by our daily conduct.

Now, having arrived at middle life, and having been most strangely cast into very many classes of society, I must say this, that sometimes those who lay highest claim to spiritual life least show that spiritual life in their small daily actions. It is very possible to have a most extensive vocabulary of spiritual language—it is very possible to have a very great profession of spiritual practice; but unless that spiritual language and that spiritual profession is seen in the gentleness of the Christian life, all our vocabulary and all our profession is a mere stumbling-block to the poor in spirit. And, therefore, dear Christian brethren, whilst it is most useful to us all to lay well to heart the various suggestions that have been made by the different schools of religious thought—whilst we should seek earnestly to defend the faith once delivered to the saints—whilst we should seek humbly to stand forth ever in defence of and for the efficient working of the Church of Christ, depend upon it we shall never do anything to God's glory unless we determine, first of all, in meekness and gentleness to show forth that we are indeed the temples of the Holy Ghost, bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit, love and peace, long-suffering, gentleness and goodness, and faith and meekness and temperance. May I tell you one way, Christian brethren, to deepen the spiritual life. There are many ways. There have been many pointed out to you on the various sides. There is one that I will name. Retire into your inmost chamber and shut the door upon you, and there think of those who have gone before you; meditate upon those who have been God's saints upon earth, and who are now amongst the blessed; and, above all, meditate upon Him who is the King of saints, and question with yourselves, away from the world and without the world knowing it, how far in your daily life you are striving with all your might, in humble dependence upon the Spirit of God, to imitate the life of the King of saints.

## MR SHIPTON.

MY LORD BISHOP,—I know how short time is, therefore I will offer respectfully one word of warning and one word of suggestion. My warning is, that there never was a time when it was more important that the clergy of England should stand in close and intimate fellowship with the lay people of England. My Lord Bishop, the lay people of England do not like clerical retreats. The lay people of England do not understand clerical retreats. The lay people of England do not understand, and they won't have anything which separates the clergy from the public worship, from the public sympathies, from the closest associations which they can have with their own flocks in the interests of Christ's Church and individual spiritual religion. I speak that which I know, and I testify that which I prophesy will be found to be true.

But, my Lord Bishop, I do not simply rise at such a meeting as this to offer a word of warning only, but I desire humbly to reiterate the words that fell from the Lord Bishop who first spoke to us, when he reminded us of that sentence in our creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life." Where He is honoured, Christ is exalted; where His personal office and work are set forth according to the teaching of Scripture and the Catholic Church, there will the name of Jesus be as ointment poured forth, and there will His Church live under His sanctifying influence, and become bright as the sun, and fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners. The days of extension and revival and blessed influence in the Church have ever been those in which the ministry and work of the Holy Ghost has been honoured and glorified.

My Lord Bishop, there is much reason to fear that in all schools of thought amongst us, amongst all sections of the Church, there is far too great a tendency to-day to attach undue importance to the ministerial service. The highest Churchman does not value more than some of us lay people do every ordinance of God, but we remember the serpent of brass, which was the sign of salvation to Israel in the day of her calamity, and how it became "Nehushtan," a thing accursed, in the days when the symbol was divested of the fact it memorialised; and whenever the outward and visible sign does not set forth the glory of the Divine Lord, it conceals it, and then it becomes the ministry of death and not of salvation. We hear less and less, day by day, of the ministry of Christ, and more and more of the Church of Christ. The Church is but the hospital in which sin-sick souls seek the help of the Great Physician; but the Holy Ghost is the great Dispenser of the blessings of healing and strength and power to those who have fled for refuge to the hope set before them in the gospel.

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 THE REV. J. C. RYLE.

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—One thing is perfectly clear to any one who has sat here and marked the proceedings of this Congress, and that is that we are not entirely of one mind. I have no doubt it will do us all good to hear other people's opinions, and have our own opinions called over the coals. But, at all events, we are agreed on one thing—I hope we are, at least—that there is nothing more important to the Church of England at this time than spiritual life. This, I do not hesitate to say, is far more important than Episcopacy, far more important than cathedrals, far more important than Establishment. Spiritual life is that without which the Church will die. The African Churches had their Bishops, their Synods, their learning, their liturgies. They had everything of the outward parts of a Church. But because they did not attend to spiritual life, their candlestick was taken away, and the Churches of Hippo and Carthage are no longer known.

Now I should not at all agree with my brother Mr Body as to what is the beginning of spiritual life; but I will not enter into that point now. This only I say, I hope we shall all agree that there is no spiritual life in a man unless he has the Catechism qualifications of repentance toward God, faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, and charity towards all men, repentance whereby we forsake sin, a real, true, lively faith, and a living charity toward all. How can this be attained? How can we see more of it among our believing people? Our people need more attention to private religion. We are more disposed in this day to undervalue private religion than we once were. There is a vast amount of public religion. I find no fault with it. Those who like every-day services, let them have them; those who like the sacraments every Sunday, let them have them. But for all this, we must not forget that true religion begins at home. Private communion with our Lord Jesus Christ in our own chamber, private study of the Word of God, so watering the roots of our religious life, these are the true beginnings of spiritual life. As to ministers, I feel that we need, for the deepening of the spiritual life, to preach our Lord Jesus Christ more fully than ever we have done yet; to lift Him up in all His offices; to exalt Him, not merely as dying on the cross, but rising again, and sitting at the right hand of God, living as our priest for ever, able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by Him. We need to take more care of our believing people. Church of England clergymen are very apt to think only of the unconverted, and forget the believers. Their very position as ministers of a territorial Church is one of temptation to do this. They think of poor ignorant souls, and forget the people of God, the sheep of our Lord Jesus Christ. I believe Plymouth Brethrenism would never have become what it has become if the clergy of the Church of England had paid more attention to feeding the believing part of their people. I have one more thing to say. I am for the clergy paying more attention to individual dealing with the people. I give no place to any one as to private dealing with those committed to my charge. Public preaching is nothing without this. You may fire off a sermon, and think it a grand sermon; but if you don't follow up the work, and get face to face with the people afterwards, the sermon is oftentimes thrown away. But I earnestly hope, and this shall be my last word, that we shall never be tempted to borrow from the Church of Rome any purely Romish practices. Here let me earnestly pray my brethren who do not agree with me to take care that they do not disgust the people of England by borrowing the Romish Confessional. People will stand much; but I believe there is one thing that the lower and middle classes of the country will not stand, and that is the Romish Confessional. You want the Bible in your schools. You have fought a good fight to have it in your school-board schools. Many people read nothing in religion but the Bible and the Catechism. Now when they find in the Bible not a single example of any one making private confession, or receiving private absolution, what will they think of you if you put before them the Romish Confessional?

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The Rev. H. T. EDWARDS, Vicar of Carnarvon.

MY LORD,—I shall not occupy the attention of this great meeting for many moments, but I wish to dwell simply upon one point, which was alluded to by your Lordship at the close of this morning's session. I should not have sent in my card to speak had I heard the remark that your Lordship was about to close the session before I sent in my name; it was with regard to the use that can be made of Confirmation for deepening the spiritual life among the young people in our parishes. I have been lately engaged in preparing a large number of young people for confirmation in my parish in Wales. In one of the churches (English) in my parish, I have prepared fifty young

people for confirmation during the past six months. I extended that preparation over a long period of time, and I laid down the rule that I should not admit to confirmation—at least, that I should not advise any one to come to confirmation, who did not feel sufficiently confirmed in heart and mind to become, from confirmation, at once a communicant. The result was that several of the catechumens whom I did prepare felt themselves unable to come to confirmation, and I advised them to wait until the next time the Bishop would be holding a confirmation in the parish; but the result was that fifty remained who felt themselves prepared in heart and mind, and they have become communicants, and have since been enrolled members in a Communicants' Association, and meet together under the care and guidance and direction of the clergy, to receive instruction and to engage in spiritual exercises, with the view of strengthening and deepening that spiritual life which they have received. In Wales especially, confirmation has been grievously misused and degraded. In a great many of the country parishes, large numbers of the catechumens have been presented, year after year, to the Bishop, without any preparation whatever. In many parishes, the clergyman has been known, in years gone by, to go out into the village on the morning on which the confirmation was to be held, with a number of tickets, and distribute them among the children, saying, "There is to be a confirmation held here to-day, and if you wish to come, here is a ticket to admit you." The result of that is, that confirmation has been regarded by the great mass of people in Wales (especially by Nonconformists) as a kind of magical rite without any spiritual reality in it whatever; and the clergy in many instances, in the old careless days of which we have heard, now gone by, were tempted to present a large number of catechumens in this way, with the view of securing the approval of the Bishop, and leading him to think that they were doing a great work in their parishes.

One remark with which I shall close is this: One speaker observed that we can only deepen the spiritual life by believing in the Lord Jesus Christ. I fully believe in that doctrine. That is the only source of life; but I thought some who uttered that sentence did so with a view of deprecating our faith in the ordinances of the Church. To believe in the name of Jesus Christ is to believe in every principle that is implied in the divine mission and life of Christ as manifested upon earth. To believe in the name of Christ, is to believe in Him who was subject to His parents—to believe in Him who frequented all the ordinances of the temple—to believe in Him who conformed to all the ordinances of that Church in the land in which He spent His human life on earth; and, therefore, they who have the deepest faith in the ordinances of the Church, are they who, in the most real, and the fullest sense of the word, believe in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

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### The Rev. E. HOARE.

MY LORD,—The definition I would give of spiritual life is, Oneness with Christ, Nearness to Christ, Likeness to Christ. Two great hindrances that I have often noticed to the deepening of spiritual life are, in the first place, indistinct views of truth, so that anxious inquirers feel afraid of coming near to God in Christ; secondly, an indisposition to make the surrender unto the Lord. It was once said to me, "I know you are right, but I see the consequences that it will lead to, and I am not prepared for them."

To meet these two difficulties I would suggest just two helps. In the first place, the great divinely given help of God the Holy Ghost. I cannot subscribe to what has been said in depreciation of sermons. I have known multitudes of persons whose difficulties have been cleared away through sermons, without any pastoral intercourse at all; but I deeply value personal intercourse, and I have practised it with my own dear people, long before many of those gentlemen were ordained. I have known the difficulty cleared away

wonderfully through such intercourse ; but after all, it is God's Spirit that must bless the sermon, and that must bless the private counsel given. And then, in the second place, let us remember that our one grand power is that power of God of which the apostle said he was not ashamed : " I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation." Now, what is our object ?—nearness to Christ. What then is the help ?—to seek to present that blessed Saviour in His perfection, in His atonement, in His priesthood, in His advocacy—to present Him without anything intermediate of any kind whatever—to help the anxious soul to come into close, intimate, uninterrupted personal contact with the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. I do not dishonour God's means of grace—I do not dishonour the ministry ; but the point at which I aim is to help poor sinners above all means, and far above the ministry—to let them, as it were, pass by both, and come into contact with Him who died for them, with Him who rose again for them, with Him who now lives for them and for me ; and this I take to be the teaching of Scripture, when it says—" These things write I unto you, that ye sin not ; and if any man sin,"—what is the remedy ? Nothing external—not even a sacrament, not a minister, not a priest—" We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins." Therefore, if there be any one anxious soul in this hall, I would say to that anxious soul, " This very day, without delay, and without waiting for anything intermediate, cast yourself at His feet for a full, free, everlasting salvation ; and as you are—in this very hall—yield yourself to God."

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The Rev. A. A. ISAACS, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church,  
Leicester.

I SHOULD not, my Lord, have ventured to address the meeting this afternoon had not my name been withdrawn yesterday. It is only on this ground that I would offer a few observations. I conceive that one of the greatest hindrances to spiritual life is the religious contentions that exists at the present time. It is true that oftentimes we are called to go forth, in the language of the Word of God, and to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered unto the saints ; but those who have to take that course, I am quite persuaded, feel most deeply and painfully how foreign it is to the spirit of Christianity, and how, in the words of the Psalmist, they would cry out, " Oh, that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest," and thus be freed from that contention and strife which oftentimes seems inevitable.

Another hindrance, I conceive, to spiritual life, is the incessant occupations and engagements in which every day the parochial clergy have to take their part, especially in our large parishes. I might also say that what appears to be a very great hindrance, as far as the laity are concerned, is the manner in which their worldly occupations seem to be multiplied. These are little fitted to kindle the flame of anything good, and the whole spiritual life from beginning to end is likely to be extinguished. But another hindrance appears to be the want of devotion, the want of that spirit of prayer without which that spiritual life cannot be sustained. Now, how are these difficulties to be removed ?

My Lord, I am an advocate for retreats, but they are not the retreats of many who may gather together, but the retreat of the individual soul, who, following the example of His gracious Lord and Master Jesus Christ, goes to the mountain apart and alone, and spends hours or days, as it may be, in devotion and communion with Him.

I may simply say, in conclusion, that what we want is an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. This life is His work and His gift from beginning to end. He alone can support and strengthen it. Oh, that it may be our part to lift up our hearts to God and to plead, in the words of the Canticles, " Awake, O north wind ; and come, thou south ; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out." In this way alone may we expect to realise the promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit.

### The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THERE is not time for another speaker, therefore I may be permitted to make two or three observations on what has fallen from other speakers. Perhaps it is an inconvenience of Congresses that gentlemen come with their own personal views, and do not always consider, as they might do, with adequate regard and deference, the views of others. I think we have had contrasts presented to us to-day between things which ought always to be taken together. I would illustrate it in this way.

I have heard it said by one speaker that we are to place the Cross of Christ before our people, and not the Sacraments. Now, I hardly know how you can place the cross of Christ before your people without the sacraments, for this simple reason—those who are baptized into Christ are baptized into His death. Where you have an adequate view of the death of Christ, you must have some adequate conception of the sacraments by which you are baptized into it. With regard also to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; in consecrating the elements we use our Lord's own words, "This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins." As far as I understand the sacraments at all, they are the application of the merits of Christ crucified to the soul of the faithful receiver, for the remission of sins; and if they are the application of the merits of Christ crucified, I do not understand how people can be said to preach Christ crucified without the sacraments. The other point is this: I would speak of hindrances, and I would speak of helps to our inner spiritual life. There is a hindrance which does not seem to me to have been touched upon, and I may perhaps be going to put a searching question to some of my reverend brethren the clergy. Are there any here who are editors of what are called religious newspapers among my brethren? Are there any here who are contributors of anonymous letters to those papers? I can only say, when I see, as I do, in the houses of some of my reverend brethren, who lay claim to an inner spiritual life, papers which teem with anonymous slanders and calumnies against our rulers in Church and State, my own impression is that the spiritual life of that household is not very deep; and if it should be the case that there should go forth from that household some anonymous slander or calumny against, it may be, a ruler in the Church or State, then I think it shows a great shallowness of spiritual life in that household. We know from St Jude (and it is a very solemn thought) that he who holds a high place in the angelic hierarchy, I mean the Archangel Michael, when he was disputing with the devil himself about the body of Moses, dared not to bring even against Satan himself a railing accusation. Now, I should like to know how there can be a deepening of the spiritual life in any man who brings railing accusations, and that anonymously and clandestinely and surreptitiously, even against "the angels of the churches," even, it may, against his own Bishop and father in God? How can that be a proper preparation for the religious and spiritual life? How can it be a preparation for dwelling with the angels and archangels in glory, when we do not lead the life of angels on earth, but when we rather imitate that which is the expressed character of him who is called Diabolus, whence we have the word "devil," and which means calumniator or slanderer? And is it not, whatever we may say of our spiritual life, the worst of all preparations for the society of angels, to indulge in anonymous sarcasms and clandestine slanders against the rulers of the Church? The rulers of the Church are erring men, but sometimes we are traduced for those very things which we do from a conscientious sense of our duty. And is it not the best preparation in the world for that outer darkness where there will be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, to imitate him who is called in Scripture, "the accuser of our brethren," "the adversary" Satan, and whose name is Diabolus?

The other point which has not been touched upon, or I should not have touched upon it, is this, and here again let me put a question to my reverend brethren. I believe a considerable number of them read what are called "religious newspapers." I would put this question to them. Have those persons who spend their time either in



reading or writing religious newspapers, read the daily lessons of the day on which we are now assembled? Is it their daily practice, when they first get up in the morning, to commune with God in His most Holy Word? and if it is not, I do not hesitate to say that there is no deepening of the spiritual life there. We need to remember who it was who said—one inspired by the Holy Spirit of God—"Give thyself to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; meditate on these things, give thyself wholly to them." I am sorry to say it, but I must confess it, that the biblical learning of the clergy at the present time is far below the requirements of the age, and some of those who preach the most, and, I am sorry to say, some of those who speak to us the most, on spiritual life, are too little versed in the oracles of the Holy Scriptures. But "*tolle lege*," that was the word that raised Augustine from his state of death to life—"open the Word"—that it is which, I am persuaded, is, in God's hands, one of the principal instruments for quickening and deepening our spiritual life. Or, as another saint has said, St Bernard, "Let us gild our wings by conversing with Christ," and we shall have the wings of a dove and feathers like gold. Yes, then we shall have the wings brooding over us of the Divine Comforter. But how are we to gild our wings in the conversation of Christ except we meditate daily—the first thing in the morning, and the last thing at night—on those divine oracles which speak to us of the life of Christ? I have no time to enlarge upon this great argument. My heart burns within me, but I must sit down; but I do commend these thoughts to you:—First, Abstain from thinking evil, from speaking evil, from writing evil. Then the next thing is, feed habitually on God's Word, in order that you may be saturated with those living oracles; especially in the original tongues. I would speak especially to my younger brethren. Study God's Word, if possible, in the Hebrew and the Greek tongues. Study it daily. Feed upon the Book. Pray over it. What was it that was said to the prophet Ezekiel?—"Son of man, eat this roll; and then go speak unto the house of Israel." That roll which was given to the prophet is what we need: and we remember how the blessed Evangelist John, the apostle of love, was commissioned by Christ to write to the Churches, in order that the Churches might read what the Spirit said to the Churches. Well, then, since God has written these things, let us read them, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them; and then, but not till then, shall we rightly divide the Word of Truth.

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### REV. THEOPHILUS BENNETT, M.A.

MY LORD,—I had the privilege of receiving the holy communion from your consecrated hands this morning. I now merely rise to a point of order for justice, and I would read this one remark. It is under the head of "Information:—" "Any member desirous of addressing the Congress on the subject before the meeting, must give his card to the secretary in attendance before the close of the written address, and wait the call of the Chairman." Now, my Lord, on a previous occasion, wishing to speak on this very subject at Southampton, I gave in my card. I was third on the list, but as the Bishop there was wishing to pair the speakers—High Church and Low Church—and as he could not find me to learn what sort of churchman I was, I was passed by. I am thankful to say I am an old Churchman. To-day I sent in my card again. Yesterday I sent in my card and I was passed over until almost the last. The day before the same thing occurred; and now the question I want to ask (and it is one in which we are all interested, every one of us, because I would be far from travelling three hundred miles if I thought I was only coming to hear speakers who were put up just as some wire-puller behind the scenes chose to pull them up) is this, I want simply to ask this question,—What is the order of these addresses?

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## The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I WILL answer your question, and I will answer it distinctly. Nottingham is not Southampton, and the Bishop of Lincoln is not the Bishop of Winchester. That is the first answer. The next is, that I can only say that I have announced the names of the speakers, in every case, according to the order in which they were handed to me by the secretary, who received the cards ; with one exception, which I took the means of explaining this morning, thinking it my duty ; and I requested the meeting then to wait five minutes more, in order that it should not be thought by anybody that I had been guilty of anything unfair.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting closed.

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 FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 13.
 

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## CHURCH PATRONAGE.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM took the chair at 2.15 o'clock, and read the following paper :—

THERE is a certain providence in every *status quo* which we shall do ill at any time to ignore. Things cannot have become as we have found them, without the permission, although they may appear to us to be without the manifest blessing, of God.

This is true of patronage in the Church, as well as of other matters in the Church and out of it : and I now proceed to show the present position of patronage in the Church of England ; to refer to the laws by which it is regulated ; to point out the principal abuses in its exercise ; and offer some suggestions to remedy them.

Patronage—the power of conferring a benefice in the National Church—is divided into many channels, and this is one of its chief present recommendations. The very variety of the hands to which patronage is now entrusted prevents its being exercised too exclusively in the interests of *party*, distributes it more widely, and acts as a providential check upon abuses of various kinds. The great wrong done to the Church as a spiritual communion has been singularly corrected by the providential direction of its historical course. This great wrong was the diversion of spiritual cures from the Church itself to private patrons. Abbeys and monasteries and convents were ruthlessly suppressed at the Reformation, and the spiritual charge of souls dwelling upon millions of acres was recklessly conferred upon laymen, who thenceforward absorbed in personal aggrandisement the greater proportion of the temporal goods connected with the alienated property. But the correction of it consists in the historical fact that the lay patronage, thus diverted from its spiritual channel, has become a source of material strength to the Church as a national institution. Our legislators in both Houses of Parliament are, to a great extent, Church patrons, and their interest in Church property must practically enlist

their sympathies in preserving the Church as a great national institution, so as to preclude the most influential among them from joining in the destructive cry of "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground." This is not really a popular cry; it is rather one that, when noisily raised, meets an echo among the ignorant and the prejudiced. The public mind only requires *information* to enable it to arrive at a just conclusion with regard to the real uses and untold blessings of the Church in the land.

Patronage in the Church is either public or private. Of the, say, 13,000 benefices of England and Wales, the rather larger moiety are in public, and the lesser in private patronage.

Public patronage includes that exercised by the Crown, the Bishops, Deans and chapters, universities and colleges, other public bodies and official persons, and (in some cases) the parishioners; and is thus roughly divided, viz.—

The Crown, say about, . . . . .	1500
The Bishops and senior Rectors, . . . . .	2500
Capitular bodies, . . . . .	1000
Universities, colleges, and official persons, . . . . .	2000
	<hr/>
	7000
In private patronage, say . . . . .	6000
	<hr/>
	13,000

Private patronage includes that exercised by, first, private individuals; and, secondly, certain trustees; whereof by far the greater portion is vested in individuals.

The laws under which the exercise of this patronage is regulated are very numerous, and a digest of them is much needed. The following brief summary may, perhaps, help to give an outline of the legal position of patronage, and serve to indicate the course in which future legislation must be directed.

Those regulating *Resignations* are all of the Georgian era, and are mainly directed to legalising bonds which had been previously entered into with a view of evading the Act of 31 Eliz., c. 6, directed especially against Simoniacal transactions.

Those regulating *Exchanges* are of the same period, arising also out of Elizabethan legislation.

Those regulating *Simony* are derivable from the same Act of Elizabeth, but some of them were passed in the reigns of William and Mary, and of Anne, and those of later date in the reign of George IV.

Those regulating *Donatives* range through the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles II., George I., William IV., and of her present gracious Majesty, whom God preserve!

Hence it will be seen that any future legislation which may take place must embrace a careful consideration of a long train of previous legislative enactments. I venture to express the hope that the Report on Patronage and Simony now before Convocation will lead at an early period to the correction of much that is faulty at the present day.

The principal abuses of patronage are these:—Nepotism, the sale of next presentations, neglect of the proportionate value of lay rectories and their respective vicarages or curacies, the existence of irresponsible

donatives (in private patronage), and the enforcement of legal rights without reference to equity or to moral responsibility. *Summum jus summa injuria*, might be written on hundreds of cases of patronage, both public and private.

Before I proceed to indicate some of the remedies proposed, I must offer a brief comment on the exercise of patronage of different kinds.

All patronage is now, to some extent, kept under a wholesome check by the awakened conscience of the public mind. I say, by the public mind in the widest sense, because the voice of a conscientious nonconformity, and the voice of anti-jobbery, even from sources republican and infidel, exercise a beneficial influence on the minds of all patrons. I believe, as a rule, we are all more careful scrutinisers of ourselves than we were a generation or two ago; but it is well for us, even when we act on the highest motives, to see what effect our actions produce on the minds of others. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, is an old, but not yet worn-out axiom.

While admitting, then, that the patronage of the Crown is, and has now for some time been, generally exercised with care and wisdom (I speak of course entirely without reference to party), it is to be lamented that a sentence should ever have found utterance from a venerable statesman, that "in the Church, no talent, no learning, no piety, can advance the fortunes of a clergyman whose political opinions are adverse to those of the governing powers." I hope, indeed, that this utterance was itself only a portion of what may be termed political "stock," for I believe I have the power of naming a distinguished instance where the patronage of the Crown was dispensed by the utterer in absolute opposition to these his own words.

The nepotism of the Episcopate has almost ceased to exist. Dioceses might be named in which, during a former age, the name of the Bishop was printed in unfavourable characters on the rolls of more than one succeeding generation; but it seems to me most unfair (and as I speak as a Bishop who is undowered either with patronage or property, I trust the Congress will bear with me when I say it), that an outcry of this kind should be raised when a *deserving* member or connection of an Episcopal family meets with his due promotion from the spiritual superior to whom alike naturally and ecclesiastically he is entitled to look for the reward his works deserve; and who is really the best judge of the kind of work for which he is best adapted.

Capitular bodies have not generally been popular patrons; but on these corporations, as well as on others, the awakened public conscience is exercising a wholesome influence—while the legislation of 3 & 4 Vict.,\* c. 113, s. 44, 45, which is now in general operation, is gradually securing to deserving curates of the several dioceses in which they serve some of the recognition to which their labours are entitled.

The prominent defect of collegiate patronage was, formerly, the sending dry and antiquated College Fellows to do work requiring warm-hearted and living sympathy among the varied centres of population; but instances of this kind are becoming rarer every day, and among the best preachers and most energetic parish priests of the period, may be numbered

\* This Act requires five years' work in the diocese to qualify for presentation to a living.

Fellows of colleges, who have established for themselves a lasting reputation.

Private patronage is, perhaps, that which is more open to abuse than any other. Trustee patronage is especially objectionable, inasmuch as it fosters the growth of party in the Church ; while the abuse of personal patronage has been made more patent, not to say flagrant, by the wholesale traffic that has been, and still is, encouraged by the unblushing trade carried on in the sale of preferment. In the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* of 8th August last, I counted, with shame and sorrow, nine columns and a half of Church preferment for sale or exchange ; that of 12th September contains nearly eight columns of similar matter, *one line of which*, in one advertisement, announces “about 200 Incumbencies for Sale,” p. viii. col. 3 : And I ask this Congress—considering the solemn and eternal interests involved in every nomination to the cure of souls ; considering, also, how the Apostle Paul condemns with authority all *καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*lit.* “making merchandise of the Word of God” (2 Cor. ii. 17)—whether it is not a blot on the escutcheon of the Church of the nation that this mart and traffic in sacred things should thus be openly carried on to the great detriment of public morality, and a *σκανδαλον* not only to the political opponents of the Church, but to the misbeliever and unbeliever as well ?

I have endeavoured to summarise the principal abuses of patronage under five heads. First, let us take,—

1. *Nepotism*.—This, in its existing diminished form, may be almost extinguished by two wholesome regulations ; viz., 1. By requiring a sufficient probation, say, at least, three years from his ordination as deacon, from every person before his presentation to an Incumbency with cure of souls ; and, 2. By causing notice to be given in public (on the principle of banns of marriage, and of the *Si quis* in ordination) before any new Incumbent be licensed to any cure of souls, so that any parishioner who knows any reasonable objection may declare the same to the Diocesan within a specified time ; and by requiring that the Bishop shall investigate the same in open court, under certain specified regulations.

2. *The sale of next presentations*.—This, the fruitful source of scandal and abuse, should be abolished by law. A bill to this effect has already received the sanction of the House of Commons, and I trust that some of its provisions will be incorporated into a more comprehensive bill, shortly to be introduced, which shall receive ere long the sanction of Parliament, Convocation, and the Crown.

Some will ask, Why not abolish the sale of advowsons as well ? But I believe that advowsons-appendant (as they are called), are not only a long-established legal property, but are in strict accordance with ecclesiastical order, with moral right, and with the ancient principles of the Church of the nation, *so far as they are connected with the land*. The only advowsons that are really objectionable, are what are called advowsons in gross, *i.e.*, held separate from all real property, and the time is not yet ripe for recommending the abolition of these. It is a question that will reasonably admit of postponement.

The third abuse that I named was—

3. *Neglect of the proportion in value between lay impropriations and their vicarages*.—The principle involved here is a very important one, and ought

to be fully considered by all patrons. The poverty of some of our benefices (there are nineteen or twenty under £100 per annum in our own county) is a fruitful cause of complaint in the Church, and a great impediment to her usefulness in many parishes. It is to a vast extent traceable to the cause here named. In the reigns, say, of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, an impropriate rectory was valued to the receiver at £100 per annum; and he was bound to pay the vicar who did his duty, £20 or one-fifth. In the meanwhile, the rectory has increased in some instances to threefold, in some to tenfold, its value, while the vicarage remains the same, except in some nominal increase in the small tithe. This is not fair. The impropriator exercises his legal right, and forgets that in equity his spiritual representative should derive with himself a *proportionate* increase in the value of his property. He ought to receive, not the literal amount—"neither more nor less than a just pound"—which is recorded "in the bond." He ought to receive that which was of the essence of the grant to himself—a due proportion of the existing value of the land of which his ancestor received the grant. It is too late to squabble about the original justice or injustice of the grant; but it is not too late for the present holder of the grant to fulfil the *intention* of his regal benefactor, who despoiled the Church to his advantage, and allow to his vicar that due *proportion* of the benefice which is his moral right. This principle, if carried out, would make many existing starvations, livings indeed, and give a present competence to the vicar, while the lay rector still retained all that was originally designed for him.

4. *The existence of irresponsible donatives.*—Neither the world nor the Church knows a tithe of the mischief these little insect-vermin of the world of benefices produce. An irresponsible donative is held by a jobber in Church patronage; an involved rector (for there are such people—and that not always through their own fault, notwithstanding the supposed wealth of the beneficed clergy) sells the next presentation to his benefice on a bond or promise of resignation. The owner of the donative presents him to it, and his living becomes *ipso facto* vacant, and the Bishop has no power to interfere! I believe the painful advertisements of the sale of next presentations, of which we see so many, are mainly the result of a few of these donatives enabling their holders to facilitate the resignation of livings, sometimes without the knowledge, and sometimes contrary to the wish, of the Diocesan.

This may be remedied by placing *every* donative benefice under ordinary Episcopal jurisdiction, according to the unfulfilled intention of 6 & 7 Will. IV., c. 77, s. 10, and subsequent Acts of the Legislature.

5. *The power of enforcement of legal right, to the prejudice of equity.*—This affects all patrons more or less. We must indoctrinate the patron-mind—regal, ecclesiastical, or official—with the wholesome motto, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. In the strength of this truth, patrons will become mighty agents of the Great Head of the Church for the benefit of the people, and will, in time, overthrow all the existing evils of simony, of donatives, of selfish exchanges, and of irregular resignations.

In conclusion, I would ask of this Congress to strengthen, through its members in the two provinces, the hands of the convocations of the clergy by *petitions*—1. That all future exchanges of benefices, and all exercise of patronage, be regulated henceforward according to the report recently

presented to the Convocation of Canterbury.\* 2. That the law of simony be amended. 3. That all donatives be placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Bishops; and 4. That the sale of next presentations be made illegal.

I fear that these remedies will appear very insufficient to some enthusiastic persons, and especially to the young ladies who are engaged to curates waiting for preferment; but, slight as they seem, *they will work as real remedies to effect an extensive amelioration in the administration of patronage.* Exchanges—too often commenced in wilfulness, effected through practical simony, and ending in disappointment—will be conducted with wisdom, faith, and discretion. Simony will disappear, with its train of perjuries; and traffic in sacred things will be extinguished. The laity will feel that their just rights are no longer trampled under foot; and patronage will no longer be administered as a *property*, to be sold or given away, but as a SACRED TRUST to be fulfilled to the Great Head of the Church!

The Church of England, thus practically amended in one of her weakest points, may yet wage a successful warfare against ungodliness, indifference, misbelief, and unbelief throughout the land.

If the members of this Congress will lend their moral force to remove, or remedy, the evils that now exist in her system of patronage, they will take away some, at least, of those stumbling-blocks in the way of the fulfilment of her mission which have hitherto embarrassed her career, and enable her to go forth as the evangelist, teacher, and pastor of the entire population!

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Rev. EDMUND HOLLOND read the following paper:—

In an age when all institutions and prescriptive rights are sifted to their foundations, the subject of Church Patronage cannot fail of undergoing keen and critical investigation. That investigation may be carried on either theoretically, with reference to what appears right in the abstract, or practically, with reference to what is likely to work best for the spiritual well-being of the Church of Christ. It may be at once conceded that our present mode of church patronage would never be devised by any one beginning *de novo* to arrange for the appointment of ministers to the various parishes in this country. And yet, as far at least as lay patronage is concerned, it is not difficult to see that it began in a way that was perfectly just and right—that the munificence of our forefathers in building and endowing churches gave them an equitable and natural right to presenting to those churches—a right which they were probably better qualified to exercise than any other party would have been. But the greed of gain came in, and that which was first a just right, as it was a solemn responsibility, became in process of time a power convertible into money, and has been so used, and is being so used, in numerous instances unto this day.

The advertisements, which from time to time appear in the newspapers, of advowsons to be sold are certainly offensive, and suggestive

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\* Published by Messrs Rivingtons, price 2d.

of things not being as they ought to be. And yet, perhaps, in many instances there may be nothing culpable in the transaction, and nothing that actually works injuriously (perhaps the reverse) to the welfare of souls. The buyer of an advowson may be a better patron than the seller. Some ardent reformers, eager to correct what is offensive, and inconsiderate as to the practical working of their schemes, would forbid the sale of advowsons altogether, forgetful that in so doing they would tie down patronage to a family which might migrate to one of our colonies, or become from circumstances utterly unfit to exercise it. For such are the chances and changes of this mortal life, that many a family, rich and flourishing, loses its position in society in a few generations, and the members of it are reduced to working with their hands for their daily bread. We should not like to see the patronage of a living vested in the hands of a day-labourer. Poverty indeed is no disgrace, but it requires no argument to show that such an one is not suited to be a church patron.

The sale of presentations is considered to be a step still lower in the scale of corruption, and few indeed are the instances where such a sale is justifiable. Yet I am glad that the bill brought recently into Parliament for preventing such sale did not pass into a law, for I am persuaded it would have given rise to an immensity of underhand jobbing, approximating in many cases to simony, if not actually leading into that crime, and upon the whole would do more harm than good. Ineffective legislation is always an evil. Yet while I deprecate legislative interference, where legislation can work no cure, I fully admit that it involves much scandal and shame where gentlemen of position and wealth stoop to turning their high responsibilities into gain, and hand over for a sum of money the souls of men to be cared for by whomsoever a perhaps unknown purchaser may appoint.

Yet if such be their stolid indifference to their responsibilities, it is impossible to suppose they would be good patrons of benefices; and the Church may after all be the gainer by the transfer of those responsibilities to others, although the sellers themselves may be losers through their unhallowed gain.

If I might suggest one form of marketing in advowsons as more objectionable than another, it is where clergymen purchase advowsons for themselves, get presented on their own petition, and then sell the advowson to another,—probably a Clergyman, who in his turn does the same thing. Such Clergymen choose *themselves* to be pastors of the flock over which they have thus acquired the right of appointing a minister, and of all modes of selection that perhaps is the most suspicious when a man *selects himself*. Moreover, pecuniary difficulties often result from the speculation, tending to lower the position of the clergy. Yet I have known good men do this—men who have proved themselves good pastors of the flock, and whom the flock has been sorry to lose. Upon the whole, however, a parish that is thus banded about for sale from one clergyman to another is not, I think, in a good position as to patronage, and I confess I should like to see the custom cease (which I fear could not be without legislative enactment), of Bishops instituting] clergymen on their own petition, *except where the advowson has come to them by inheritance.*



But if the abolition of the sale of advowsons would introduce fresh evils, and, upon the whole, work badly for the Church, still worse would be the scheme of those reformers who would hand over to the people, or even to communicants, the appointment of ministers. Popular election has been tried, and its effect in small parishes is usually to hand over the appointment to some principal employer of labour, who requires his men to vote for the clergyman of his choice; while in large parishes the scandal is ordinarily so great, that efforts are frequently made to get rid of the evil, either by the sale of the advowson and application of the money to parish purposes, which the law permits, or in some other way. At the present time, I see by the newspapers that the Archbishop of Canterbury is engaged in assisting the Vicar of St Mary's, Dover, to devise some method for superseding popular election in the choice of an incumbent, so lively are the recollections of the vicar as to the evils which prevailed at the last vacancy.

I am not aware that election by communicants has been tried in our Church, but I believe such a mode of election prevails in most Dissenting congregations (the Wesleyans excepted), and the result is rather a beacon to warn the Church against it than an example to be followed. To please men must then be the great temptation of a minister; and in many a congregation one who prophesied smooth things would be the favourite of the people.

There is another class of reformers, I believe, who would throw all patronage into the hands of the Bishops, or at least of Ecclesiastics. Happily the spirit of the times is utterly opposed to such a transfer—I say, happily, for while I would not wish to see the Bishops or other Ecclesiastics deprived of their present share, so long as our existing church polity remains, I consider that anything which should strengthen the ecclesiastical at the expense of the lay element in our Church, would be an unmixed evil. The strength and efficiency of the Church greatly depends, in my judgment, upon laymen being brought into positions of responsibility and authority in church matters, and anything which would work in a contrary direction is much to be deprecated.

But after all that theorists may say, what is it that is practically wanted in a patron? Is it not—

1. That he should exercise his patronage with a view to the people's good, and not as a favour to an individual.
2. That he should be qualified, in an enlightened Christian spirit, to form a right judgment of men, and of the requirements of a parish. The theorists that could supply us with a class of patrons of this stamp would, indeed, be benefactors to the Church.

But in this sinful world we cannot expect perfection, or even any near approach to it. We must be thankful for any progress in the right direction, stimulating that progress if we can, but not overthrowing it by untried schemes.

Now, I am thankful to feel assured that within the last thirty or forty years there has been considerable progress in the healthful exercise of church patronage. Nepotism has diminished—I do not say that it is gone—would that I *could* say so. Higher ideas of the duty of a clergyman prevail, and patrons feel a deeper sense of their responsibilities. Many patrons who might formerly have considered what relative or

friend might be served by such and such an opportunity, or (if a squire in a country parish) might have looked out for a pleasant genial man to dine with him, and help to entertain his other guests, now inquire for the most fit clergyman to fill the vacant post. I think it cannot be doubted that a far greater attention to the spiritual wants of the people is to be found in patrons now than formerly. That there is much room and much need for further improvement in this direction I do not deny.

Then, again, as a general rule, the patrons of livings are from the most enlightened and independent classes in the country. This is important, for a half-educated man is not a suitable man for a patron, nor is one that is not in an independent position. The one is apt to blunder, the other is almost necessarily prone to job. Education and independence are indispensable conditions of a suitable patron, and these essentials are very generally found in the existing patrons of our benefices.

Perhaps one of the worst forms we have of church patronage is that which prevails in colleges, where the senior fellow has his choice, whether to accept a vacant living or not; and if he refuses, the choice descends to the next and the next in seniority, till, if it be a poor living, some junior fellow who wishes to escape from college life accepts it. There is not even the semblance of an inquiry into qualifications. The most heterogeneous appointments take place. A bookworm may be appointed to a parish requiring much energy and activity. A man whose voice is fitted only for a room may find himself in a large church where he cannot be heard; while, on the other hand, there is often a waste of power both as to voice and activity by men being placed in a sphere obviously too small for them. And the important consideration of income fixes these discrepancies.\*

But it is not my object to point out blots; only, while upholding in the main on practical grounds our present system, I would not be thought insensible to its abuses, and would be the last to oppose any safe and efficient remedy for those abuses.

While thus glancing at our several modes of church patronage, I must not omit to advert to one kind of patronage, which of late years has grown up and been considerably developed amongst us, and to which the Legislature has wisely given its sanction—I mean the Trustee Patronage. My experience of that kind of patronage, and it has not been small, is, that it provides more than any other for the two points I have mentioned as essential to a good patron—viz., that he should exercise his patronage with a view to the good of the people, and that he should be qualified to form a just judgment of men and of the requirements of a parish.

I have never seen nepotism in a trust. That it may possibly exist out of the range of my experience I do not deny; but a trustee would naturally be checked by his colleagues if showing any such tendency. Trustees feel themselves more under the cognizance of public opinion than private or even official patrons. Again, trustees are generally men of education and position, and thus fitted to exercise wisely an independent judgment. They are more free to choose the best man than

\* The writer thankfully acknowledges that, notwithstanding such frequent discrepancies, there are many clergymen, who have been fellows of colleges, who are actively and usefully fulfilling the duties of parochial ministers.

are Bishops or local clergy, who are often hampered by claimants, curates or others, who may be supposed to be entitled to preferment. They are less hampered than even lay patrons often are, who have not always the moral strength to resist what might appear to be a claim on the part of a relative or friend. Thus, trustee patronage ought to work well, and I believe does work well. That mistakes are sometimes made, is a necessary result of the infirmity of human judgment. He that would have an infallible patron, must take a trans-Alpine journey and see if he can find one at Rome. But the verdict of a large portion of the friends of church extension has certainly been in favour of trustee patronage. Many will not contribute to the building of a church unless they are satisfied that the patronage will be in such hands as shall secure, humanly speaking, the continued preaching of those doctrines which they have learned to regard as bound up with their own spiritual life. Can we blame them for such earnest forethought for others, and for thus practically carrying out their own convictions? Religion without distinctive views is a weak, unintelligible thing. The whole superstructure of Christian morals is built upon the foundation of distinct Christian doctrine. The Legislature, I say, has wisely sanctioned what the wish of a considerable portion of zealous Churchmen has indicated; and, provided due care is taken to fill up vacancies as they occur in the various trusts, I consider they are likely to work well for a long time, and that an element of decided good has thus been introduced amongst us.

I have thought it best to limit this paper to the patronage by which the parochial clergy are appointed, without touching on the appointment of Bishops or of cathedral officers.

The sum of my opinions, which I have been invited to give on this subject, is this,—Our church patronage system is not faultless; in its working it has many abuses, but to overthrow it and substitute another would be highly dangerous, and probably lead to immense evil; while to amend it would require an amount of forbearance and discernment which it would be difficult, I do not say impossible, to bring together.

Perhaps a court of appeal, with fully an equal proportion of laymen to clergymen, might be constituted to adjudicate the cases of aggrieved parishioners who conceive that an unworthy or unsound clergyman has been thrust upon them. But this would by no means be an unmixed good, as it would be likely to lead to frivolous and false accusations.

My hope for the Church is rather in a higher standard among the patrons of livings, ecclesiastical as well as lay—a continuation of the progress which has already been made in that direction. The patrons of livings should rise to a higher sense of their responsibilities. Bishops should set them the example. Happily many Bishops do so, but there is much room for improvement.

No more honourable responsibility can be laid upon man than that of providing for the spiritual well-being of a portion of the Church of Christ. It is a responsibility we ought not to shrink from. The exercise of it will often require much self-denial. We may offend those who think they have a claim upon us. We must be ready to forego advantages for those who are dear to us. We must be single-eyed. To serve the Lord in our patronage must be our distinct aim and study

—to provide, as best we may, the sincere milk of the Word for a portion of His flock, remembering that for this, as for every other responsibility, we must give account to Him who searcheth the hearts and trieth the reins.

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### ADDRESS.

A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.

MY LORD BISHOP AND GENTLEMEN,—I cannot conceal my satisfaction at the tone which has hitherto characterised this discussion. The key-note is reform, not revolution; I say this because I have at former Church Congresses been far from satisfied at the revolutionary—I can use no milder term—tone in which it has pleased certain ardent clergymen to discuss this question. The remarkable thing about their policy is, that those who are most vehement in denouncing our present system of patronage are most helpless in devising anything definite to take its place. Let me point out to you that the objection brought against our system of patronage that it is insular, would, if worth anything, pull down a great many other institutions, from the House of Lords, or, I might almost say, from true constitutional monarchy, downwards. On the other hand, our system of patronage has an advantage which is inappreciable, namely, the enormous variety which it creates in the type and character of the clergy of the Church of England. This variety is characteristic of the Church of England, as it is of no other religionism—certainly not of any dissenting sect—certainly not of the Establishment in Scotland—every day less and less of the Church of Rome, in which curialism, working through the seminaries, is rapidly stamping out the nationality of various churches. So completely has rigid uniformity long been stereotyped in the Russian clergy, by the existence of a sacerdotal caste, and the evils of the system are such, that its rectification forms one of the chief practical reforms which the Emperor of Russia is making in the Church of that country. Russia indeed has a married parochial clergy, but a system of hereditary succession has converted them into a caste. No layman's son thought of becoming a priest, or priest's son a layman. Now this restriction is broken down. Laymen are admissible as candidates for orders, while that which was almost an obligation on the sons of the clergy to enter the priesthood is removed. In fact, the Church of Russia is attempting to imitate our system. Is it not plain that the admirable variety amongst our clergy depends in a great degree upon the variety of patronage which exists? But, again, the possibility of such variety hangs on the existence of freehold rights among the clergy, which rights, although, as reported, they were in a certain quarter not accorded another twelvemonth's life, will, I hope, never be abolished,—I do not say reformed, much the reverse, but I do say abolished—for on the freehold rights of the clergy of the Church of England depends the liberty of the laity. A dependent clergyman is either dependent on his flock—and then he is dependent on the most ignorant and the most purse-proud of that flock—or he is the bondsman of his Bishop. I am sure, my Lord, that you will not condemn me as calumniating the episcopal order when I assert that our Bishops are themselves the last men who would desire to reign as autocrats over their flocks. On these considerations I dare assert that, all in all, our mixed system of patronage maintains its position as, by practical experience, the best. What, then, can you substitute for it? Popular election? Dover and Bilston emphatically say “Not popular election.” Shall it be an election by a board of electors, which they are obliged to fall back upon in Ireland? The same board of electors for the whole diocese destroys variety; and a haphazard set of electors for every vacancy is only popular election strained through a sieve. I dismiss that expedient. I dismiss episcopal nomination pure and simple; and so we are driven back upon our present system

That there are abuses in it, that chronicle of practical scandals, *The Ecclesiastical Gazette*, shows; but how are we to get rid of them? I venture to rely upon public opinion. Your Lordship has truly said, that nepotism is an evil which is dying out; so, happily, all other evils which have vitiated our ecclesiastical system. Then bring public opinion to bear more and more, and strengthen the Bishops' hands in rejecting unworthy or unsatisfactory candidates. Then, it is urged by some people, that there ought to be a Parochial Council, or some other body, to sit in trial upon the candidate, and report about him to the Bishop. Why this formality? Is not every God-fearing man as good as any board if he chooses to muster up a little moral courage? What Bishop is there who, when a man may be presented for a living, would not pay attention to any representations which he saw were dictated by good motives, and came from *bona fide* objectors? Morally speaking, the precedent for this would be the system of private bill legislation, which allows petitions to be lodged by people with a certain *locus standi*. I would systematise some such rule. Then, again, I am heartily glad at the legislation which Convocation proposes in respect to the exchange of livings. I look upon this, perhaps, from a patron's point of view; and I do think that too often an exchange of livings is hard treatment of the patron on the part of the parson. A patron may have put in the man he believes to be the best for the particular parish, but the vicar thinks differently, and then the patron, before he knows where he is, hears from his friend that "Mr Smith and I will both be wretched for life if you do not allow us to exchange,"—Mr Smith's patron receiving an identical communication; and so both men are driven into the dilemma of doing what they think is questionably right, or of incurring the character of unfriendly, churlish fellows. I was truly glad to hear from the Bishop of Nottingham that Convocation has seriously undertaken to put due limits upon the practice.

Again, bonds of resignation are, to my mind, among the greatest scandals of all, because a clergyman who goes into a parish under a bond of resignation goes there under a false character; he goes pretending to be the freeholder—rector or vicar—when he knows he really is only the leaseholder, which is certainly an essentially false, and therefore immoral, position. I have a remedy for this abuse, which I have already ventured on more than one occasion to propose. Abolish bonds of resignation, but allow the patron, who has somebody in view for the living who may not be ripe to hold it then, to defer the presentation. The person he has in view may be his own son, and it would be absurd to say that every man who puts a relation into his living commits an act which is reprehensible or even questionable. Let the patron who has a friend in his eye who is not yet ripe for the living, either in age or in experience, go to the Bishop's registry and there register a deed of postponement of presentation for a fixed term of years, not less possibly than two or more than fifteen (I am putting those numbers incidentally). Then for that term of years the incumbency, strictly speaking, would be vacant, but I would invest the Bishop with the power and obligation of appointing a curate in full charge of the living for the time, with the whole income of the cure and the use of the parsonage. Then the clergyman in charge would not go in under false colours, pretending to be a freeholder, when he was merely a leaseholder. This arrangement would also prevent any patron from playing fast and loose with his rights, for he would not, without some good reason for the step, deprive himself of the patronage for the term, while it would give to the Bishop an exceptional chance of doing a good turn to a deserving clergyman. I should limit the Bishop's choice in that respect. When a patron should register his deed of postponement, then the Bishop should only be entitled to exercise the right of nominating the curate in charge in favour of some clergyman who had served in his diocese for a given time as curate or as incumbent. I think if deeds of resignation were to be abolished, and the system of legalised postponement of presentation were carried into effect, we should get rid of a great scandal. The stop-gap rector or vicar may not be chosen because he is a right man, but because he is willing to come to terms. The curate in charge, named under the eye of public opinion, would be appointed for some merit.

Now, I come to a point as to which perhaps I cannot carry your Lordship's assent with me as thoroughly as I trust I have done in regard to the other topics on which I have been speaking. I agree with your Lordship as much as any one can do as to the scandal of the sale of next presentations, but I am not so sanguine in seeing my way to the real, as distinct from the technical and formal, abolition of the practice by Act of Parliament. I am afraid that an Act of Parliament will not really abolish them. You desire to legislate against the sale of next presentations, in order to get rid of the scandals incident to such transactions. There may be cases of the sale of a next presentation, which may really bring in a good man into a living, when the regular patron would have made a disreputable appointment. But I am taking the case when the sale of a next presentation is practically as well as theoretically a detriment to the living. Well, if you make the transaction illegal by Act of Parliament, you are, by the nature of things, dealing with it as practised by unscrupulous parties. Assume, then, that the intending vendor and purchaser are unscrupulous, how can you legislate against a clandestine sale? how are you to know what passes between the vacancy of the living and the presentation to the Bishop of the clerk? how can you know, any more than you could do as to the purchase of a seat in the old days of elections, and before commissions and election judges were thought of, what parcel of bank-notes may have passed between Mr Smith, who appointed Mr Brown, jun., to the living, and Brown, sen., the father of Brown, jun.? How can you tell to whose account all the proceeds of the living may for a term of years be paid? Then, if you cannot go to the bottom of things, you cannot really abolish the essential scandal—namely, the regular patron making money of the presentation without regard to the welfare of the parish; and after all, a bad presentation is bad, whether the nominee obtains it by favour or by purchase. Of course Brown, jun., if questioned as to the terms on which he got the living, can only protest till he is black in the face that he knows nothing of any simoniacal contract, for his father would take care not to let him into the secret of the details, just as a member of Parliament, when brought up before a committee, and on his oath, could only say that he did not know of money passing, because his electioneering agent took care not to bring the bill in to him till petitioning time was over. It is very unpleasant to me to appear to approach such matters with levity, for they are a scandalous disgrace; but I am only telling you what every man in the world knows has unhappily been the case. This double conscience in electioneering has been one of the greatest evils of our political system. We hope it is being purified; but it would be very deplorable if at the time when it was dying out in secular matters, theoretical legislation, however well-intentioned, were to import it into such a sacred field as that of the distribution of the cure of souls. These were the reasons why, while thoroughly and entirely sympathising with the intention of Mr Cross's bill, Mr Henley and I were, I believe, the only two members of the House of Commons who had what we thought the moral courage to express our doubts as to its working powers. The House of Lords afterwards justified us by dropping the bill. I hope your Lordship will not think I am throwing cold water on a scheme so laudably conceived. I only want to see patronage purified in reality, and not formally. I believe, indeed, that my own proposal of the registered postponement of presentation will go far to getting rid of the sale of next presentations; for very often a next presentation is sold on a calculation that, by the time the proximate incumbent's tenure has run out, Master Jacky, who is still at school, will be four-and-twenty, or over, and be able to have the living. If, on the other hand, you abolish the practice of selling next presentations, and of claiming bonds of resignation, directly and completely, without any substitute, what will happen? Master Jacky, may be, is seventeen; he is just at Eton, or going to college. Well, the father wants to reserve the family living for Master Jacky; he cannot sell the next term, nor appoint a rector under a bond; but he can find out some effete old clergyman, perhaps very badly off, of seventy or seventy-five; and, calculating that the man may just last eight or nine years longer, he presents him duly to the cure, with a hope and belief that the man's ministerial duties and his life will terminate when Jacky is four

or five and twenty. If he is a thoroughly sharp practitioner, he may also play on the old man's wants, and net his own share of the income. At one time I had an idea that the sale of next presentations might also be formalised and legalised in the Bishop's registry, with strict guarantees for the respectability of the contract; but there might be scandals attached to the recognition of the practice: it would give a handle to the enemies of the Church to say we had legalised interested contracts dealing with the care of souls. I therefore merely throw out the suggestion as a quere. Make the sale of next presentations difficult, make it respectable, but do not absolutely abolish it until you are certain that you may not, in so doing, set up a clandestine traffic, which will be infinitely worse, and much more difficult to grapple with. With these reforms, and others which may, and I trust will, be proposed, I fully believe that in coming time we shall more and more recognise the advantage of maintaining our system of varied patronage. If we tamper with it, we run the risk of being landed in direct election, or, in other words, in nomination according to the direct and personal favouritism or antipathies of the flock. Wisdom then calls upon us to support the existing balance of methods, in which, at all events, the patron's responsibility before God and the congregation for a right appointment is more strongly felt than it was in the days of our grandfathers. I believe that, under the circumstances of the Church of England as we find them, it is our duty to maintain our ancient and varied system of presentation, but it must be maintained on higher principles than sometimes rule its exercise. Bishops must dare to examine, Bishops must dare to refuse, and above all things, therefore, judicial proceedings in the Church courts must be cheapened. The suits brought by Bishops against criminous clerks must be cheapened; and if a Bishop is supposed to have exercised his right of refusal tyrannically, there should be a reasonable process of appeal, although it must not be too easy, unless we want the Bishops to become the target for all members of the diocese who have ill-will against the order. I look to these reforms, and above all, to the development of an instructed and enlightened public opinion upon Church questions, for the amendment of our system of patronage; but beyond all other things, I should rely on the watch which might be exercised by a constitutional diocesan system, including the representation both of the clergy and of the laity, in joint deliberation. Believe me that, living as we are doing in the near hope of that constitutional government of our dioceses which we see growing up all around, we need not take refuge in a revolution, or make the spiritual government of our parishes either a republic or a despotism.

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BENJAMIN SHAW, Esq.

MY LORD,—I am afraid I shall have very little that is new to say upon this subject. I confess I feel it one of extreme difficulty, and one upon which certainly I am not prepared to propose any great reforms; but perhaps I may not be uselessly employed if I venture to go a little further into the present history and condition of advowsons than you, my Lord, have done in your very interesting opening paper. Your Lordship appears to have considered very carefully the recent statute law upon that subject. Perhaps I may be allowed to supplement that, by going a little into a very important part of the subject, namely, the ancient common law of England; because really that shows more than anything else the original principles applicable to patronage and advowsons. As regards lay patronage, it existed apparently from the earliest times, certainly from a time before the rise of common law. The Thane who built a church, as far as we can trace, acquired the patronage of it. Patronage is a temporal right by the common law of England; and when lay patronage was interfered with by what were called the provisions of the court of Rome, long before the Reformation, the strong statutes of

provisors of Edward V. and Richard were passed in order to guard patronage as a temporal right, triable in the king's secular courts. These were principles of the common law of England applicable to advowsons, of which there can be no doubt. Then as regards impropriation. It has been a common idea that the impropriation of tithes entirely dates from the Reformation. I am not at all going to say that the Reformation did not very greatly extend the principle, and I am not going to defend it; but certainly the impropriation of tithes in lay hands dates long before the Reformation. If you look at Selden on Tithes, you will find the account of lay impropriation of tithes long before the English Reformation; and in a case in which I was concerned myself professionally, and of which I will therefore venture to speak, there was evidence of rectorial tithes in lay hands, which were made over by the founders of the college, which college was founded before the Reformation. Therefore, recollect the principle was in existence, though I quite agree the Reformation mischievously extended it; but it is not right to treat lay impropriation and getting of tithes into lay hands as a sin with which the Reformation alone is chargeable.

Now as regards donatives. Donatives are certainly not of late production. I do not justify them, but donatives are very old indeed. If you look at Selden on Tithes, you will find he argues that advowsons were generally donative till the Council of Lateran in the twelfth century, and that doctrine has been accepted and endorsed by one of our greatest judges in the last generation in the King's Bench; I mean Justice Littledale. Therefore we must not be led away hastily to suppose that our difficulties of patronage are incumbrances with which we have been saddled as a fault of the Reformation. As regards trustee patronage, I observe your Lordship classed trustee patronage under private patronage. Of course, it is a matter of opinion; but I may mention, in Trower's recent book on the "Church Building Acts," he states, and I suppose he is right, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will endow livings which are in the hands of trustees, upon the ground that they are considered public patronage, inasmuch as they are inalienable. The inalienability of trustee patronage is, of course, a very strong fact in its favour. There is one point I observe not mentioned, I think, by the Bishop, but it was by those who followed—namely, the patronage being in the hands of the congregation—another method of patronage which certainly exists in certain cases. Of course, we know the disreputable scenes it has given rise to at Dover and Bilston, and other places. But I think the question still remains, whether the people might not be enabled to have a voice in church patronage without giving rise to any scandalous scenes. I am not going to express any opinion, but wish to throw out this point for consideration, because it may possibly deserve it. By the present act which regulates trustee patronage, the future trustees are to be appointed by the trustees choosing their own successors to the vacancy, unless in the agreement which is made at the beginning between the commissioners and Bishop and the builders of the church, it shall be otherwise provided as to the filling up of future vacancies. If the parties agree upon another method of filling up the vacancies, and if an agreement to that effect is properly signed and sealed, it will be binding and effectual. I do not see why, under our present system of law, if it were at all desirable to do so, the churchwardens, for instance, might not, as representatives of the people, fill up the vacancies, not in the benefice, but in the trustees in whom the patronage is vested. It is quite clear that generally speaking, there would be very little public excitement if the benefice was full, and if it was quite uncertain how long the clergymen had to live, and if it was the mere question of appointing one out of five trustees. It is possible the churchwardens, as representatives of the congregation, or the congregation through their registered members or communicants, or in any other form, might be intrusted with such a power as this. I am not at all prepared to speak positively. To say the truth, I feel on this subject as Sir Francis Bacon is said to have said to a gentleman, "Sir, the subject of which we talk is the Church of England, which is the eye of England;" and he went on to say that it required very delicate handling accordingly. I quite agree with



that, and therefore, I only venture to throw this out with the very greatest diffidence, for the future consideration of those who may be far better qualified to pronounce upon it than I am. I only mean to say we may possibly within a few years be subjected to very considerable pressure in favour of popular rights, and it may be wise to consider beforehand whether we could make any concession to such pressure in the matter of patronage. I observe in the disestablished Church of Ireland they have a board of nominators chosen for the diocese, who act in conjunction with some nominators who are chosen by the parish. In Sydney, in Australia, they give the parishes an option; they may either elect nominators who shall act in conjunction with the nominators chosen for the diocese, or who shall act alone; and, of course, if a parish chooses standing nominators who shall act alone, that comes very near to what I am suggesting—viz., that they should have the power of filling up vacancies in their trustees by the churchwardens or some other method. Now seeing that this has been adopted in the Colonial Church and in the disestablished Church of Ireland, and seeing that it is possible we may have a pressure in a few years put upon us in the same direction, I merely venture to suggest this consideration, as I apprehend it, compatible with the present state of the law, and certainly free from the gross scandals which attend anything like a popular election of the actual incumbent of a vacant living. I do not know whether it would be at all necessary or proper, as it has been touched upon, to go into the right of the Bishop to refuse a party presented to a benefice. I do not know whether gentlemen are aware what the course of things upon that is; but there are two remedies: there is a civil remedy for the patron, and for the patron only. The patron can bring *quare impedit*, and if the Bishop pleads “evil life,” it must be tried, I apprehend, by a jury. If the Bishop returns “false doctrine” in the presentee, the method of trial is very curious. It is tried by certificate: the court sends the question to the Archbishop, the Archbishop certifies whether the party is guilty of unsound doctrine or not, and, as far as I have been able to trace, that certificate of the Archbishop is final. The parties got so far in one case that the rule was actually moved for the Archbishop to certify; but the case went no further on that point. It appears that the Archbishop has an absolute power to certify on *quare impedit*, if the clerk is accused of false doctrine, and the court is bound thereby. The clerk may have an ecclesiastical remedy because the Bishop has injured him by refusing to institute him,—he brings a *duplex querela* in the ecclesiastical court, which follows the ordinary course of ecclesiastical suits. Of course there the ecclesiastical court enters into the whole question of law or fact, and if the Bishop was wrong, of course, grants institution. Those, I apprehend, are the general principles applicable to the subject; whether it is desirable that they should be cheapened, seems to be very much a question of whether legal remedies in general could be cheapened or not, and that resolves itself into the question whether cheap law is a benefit or an evil,—a question about which many people entertain conflicting sentiments. I have really completed all I have to say, but I thought it might be acceptable if I put those suggestions before you.

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## DISCUSSION.

### The Venerable ARCHDEACON ADY.

MY LORD,—I must confess I came here thinking I should have heard some of those violent proposals with regard to Church Patronage which I have heard constantly at previous Church Congresses. I am happy to say Church Congresses have done—and the consideration which Convocation has given to this subject has, I believe, done a great deal of good. It has caused persons to look at this very important question in all its

bearings ; and I think I can congratulate the Church at large upon the far more moderate counsels than those which prevailed some years back upon this matter. In short, after I have listened to all that has been said to-day, I can really find hardly anything to base a few remarks upon. With regard to our present position, I quite feel with Mr Hope that the great advantage of it is, that so many different persons, and parties, and bodies in the Church are represented in the choice of clergymen in different parishes ; and really when one comes to consider what our clergy are, no one can deny this, that we bear comparison, and good comparison, with any body of ministers in any other Christian society in the world ; and so far from the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics thinking that their system is better than ours, the Roman Catholic priest, who groans under the tyranny of the Bishop, and the Independent minister, who groans under the tyranny of the chief members of his congregation, really in their secret heart envy us, and wish that our system could be introduced into their religious bodies. So again, look at the effects of our system ; look at the plain fact that our clergy are selected from every class of society, from the very highest to the lowest : this, in itself, is the greatest possible advantage. I do not mean to say that because a man is a nobleman's son, or an Honourable, or can trace back his descent to the Conquest, or because he is a senior wrangler, or high wrangler, or has got a first-class, that he is any the better clergyman on this account ; but if he is touched by the Spirit of God, and if he stirs up the grace given him by the imposition of hands, a man having those extraneous advantages will often do things and occupy positions, from which those who have not those advantages instinctively shrink. Now, with regard to college tutors, I thought there was rather a reflection made upon them ; and I would ask this meeting to consider whether it is not a matter of fact that the whole system of the universities is changed in this respect ? Formerly you had an old gentleman coming into the parish,—one came into my own neighbourhood when I was a young man, who had never left Cambridge, and had always been a member of the college till he was seventy years of age. But at the present time, when the clerical fellowships are so reduced in number, you generally get young, clever, active men, full of life and power. I should be very sorry not to say this, in consequence of my having so many men in my own archdeaconry fellows of colleges, who are the very best parish priests in the whole diocese. Now with regard to donatives. I am sorry to hear the gentleman who spoke before say anything in their favour. The history of donatives is very curious, and I believe I am right in saying that every year they are diminishing in number. They are generally of small value. Directly the income is increased they cease to be donatives. Directly the patron of a donative puts himself under a Bishop, the donative ceases. So that the result is that there are very few donatives left. Taking the Church of England from end to end, the number is very small, but those donatives that are left are made to do a great deal of very dirty work. I have only one word more I wish to say, which is, that I am extremely sorry to hear that we shall not have the benefit of Mr Hope's eloquence and his influence in the House of Commons when it is again proposed to do away with the sale of next presentations ; and there is one argument which I think is not generally brought forward, with regard to the sale of presentations, which is, that I believe all the persons who have obtained livings through purchase—I do not wish to define in what way—when they come to look back will find several things stand out vividly before them. A great many find that they made very bad bargains indeed ; a great many find that they are in positions for which are not suited ; some find themselves in parishes too small for their energies, and some find themselves in parishes too large for their energies, and when they are made uneasy and uncomfortable, those feelings are increased tenfold by the remembrance that if they have a thorny bed, they themselves have strewed it. Again, a very large number of those who have had their preferment by either themselves or their relatives purchasing livings for them, if they had their life to go over again would, I believe, in nine cases out of ten, rather have kept the money and have taken their chance of working themselves by their diligence, in carrying out the duties of their station, into a

living. So that I do not believe you would have any opposition on the part of the holders of benefices which have been obtained by means of purchase; you would not have any opposition on their part. On the contrary, I believe that they are very anxious to take away this temptation from the rising generation of clergymen, and prevent their doing what they now are sorry was done for them, or that they did formerly themselves. I mention this argument because I do not think it is generally advanced; but I have known so many instances of it myself, that I am quite sure the feeling exists very strongly throughout the length and breadth of the Church. There is one word more I would say, with regard to the bill for preventing sale of livings. A thing has taken place in the House of Commons since the bill was brought forward, to be rejected afterwards by the House of Lords, which, I think, ought to make the House of Commons not only bring it forward again, but pass it, and send it up with their approval to the House of Lords, which is this: They have done away with purchase in the army; so that I hope they will only be consistent and do away with purchase in the Church.

MR B. SHAW.—It appears that Archdeacon Ady understood me to express an opinion favourable to donatives. I can only say that that was certainly not my intention. I was under the impression that I had guarded myself from expressing any opinion.

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### Sir ANTONIO BRADY.

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I have listened, as doubtless every one in this room has listened, with very deep interest to those addresses with which we have been favoured to-day on that most difficult and important subject—Church Patronage. It is not my intention in any way to enter into discussion on the mode in which the presentation to livings has come to the present anomalous condition. The history of church patronage has been exhausted. Many defects have been pointed out, and remedies suggested. In my judgment, however, the one great defect in our system has not been alluded to. What I want to do is to take a practical view of results. In these practical utilitarian days, the Church, as well as all other establishments, must be judged by results. For three hundred years the Church has been asleep, practically dead; and it is only lately that she has been waking up, not only to higher spiritual life, but, thank God, to a sense of the perilous position to which her exclusive system has brought her, with disestablishment and disendowment staring her in the face. (No, no.) Gentlemen may cry no, no; but it is no use, and not wise, to shut our eyes to the dangers which threaten the very existence of the Church Establishment. We must no longer rely or depend upon venerable antiquity for her defence, if we are to save our Church from the hands of the infidel and the despoiler; as loving sons and daughters, we must be up and doing. We must probe the defects of our system to the very bottom, and amend what is amiss, if we are to hand down to our children the blessings of a national Church. I am, I trust, a loyal son of our beloved Church. I have done what I could in my own county to extend her borders, and no one who knows me will judge me otherwise than one who would speak the truth in love. My dearest friends, my family and connections, are all mixed up in the welfare of this dear old Church of England of ours. But I think it is time we set our house in order. If we do not, or cannot, reform our Church system from within, as surely as night follows day the Establishment will be destroyed from without. We have heard many palliatives spoken of to-day, and a great many excuses made for the circumstances in which the Church is placed. But palliatives and excuses will not save the Church. Now, one word escaped the lips of my friend Mr Beresford Hope, which, I think, will be the key to what I wish to say to this great Congress of Churchmen to-day. In speaking of our system of giving freehold appointments to our clergy, Mr Hope said, "He trusted the day would never be when these freehold rights should be disturbed." Now, on the contrary, I for my part feel that this freehold tenure

of office has very many of the evils we deplore to answer for. And I feel that if any good is to come in the way of reform in our Church system of patronage, we must not, if we are to reap the full benefit of these reforms, any longer vest the freeholds of our Churches in our clergy, and make our clergy practically irremovable, however vicious, apathetic, or lazy. The Church is not a corporation for the benefit of clergy. The laity have consciences and rights as well as the clergy. I have a very strong feeling indeed on this subject; the mischief of the present system can scarcely be exaggerated. I am the last man in the world who would wish to set up a tyranny, either of Bishops or laity, over clergy. They must be independent, and be protected in their position. They must not be annoyed or be removable on frivolous or vexatious grounds. But, on the other hand, they must not be practically irremovable. I venture to think it is of the last importance to the welfare of the Church and the honour of the clergy, that they should not have *freehold* rights in appointments, for which unhappily some, happily only a few, are wholly unfit. However careful and conscientious they may be, patrons, like other people, sometimes make a mistake, or are deceived; and unworthy persons sometimes even buy these freehold rights, giving them, under the parochial system, the exclusive right to preach the gospel in a parish from which they are practically irremovable. Can anything be conceived more fatal or injurious to religion? It has been my misfortune to know parishes where the Church has been disgraced by people having got into the livings without the power of removal. And I think in some way means must be provided for escape from such difficulties as these. If the Church cannot do this, I shall despair for her safety. Not far from where I live, there have been some dreadful scandals: no greater could disgrace any community. In one case, a man was accused of murder and fornication, and it cost nearly £2000 to get rid of him. In another, a man who had been ordained at over sixty years of age, and had previously been ignominiously expelled from three Dissenting denominations, was appointed to the parish. He could not be got rid of, and died in harness. According to the parochial system, Churchmen and Churchwomen were bound to break the parochial law and go elsewhere than to their parish church, or go and listen to the preaching of a man they despised, and receive holy communion from the impure hands of one who had been before the courts several times for crimes I should blush to mention in this assembly. I think such cases as these demand an alteration in the law. How long would the Wesleyans have tolerated such a man? Then I will take the case of habitual drunkards. I know, I am sorry to say, several instances in which large parishes are held by men who are under forced leave of absence for this offence, but who, after paying for a curate in charge, take all the emoluments of their livings. Would this be tolerated in the army or navy or civil service? Would not a delinquent in the former services be brought to court-martial, and in the other, dismissed without ceremony? Again, only to-day, at the door of this Congress, I purchased one of this morning's papers, published in this town, wherein is described another grave scandal. The detail is given by a gentleman, the curate in charge, who signs his name. He writes as follows: "I do not doubt but that his Lordship (the Bishop of Manchester) had in his mind the fact, that a parish of 9000 souls, of which I have been nearly nine years curate in charge, has been for over a year visited almost daily by a *ticket-of-leave* incumbent, who avows his intention of returning to his benefice at the expiration of his ten years' penal servitude, in the spring of 1873, and this, too, in the face of the recent discovery of another forgery, even more atrocious than that for which he was convicted." Now, gentlemen and ladies, is there any other community in the world that would tolerate a man in the holy office of priest of over 9000 people, who had been so disgraced as that man has been? The law wants amending in that. The Bishops have not power to turn out a man of that kind; we must have a Discipline Bill; and I, for one, do most earnestly entreat Mr Hope, and other grand Churchmen, our representatives in the House of Commons, to stand up in their places in Parliament and introduce some measure to abate these scandals; and I also venture to think it is the duty of our spiritual peers in the upper

house to bring forward some legislation to rid the Church of such anomalies and atrocious things as these. If they do not do that, for what purpose, may I ask, are the Bishops in the House of Lords? Then, again, shall it be said that the clergy would object to the change? I know high-minded men amongst them who agree with me in my views. I had the honour to hold an important post under the crown for forty years, and I never felt that my tenure was less secure because I held my office during good behaviour. Now I think it would be no great hardship for the clergy of our parishes to hold their appointments on the same condition. I think there would be no hardship in vesting the freehold of our churches in trust in parish councils on well-defined conditions; for I hope never to live to see the day when the clergy of our Church shall be in the position either of being tyrannised over, on the one hand, by Bishops, or by their congregations on the other.

MR A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE.—May I be allowed one word in explanation. Sir Antonio must allow me to explain, that he forgot half my statement. I said I was for maintaining perpetually, as long as possible, the freehold character of our incumbencies; and I added, which he overlooked, “But I am ready to reform them.”

THE CHAIRMAN.—I should like also to state—because the case brought forward in illustration by Sir Antonio Brady is a painfully strong one—that I believe the Bishops have full legal powers to deal with such criminals as he has alluded to. The Ecclesiastical Courts may build a sentence of deprivation upon a criminal conviction in a court of law, and they are bound to do so.

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#### REV. GEORGE LEWTHWAITE.

I WOULD address myself in particular to a point which is too often overlooked, and which has not, as yet, been especially enforced to-day,—I mean, that a patron has rightly no pecuniary interest in his patronage.

We sometimes hear vague talk apparently implying some such claim, on the ground that the patron is the representative of the original founder of the church. Now, not to investigate too closely this pedigree, which, in many cases, would be found to trace up, at farthest, only to the spoliators of the sixteenth century, so that in this view, the legitimate representatives of the original founders would be those embryo bishoprics, with the promise of establishing which Henry VIII. circumvented and bagged the endowments of the religious houses to which these advowsons had been conveyed by the representatives of the founder, and of which they then formed a part, it may be answered universally, that the original founder retained no such interest in his foundation, and it is therefore difficult to see how the lapse of a thousand years more or less can have generated it for his supposed representative, except by spontaneous production.

From the earliest ages of Christianity, a tenth was considered the least of the produce of the land which should be rendered to God and his Church. When the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy had been united, an Act was passed under Ethelwulf in the great council of the nation at Winchester, A.D. 855, for all England, giving civil sanction and authority to the custom of tithing, and “granting the tenth part of the kingdom to be applied to the service of God alone.” This became a part of the common law. Now it must be remembered that in the earlier ages the tithe was paid to the common stock of the diocese, and that when parish churches were founded, it was by favour that the founder was allowed to pay a portion of his tithe to his foundation. By an ordinance of Charlemagne, A.D. 779, enforcing the payment of tithes, it is specially enjoined that “they should be dispensed by the order of the Bishop,” and these capitulars of Charlemagne appear to have been adopted in England. It is not clear when the tithe first began to be paid to parish churches; but in the laws of King

Edgar, A.D. 967, after ordaining that "every one should pay to the mother Church tithes of all lands which the plough goes over," it was ordered that "If any lord have a church built on his charter-hold lands, that hath a churchyard belonging thereto, with right of burial, he may assign a third part of his tithes thereto; but if there be no churchyard belonging thereto, with right of burial, the lord of the soil may give unto the minister of that church for his maintenance, as much of his nine parts as he shall think fit, but the tenth part must be paid to the mother Church,"—so the practice seems to have prevailed by that time. Canute repeated the above ordinance in the same words, A.D. 1032. It appears, indeed, that after the privilege of paying the tithes to parish churches had been conceded, some lords assumed the option of the church to which they should pay them. This irregularity was restrained by the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, or, at least, about that time; and it is evident, as already shown, that patrons could have no right of personal interest in these endowments, as the tithe had been given to the church of the diocese some time before parochial advowsons were established. Moreover, it must be remembered, that when the privilege was conceded to founders or great benefactors of churches, of naming to the Bishop a fit person for the care of souls, the Bishop retained to himself the rights of examination, refusal, admission, institution, and induction, whereby, not only by the Bishop or by his deputy, the nominee is admitted into the temporalities as well as the spiritualities of the benefice, but he is himself the judge of his fitness; and when instituted, in the Bishop resides the power of degradation, deprivation, suspension, and sequestration, whereby the clerk is separated utterly or partially from the profits of the benefice. To the Bishop notice of vacation must be given, and from him it must proceed to the patron; and to the Bishop the appointment reverts, if the patron fail to present within a time limited. But perhaps the most convincing proof that the Bishop has, so to speak, the reversionary interest in the temporalities of the churches, and not their patrons, is that in case of a sequestration of a benefice on account of the misconduct of the incumbent, the Bishop is personally entitled to the profits of the living, if he provide for the due administration of the duties of the incumbent, either personally or by deputy. This, Vice-Chancellor Bacon said, was quite clear in his judgment in the case of the living of Thakenhave last July.

It is true that the civil courts have in later times shown much jealousy for the supposed temporal interests of patrons as well as of incumbents, so that the exercise of wholesome discipline has sometimes been difficult. But when, recently, a Right Reverend Father awoke the grateful response of many a heart by his clear denunciations of the evils of simony, and a counter cry was raised that the attack was against private patronage, I believe that it was an error in judgment as well as in fact. I believe that neither the Bishop nor the many who sympathise with him in the earnest desire that the present scandals which are eating into the very vitals of the Church should be made to cease, wish to interfere with lay-patronage, but only that its rightful exercise should be vindicated as a most sacred and honourable trust. I believe that this is even necessary for the preservation of private patronage; for how can it be expected, that if the sheep of Christ's flock are to be publicly advertised in the market and sold, ay, too often for the slaughter, that congregations will rest content without some restraint upon the appointment of their minister? I believe, then, that the vindication of patronage from its present abuses is the true interest of every honourable patron. As to the means, I think that the proposals which have been made utterly to stop the sales of next presentations, which are really mere evasions of the law, and that the next presentation on the sale of an advowson be exercised by the Bishop in council, at least if the vacancy occur within a certain number of years, are good and just. But, further, as patronage is rightly only a trust to be exercised in the interest of the Church, and not in the individual interest of patron or nominee, and as it is often difficult to detect simony where there is the strongest reason for believing it to exist, why should not the Bishop in council have power to send back the presentation

to the patron, in such a doubtful case, to be exercised afresh, without being called upon by the secular courts to show cause? In earlier times a Bishop, judging a patron's nominee unfit, could proceed at once to collate to the benefice; and by the canon law, "any one taking money or covenanted gain for a presentation was for ever to be deprived of the patronage of that church."

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### The Rev. GEORGE ROBERTS.

I FEEL it quite necessary to state, at the commencement of the few remarks I have to make, that I think the system of patronage, as it has been administered in the Church of England, has been, during the last two centuries at least, one of its greatest woes and sorrows. For instance, look how patronage itself is distributed. There is the patronage of the crown, there is the patronage of the Bishops, there is the patronage of colleges, the patronage of deans and chapters, and lay patronage. Now, if all these patrons had determined upon putting the right men in the right place, I believe there would not have been so large a defection from the Church of England as she has had to suffer during the last fifty or sixty years; for we must not forget that although it is quite necessary to have an Established ministry with the parochial system, still, at the same time, there is a necessity that the man who is duly qualified for a particular situation in the Church should be placed there. Now, with respect to the crown, to go to the chief head, How is it with respect to our Bishops? The Prime Minister has in his hand the nomination and selection of Bishops; it depends upon him, as matters now stand, what man shall be selected to be consecrated as a Bishop. I have no more trust in Mr Gladstone than I have in Mr Disraeli or Lord Derby or Sir Robert Peel as to the distribution of this patronage upon which everything else depends. I think we ought to return to the old system when the bench of Bishops recommended three persons to the crown, out of whom should be selected one by the crown. Carrying this principle further, I have myself no trust whatever in any individual who is to exercise a great trust alone. I think human infirmity is such, the action upon the mind of external circumstances is such, that no man ought to be placed in a situation of temptation to be led by lower motives rather than to be influenced by higher; and so, while I would not revolutionise in the least, while I would not take away the patronage from any of those bodies I have mentioned, or from the laity, I would so fence them with safeguards that they should be obliged, as far as human policy can devise, to exercise that trust, not, as it has been said, for the individual, but for the benefit of the Church at large. And I think we might extend the principle which I have mentioned to this—that every patron of a living should be bound to present three clerks—not one, but three—out of which the Bishop, with the advice of his council, which, I trust, he will have one day, that is of Dean and Chapter—that that united body might be able to determine which of these three men was the satisfactory man to put in the place which was vacant. Thus I should reserve the right, you observe, of the patron to present a clerk, but I should force him to give at least a choice to the Bishop of taking the best man whom he has nominated.

For instance, now, look at the state of the patronage of our colleges. I cannot admit everything that has been said about the excellent priests that are sent from colleges to minister in their several dioceses. I admit that there are eminent men—men who do their work well; but at the same time there is a large proportion of them who know very little of parochial life, who have not the habits which would enable them to throw themselves effectually into an agricultural population, who are too high in their standard of intellect to lower themselves to that which is requisite for cultivating the bucolic mind. Then, again, how often does it happen that a man is sent into a parish where his physical qualifications are not sufficient. For instance, a Lord Chancellor,

the other day, said, when he was pressed by a nobleman to put a proper man in a very influential place, "I am very sorry I am not able to exercise my will at all; I am always pressed from behind and from above, and I have been obliged to promise that living to a pressure which I could not withstand." I would in the same way make the Lord Chancellor present his three clerks to the Bishop, out of which list the Bishop might select. Then, again, as to the sale of livings; as for that horrible traffic I cannot express my abhorrence of it sufficiently. I think that, as the Church of Rome fell under the money question, it is very possible that the Church of England, laden with the money question, may not be able to rise from the earth in her might, and to smite down her enemies. Let us get rid of the money evil. Do you remember, in the ancient councils, how, when the money sore first began to fester, how strong was the reprobation of bringing anything like gold into the sanctuary of God? Depend upon it, that if the sale of livings is not restricted, it must be a grievous sin upon our Church for which God visits her with punishment. Two hundred years ago, Archbishop Bancroft was so fully alive to the corrupt influence by which livings were obtained by clericals, that in one of his propositions for the reform of the Church, he put this, that the punishment of simony should attach equally to the laymen who sold as to the clerk who bought. I think it would be a very good thing if our legislative body would apply its attention to this point—first of all, to make the passing of money for an ecclesiastical office of any kind illegal. You may plead and say, "Oh, it is nothing at all; we get rid of anything like a sin or an immorality in this transaction, because it is merely purchasing the power to present a clerk." Ah! you may deceive your conscience in that way; but depend upon it, when once you bring the golden wedge into the tent of the sanctuary, the accursed thing is there, and will draw punishment upon him who brought it.

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The Rev. H. T. EDWARDS, B.A., Vicar of Carnarvon.

MY LORD,—In speaking upon this question, I wish to guard myself against the misapprehension which often falls to the lot, I think, of young clergymen who venture to speak upon this subject. I am not one of those who have been disappointed under the present system of patronage in the Church. I consider that, under the present system, I have received not less than I have deserved. What I am therefore going to say does not arise from any disappointment on my part under the present system. But I venture to believe a radical change is required in the system of patronage. I am aware it is a very difficult subject, and that in dealing with this question we may touch injuriously that right of property which is one of the nervous centres of society, and which cannot be touched recklessly without injuring society all through its constitution. I have not studied the legal details of this question, but I will simply give my impression of the changes that are required—changes that must be carried out in some form or other, if the Church of England is to maintain her present position. I believe I am right in saying that the benefices of the Church of this country are property left to be disposed of by the patrons for promoting the spiritual interests of the parishioners. Now the patrons hitherto have not in many cases performed the duties of this trust as they should have been performed. I believe the system of patronage is the greatest grievance that exists in the Church of England at the present time, and that it is the evil that threatens the Church with ruin. I have heard laymen again and again say—laymen of various religious opinions in the Church—that the great evil in the Church is the present system of patronage. I am convinced that the system, as it exists at present, is obsolete in its spirit; all our institutions are becoming, year by year, freer and freer from all vestige of the feudal spirit. But feudalism really survives in the patronage of the Church; the patron has absolute authority over the property which



has been left to be disposed of for the interests of the parishioners ; the laity have no voice whatever in the disposal of the property which has been left for their interest. I think myself it is necessary that there should be some change made, which will give to the laity some voice in the disposal of the patronage of the Church. I know that we have the instance of Bilston brought forward to illustrate the evils that would arise from electioneering and canvassing, if parishioners were allowed to elect their own clergymen. Those evils are undoubtedly great, but I think some system should be adopted which would be a compromise between the system of the parishioners having the election of the clergyman and that absolute system which exists at present. The day is probably approaching, when the communicant-parishioners will have some voice in the management of the church temporalities in the parish. I think it would be perfectly feasible that the communicants should, through their representative vestry in the parish, have the power of nominating, say five or six clergymen to the patron ; and that he should select out of that number the clergyman he thinks best fitted to undertake the charge of the parish. I do not say it is necessary that this should be adopted *legally* and *formally*, but I think it would be very well if patrons were to act voluntarily in the spirit of such a change as that. The evils that exist under the present system are very great. A very gross instance came under my own knowledge the other day. A nobleman in England has the patronage of a living in the extreme end of South Wales. There are in the parish 250 communicants, out of a population of 1200 people some twelve months ago. The living became vacant ; the clergyman, who had been there thirty years, and had laboured most earnestly and ably, died ; and upon the recommendation of a member of Parliament, the nobleman, living at a distance, appointed to the charge of the parish a man who, a very few years ago, had been suspended for a long period for gross notorious drunkenness. The result of such an appointment as that is, that the 250 communicants in the parish have been, I fear, to a great extent, scattered, and sent to the Dissenting meeting-house ; and the church has been ruined for a generation, in one of her brightest spots in Wales. Now, the parishioners wrote to me, and asked me to address a protest to the nobleman against the appointment ; but unfortunately, although he was quite prepared to reconsider the appointment, the presentation had been made, the clergyman had been instituted, and no redress could be obtained for the parishioners. If the communicants of the parish had been consulted by the patron, and had been permitted to mention six or seven or a dozen names of clergymen whom they knew, and who would have been acceptable to them, such a gross scandal as that would have been avoided. We live in an age when, in our political constitution, household suffrage has been adopted—an age when every head of a household in the burghs has a voice in the political government of his country ; but we live in an age when the Church is governed in an absolutely feudal spirit as far as its temporal resources are concerned ; and unless some change is made, and some voice is given to the parishioners in the disposal of those revenues which have been left for the promotion of their spiritual interest, the existence of the Church of England, in its present position, cannot long survive the adoption of household suffrage in our political government.

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#### REV. DR F. G. LEE.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I regret that I should have to appear here in some respects in opposition to several of the speeches which have been delivered from this rostrum. I extremely regret likewise that the restless spirit of change which is abroad everywhere should apparently have taken such a deep hold on the clergy. It may be that those who advocate change get something which they desire in return. In many cases, however, the Church of England scarcely benefits by the application of their nostrums. I am at a loss to comprehend why it is that during the whole discussion on

church patronage, in which we have had so many allusions to simony, no one has come forward to maintain that simony is other than an obtaining the ecclesiastical character from a Bishop by means of payment or its equivalent. That is simony, and the sale of an advowson, or the sale of a next presentation, is certainly not simony, and nothing of the sort. With regard to patronage, we have just been told that the patronage of trustees is a benefit. In conjunction with the patronage of laymen, corporations, bishops, deans, and chapters, in all probability it may be so. But when I take the liberty of stating that one of the most remarkable and long-lived trusteeships that has existed in the Church of England is now, as it were, at its wit's end, or its representatives are at their wit's end, to find young clergymen who are in cordial harmony with the principles on which the trust was originally founded, we shall see, notwithstanding, that even trusteeship may present no difficulty at last, and in the end eventually so come round, that the influence of the Church may be brought to bear upon such a sectarian organization as the one in question. We have had also an allusion to South Wales. I can give another illustration from the same place; and we must remember, with regard to the two illustrations, that difficulties and abuses will exist under every system; and if one has presented the dark side, I, at all events, will present the bright. There is a distinguished member of the House of Peers, who, having been brought up a Presbyterian, recently joined the Church of Rome. He is the patron of nearly twenty livings. Instead of acting as so many Roman Catholic patrons of livings do, dispose of their rights through the pages of the various gazettes to which reference has been made, he at once handed over by a legal deed the power of presenting to those livings to two members of the Church of England; and in two particular instances in which vacancies have occurred, clergy have been selected by these his two nominees. For myself, I must say, I think if the Bishops would set a good example to the lay patrons, it would be a great benefit. Now, this morning, my Lord, we had the benefit of some practical advice from a very eloquent and distinguished Bishop of our Church. He gave some excellent advice to the clergy, and he gave excellent advice to the upper classes. It would have been as well if the same kind of advice had been offered likewise to a gathering of the working-classes on Monday evening; but I was there, and, listening attentively, heard no such advice given to them as was bestowed so abundantly upon the other two. That by the way. It would be extremely well if the Bishops, with regard to church patronage, would set a good example for themselves. Excellent advice is a good thing, but actual practice is far better. (Question.) I think the gentleman who called "Question," will, on reflection, at all events, agree in the force of my last remark, however much, in his superior wisdom, he may think it out of place. I propose now to point out briefly, with regard to statistics—but statistics are uncertain things—certain facts having reference to ecclesiastical patronage in three dioceses. I have gathered statistics with regard to seven dioceses, and gained my information from those officials who are competent to give it. Now, I find a Bishop presiding over a certain diocese for the space of nine years, during which period there occurred seventeen vacancies; of these, thirteen were given to entire strangers to the diocese. That seems to me to be a mistake, and one of the evils which well might be remedied by the Bishops themselves. With regard to the remarks which were made in disparagement of the clergy and their families by the distinguished Prelate the Bishop of Manchester this morning, I would, on this subject of patronage, return his Lordship's kind compliment. I do not say, however, that it was the diocese of Manchester to which reference was made by me; in fact I do not mention any diocese, but still, at the same time, I give you my word that the statistics come from those who are well competent to afford good and sound advice, and who, I am quite sure, have furnished me with accurate information. Over the second diocese a Bishop ruled twenty years, during which period there were thirty-one vacancies, and out of these thirty-one vacancies nineteen strangers, and a large number of them personal friends, distant cousins, and allies by marriage, of the Bishop, were introduced. There is another diocese over which the Bishop ruled eighteen years, during that period

out of twenty-two vacancies thirteen were given to strangers. I certainly think that before we begin to lecture the lay patrons of livings, who, of course, are members of the Church of England, and who, to the best of their ability, I believe, exercise their trust, we, at all events, should hope that a better example will be set them elsewhere. How many instances have occurred in which junior men with little or no experience have been called into important dioceses and placed over those grown grey in the service of their Master, who have laboured long and have worked energetically, who are as sincere members of the Church of England as it is possible to be, and who, as it were, become weary and disheartened, because promotions which would be right and true and just are seldom made, in order that some favoured individual—a pet schoolboy or juvenile college tutor—may be brought in over the heads of the learned and experienced. I hold, furthermore, that there is nothing more dangerous in our present crisis than to find persons who are continually bringing before us the idea of disestablishment, and holding out to us this sort of threat—"You must accept all these proposed changes which are put before you by theoretical Liberals and tinkering Reformers, or else here is something in the end from which you will most severely and personally suffer." I do most honestly hold that those who are opposing us outwardly, externally, our actual and palpable enemies, are far less dangerous than quaking and quavering friends, who come behind us and tell us constantly that we are going to suffer by certain disestablishment. I quite agree with all Mr Beresford Hope has said with regard to the bill recently before the House of Commons, and I trust he will go on with the wise opposition it deserves. The Church of England wants a little rest. There are many who advocate change, but I really do believe, as regards this subject of patronage, that the complex form of nomination which holds and obtains is the best, and if we could only be permitted to remove those evils which do exist in the ordinary way—for the point at issue is not a question of simony, but a question of ordination—it would be well. If only those were ordained who are fit to lift the chalice and minister the Word to the people, then I maintain that out of the twenty thousand clergy there ought to be none regarding whose character any one can raise a voice and argue, that because this man's father is rich, or that man's father-in-law has purchased him a living, therefore he is doing an injustice to the Church, and committing a dreadful sin by undertaking the cure of souls so obtained in the parish to which the Bishop has duly, regularly, and canonically granted him institution.

SIR ANTONIO BRADY.—I should be very sorry if it was supposed that I made any threat. I merely uttered a solemn warning, which I beg most earnestly to repeat. I drew attention to the results of the freehold irremovable system of patronage, and to the deplorable results to which it led, and some of which I narrated. And I do not think there is any man in this room, still less Dr Lee, who would wish that such a system should be maintained. And let me add, that those ill-advised clergymen who go in for disestablishment, in order to set themselves above the laws of the Church they are sworn to serve, would find themselves wholly at the mercy of their congregations, who might not be the very tolerant taskmasters they expect.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I am very glad to find there is so much in common between Dr Lee and myself with regard to the general subject of amending that which exists. He will allow me to call his attention to the definition of simony. It is thus given by Ayliffe:—"Simony, according to the Canonists, is defined to be a deliberate act, or a premeditated will and desire, of selling such things as are spiritual, or of anything annexed unto spirituals, by giving something of a temporal nature for the purchase thereof." I think that includes the sale of livings.

## The Rev. W. CAINE.

MY LORD,—I wish to say a few words on this subject generally, because I live amongst the working-men of Manchester, and I constantly hear complaints from them with regard to the management of our church patronage, and there are great cries for disestablishment; and one reason for that cry is the maladministration of church patronage. I believe, if we are going to prevent the working-people from speaking about disestablishment, we must at once do away with all such advertisements as we have in our clerical papers about the sale of livings where a clergyman can shoot and fish and so on. I had not the pleasure of hearing any of the papers on this subject; but I do think the fortieth canon of our Church ought to have prevented all those evils, because it distinctly says the buying or selling of a living is a thing execrable before God. In Earl Russell's speech in the House of Lords with regard to purchase in the army, he made an admirable remark, which I wish to quote with reference to this subject. He said that when a young man entered the army, he should not think that his promotion depended upon the amount of money in his pocket. Now, I think the same words ought to be applied to promotion in the Church militant. When a young man enters the ministry, he ought to depend upon his zeal and earnestness for promotion in the Church, and not upon any amount of money which he has of his own, or money belonging to his wife, or money belonging to his parents. The patronage of a parish ought to be considered not in reference to any individual man, but in reference to the parishioners. The clergyman should be selected that would be most calculated to benefit the parishioners spiritually. Whereas, we now find in our Church, that the men who are adapted for town parishes are very often in the country, and the clergyman in town would be better adapted for the country; so that we are completely disorganised in our Church, and have not the opportunities which the Dissenting ministers have of advancing the interests of our Church. Dissenters and Roman Catholics are wiser in their generation than we are; they always select the best men for the respective posts in their various denominations. I know this, that in the Roman Catholic Church the men who are fitted for towns are sent to the towns. And then, with regard to the patronage of Bishops, it is very difficult to speak about it; but I have known instances where Bishops have devoted far too many livings to their families. I will not enter upon that now, but I can speak from some personal experience of my own, as an old tutor in one of our old universities. I was a tutor for nine years, and hundreds of the clergy have been prepared for the ministry by myself; and it is a fact I always deplore, that the stupidest pupils I ever had have the largest livings and the highest position in the Church. I am not going to make any personal allusions; but having had some hundreds under my care, I know that the relatives of members of Parliament, no matter how stupid they were, even if they were plucked at their college examinations, were sure to be placed over the heads of those who were most earnest and diligent students in classics and divinity, and got the prizes in the theological school. And now, passing away from the Bishops and members of Parliament, I have known instances of relatives of Lord Chancellors, who were plucked at college, but who now have livings of £800 or £900 a year in the Church. I think the whole of this system is most corrupting, and it is bringing down upon us the wrath of the people of England. The sooner we change this the better, because the best men are not put in the best places. I have spoken of Lord Chancellors and Bishops, let me come down to deans and chapters. I know a very earnest clergyman who had the care of a large parish, consisting of about twelve thousand souls. Now, that clergyman was just the man fitted for that parish. He was an eloquent preacher, and he was very earnest in endeavouring to suppress the evils which existed in the parish. The old rector died, and a new rector had to be appointed. The people actually memorialised the dean and chapter that they should give the living to the curate; but the dean and chapter would not do it. I am not saying where that dean and chapter are; but this I know, that some

of them did not like the man who was so very earnest to be so very near them, because some of the chapter had livings very near, and the earnest curate was not appointed; but they appointed a man who has done no good whatever in the parish since. This has come under my own notice. Having had so many clergymen under my care, I have watched their success in life, and I have found that my stupidest pupils are now the highest in position in the Church.

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### The Rev. G. G. LAWRENCE.

I WOULD say a few words on a very unpopular side of the question—namely, in defence of the sale of Church livings. The Church, in regard to private patronage, is in the position of an individual who has received money on certain conditions, and is bound either to fulfil those conditions or to return the money. My own belief is, that private patronage is in itself an evil. It would be far better if many livings that are now in private patronage were in the hands of trustees; the kind of trustees Mr Holland mentioned. But I do think that to forbid the sale of advowsons would be, as I ventured to say yesterday, a breach of the Eighth Commandment; it would be an act of robbery. I will just give one instance to show what I mean. Forty years ago the parishioners of a new district were very anxious that a church should be built. They applied to a clergyman well known for his piety, who possessed a small private fortune, and suggested to him that it would be very desirable that he should build a church and endow it; that by so doing he would be doing a public service, and also would secure a sufficient income for himself. The parishioners also strongly urged upon this clergyman the following fact—that when he was old and unable to continue his services, he would be able in some way to receive back the money he had invested; for they said, “We know you would not sell the advowson of this living to any improper person, and therefore we wish you to take the advowson on the understanding that you will give us your services as long as you can; and when you feel yourself incapacitated from doing so, you will dispose of the advowson in such a manner that a suitable successor may be found for yourself.” Many may say that that was a mercenary bargain: it was done with the consent of the Bishop, at the request of the leading parishioners, and with the full knowledge and consent of all parties interested in the matter. Now, if the violent and revolutionary proposals two or three of the speakers have advocated should be carried out, what would be the result? If that clergyman were now living, his family might be reduced to great want and privation through the violation of a solemn compact entered into by the parishioners, by the State, and by the Church. I mention this to show how very dangerous it is to bring forward these wild proposals to do away with the sale of advowsons. There is another point I would mention. I believe there is one way in which the claims of private patrons, and the demand made by parishioners of large parishes to have some voice in the choice of a minister, might well be met: it is this. It is a principle of English law that when private property is required for public purposes, the State should be at liberty to take the property on condition that full compensation be given to the holder. We see this constantly in the case of railway companies. Now, I think that when the parishioners of a parish wish to have the patronage in their own hands, that is to say, vested in trustees in a proper manner, they should have the right to apply to the Bishop, or some other ecclesiastical tribunal, and say, “We have raised a sum sufficient, and more than sufficient, to pay the full market value of the advowson; we request that the patron, on receipt of this sum, be required to convey it in such manner as may be satisfactory to ourselves and to the Bishop;” that there should in such cases be as it were a compulsory purchase of the living. I think that would be perfectly fair as regards the patron, and the parishioners would be putting themselves in the same position as if they had built the church themselves. For re-

member, when a living is in private patronage one thing always is implied ; it is implied that the parishioners have not built or endowed the church for themselves, but that the church has been built and endowed for them by some one else ; and I contend that where a church has been built and endowed by some one else, parishioners cannot in fairness claim the same power as if they had built and endowed it themselves. I also say this, that the parishioners, if they are willing to pay a proper sum, have a claim to be put in the same position as if they had built and endowed the church themselves. Now such a plan as I suggest would meet all the circumstances of the case ; there would be no violation of the Eighth Commandment, no wrong or injury inflicted upon private individuals, and the lawful aspirations of parishioners would be fairly met. Much has been said about one thing which I think is very deplorable—that is to say, the advertisements that appear in certain papers. While I defend the sale of private advowsons, I do not defend that. It was suggested that Bishops should withdraw their patronage from papers that put out such advertisements. That would be something like using a Nasmyth-hammer to crush an egg. But there is one regulation that might be passed to prevent such scandals, namely, that in each diocese there should be an ecclesiastical functionary who should act as the patronage secretary, and that all transactions with regard to sale and the purchase of livings and exchanges should in some measure be placed under his supervision and pass through his hands ; and he might direct that, instead of advertisements appearing as they do, it should be simply said that such a living was for sale, and that those who wished for further particulars should apply to him, or to such and such solicitors. That would entirely do away with what I believe is a great evil, and prejudices the Church very much in the minds of Nonconformists ; that is to say, those advertisements to which reference has so often been made.

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### THE CHAIRMAN.

ONE word in conclusion, “*Salus populi suprema lex.*” Let the patron, and every one connected with the bestowal of patronage, remember that the good of souls is the object of the clergy being called to minister. Let the patron seek out the man who will do the greatest good to souls ; and let the minister seek to devote himself to winning souls to Christ. May we all agree upon that.

The Chairman pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting closed.

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### FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 13.

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### CONVERSAZIONE AND FINAL MEETING.

THE final meeting of the Congress was held, in the Mechanics' Hall, at eight o'clock, the Right Rev. PRESIDENT, the Worshipful the MAYOR of NOTTINGHAM, the BISHOP SUFFRAGAN, and others, assembled on the platform.

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### LORD FITZWALTER said—

THEY had brought the meeting of the week to a most successful issue, and they might congratulate themselves on the great assistance rendered to them by their excellent President and Diocesan, that under his guidance

they had been able to meet to the glory of God and the advantage of the population of this country. The noble Lord referred to the great services the Right Rev. Prelate had rendered since he entered the diocese, and concluded by proposing the best thanks of the meeting to the Bishop of Lincoln for presiding over them.

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### The Rev. Dr LETT (of Canada)

SECONDED the proposition, and said he came to the Congress to see how the Church of England was working, and how they carried on their business, and he was amply repaid.

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### The MAYOR

PUT the motion to the vote, and it was carried with acclamation.

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### The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT said—

THE members of the Congress had received a letter, which he held in his hand, from the Bishop of Ripon, the Mayor of Leeds, the Vicar, and his brother Churchmen, inviting them to meet in 1872 in the great town of Leeds. In this invitation they had, as they saw to-night, episcopal and municipal authority united, and there was a goodly number of signatures. The Right Rev. Prelate then expressed his thanks, in the first place to Lord Fitzwalter, with whom he was happily associated by the connexion of training at the same time-honoured school, that of Winchester. He was also thankful that the resolution had been seconded by a dignified person from the other side of the Atlantic, and that he had thus an opportunity of expressing a hope that the great Convention now sitting might be so guided in its councils as to conduce greatly to the prosperity of the Transatlantic Church and Christendom generally. He went on to say that this was the first Church Congress he had ever attended, and he rejoiced at having seen how a Congress could be conducted, and he must thank all who had attended it, for the Christian forbearance, charity, and piety that had been displayed in it. He might observe that a noble Lord (Lord Harrowby), who had sat by his side during the Congress, said, when he left that day, "I have been at many Congresses, but I was never present at one which was more religious, earnest, sincere, serious, and devout than the present." Having acknowledged the influence of the Holy Spirit over the Congress, his Lordship proceeded to express, in his own name, and in the name of many from all parts of the country, Ireland, and Scotland, for the large-hearted and liberal hospitality with which the Congress had been received in this ancient, loyal, intelligent, and wealthy town of Nottingham. He would address those words to the Mayor, and in so doing he addressed them to the whole municipality over which his worship so honourably and worthily presided, and his wish was to express as emphatically as he could the deep debt the Congress owed to the citizens of Nottingham for the cordial reception they had experienced at their hands. The Mayor of Nottingham had invited somewhere about 2200 people to partake of his hospitality, and this evening was an indication of the largeness and comprehensiveness of the hospitality of Nottingham. He begged to assure the Mayor and the citizens of Nottingham that the hospitality they had received would never be effaced from their memories. He could not himself help testifying to the hospitality of his dear friend and brother in Christ, his chaplain—the

Vicar of St Mary's. He saw in him an exponent of that hospitality, and he was afraid they had almost turned his hospitable mansion into an hotel, and if he presented a bill at the end of their stay he was sure they would never be able to pay it. In conclusion, he proposed "The health and prosperity of the Mayor ;" and in proposing that, he would unite with it "The temporal and spiritual prosperity of the town ;" and he would make the observation that the present temporal prosperity of Nottingham ought to be regarded as involving a most serious responsibility, and he did hope that they would not forget to devote a large portion of that wealth to the highest and noblest of purposes, viz., to the glory and service of the Most High, and to the spiritual and eternal welfare of His people. He proposed "The health of the Mayor of the ancient and loyal town of Nottingham."

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### The MAYOR said—

WHEN it first fell to his lot to be appointed to his present position, he alluded to the great societies that would meet in Nottingham during the year, and he said at that time that this or any society which assembled here would have the hospitality of the town to their hearts' content. That statement, he was glad to hear, had been fully realised, but he should not have expressed it with any certainty if he had not known that this Congress would be generally received with favour, and was worthy of respect. He felt that Nottingham was loyal to its Queen, and its religion, and he felt certain that they would get a good welcome in this town. He rejoiced that the town had kept up its good name, and he had no doubt that many gentlemen who thought that Nottingham bore rather a doubtful reputation would go away with those doubts removed. He had recently met in London the predecessor of the right rev. prelate near him, and he told him "that he had often heard Nottingham badly spoken of by those who did not know it ; but as far as he" (Bishop Jackson) "was concerned, he never visited a town he liked better than Nottingham." He was glad they bore so good a character with their late Bishop. He trusted the meeting of this Congress would have good practical results, and that it would produce Christian unity in the town, that they might each of them do their work better, and that they might all strive to fight against the vice and infidelity which surrounded them, and endeavour to remove in some measure the carelessness and ungodliness which characterised some portions of the working classes. He thought as a result of this Congress that he should invite a meeting of the clergyman and ministers of this town, and relate to them his experience as a magistrate ; and he should represent to them the great cause of this, as well as other large towns, was the growing indifference to attending religious worship, and he should like to endeavour with those ministers and clergymen to find some way of lessening this great evil. If any outside were inclined to say that the scheme was a Quixotic one, they must not lay the blame on him, but on the spirit which he caught up at this Church Congress. That they might have in this town a deeper spiritual life was his earnest desire. If his Lordship and the Congress were pleased with the little services he had rendered, he should feel amply repaid if in any measure their visit had tended to diminish evil, and to raise the standard of morality in the town.

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### Mr HIGGINS

PROPOSED a vote of thanks to the Congress Committee, and mentioned the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, Archdeacon Trollope, the Rev. Prebendary Morse, the Rev. H. Wright, and Mr John Watson, jun.



The Right Rev. the BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM said—

THE spectacle of the Mayor sitting side by side with the head of the diocese reminded them of old Saxon times, when the Bishop sat in the same court as the earl, with co-ordinate jurisdiction. He remarked that the town and county had vied with each other in hospitality, and added that not only members of their own Communion, but Nonconformists had entered into a rivalry of hospitality and kindness. That was a token that they were separated only so far as an adherence to their own principles was concerned, but that they could join together in social life, and exercise kindness and love in Christian and domestic intercourse.

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The Ven. ARCHDEACON TROLLOPE

Also spoke, and referred to the unanimity which had prevailed at the Committee Meetings.

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The Rev. PREBENDARY MORSE said—

HE had at first some anxiety as to whether they could carry on the Congress with success. He was anxious, however, that Nottingham should be seen, because newspapers in various parts of the country had picked up this and that little thing which had given the town a rather unenviable reputation; but he was sure that the more any one knew of Nottingham, the more he liked it. And he was free to say that he did not fear the "lamps" at all, and would not hesitate to go through the Market Place when they were in their most frisky humour. Visitors would now go back to various parts of the country, and would say that there was no brighter, fairer, or more hospitable town in England than Nottingham. With regard to the Secretaries, they deserved their thanks, and, without mentioning himself, they would say so, if they knew the labours of the Rev. Henry Wright, Mr John Watson, Mr W. Vickers, jun., and the Town Clerk. They had had their reward all along, however, in the success which had attended the Congress. He thanked his dear Bishop for the kindness with which he had spoken of him, and all that he could say was, that it had been the brightest and happiest week of his life to be surrounded by such men as he had been. Those who had been labouring as Secretaries, &c., had been well rewarded; and the fact had been presented to Nottingham, and to all the world, that in the English Church there was Christian love and earnestness in all schools of thought, that the Church was alive, and that God was with it.

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The Rev. H. WRIGHT

Also spoke briefly, remarking that they had acted on the principle that what was worth doing at all was worth doing well.

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There were several interesting exhibitions of photographs, and a lecture during the evening.

## APPENDIX.

(Referred to in the *Rev. G. Leathwaite's Speech*, page 352.)

The following Table, taken from the Ledgers of the Court of Augmentation, now remaining in the Augmentation Office, exhibits the amount and mode of the Distribution of the Church Revenues in the time of Henry VIII. :—

	A.D. 1540. An. regni 32.	A.D. 1541. An. 33.	A.D. 1542. An. 34.	A.D. 1543. An. 35.	A.D. 1544. An. 36.	A.D. 1545. An. 37.	A.D. 1546. An. 38.	A.D. 1547.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Payments of Annuities granted out of divers late Monasteries ... ..	1,563 2 0	2,297 11 4	(No ledger at this time known to be extant.)	999 18 4½	1,290 10 2	1,199 15 4½	918 7 6½	
Annuities by the Kinges Majestie ...	—	—	—	1,516 9 2	1,763 16 10½	1,926 11 11	2,605 2 11½	
Pencions ... ..	2,536 3 4	3,483 16 8	—	3,466 19 10	3,706 9 10	3,081 6 6	4,463 6 8	
Payments of Fees of Officers ... ..	2,221 0 10	1,383 16 8	—	1,109 0 10	1,278 6 9½	1,140 2 8	1,023 15 2	
Payments of Warrants by the Counsaill	1,310 12 8	5,329 17 11½	—	1,816 3 1½	2,442 14 3½	4,578 5 5½	1,933 16 2½	
Payments by Decrees ... ..	1,559 9 1	892 3 4	—	404 13 4	2,379 5 1½	11,033 10 5	6,755 15 7	
Payments by the King's Warrants ...	132,698 1 11	61,366 17 10½	—	143,037 4 4½	212,572 9 5	140,419 6 1	126,126 7 3½	
Sum of all the aforesayd Payments of Pencions, Aquitties, Wages, Dyettes, Fees of Officers by decrees and war- rants of the Chauncellor and Coun- saill and by force of the Kinges Majesties Warrant payd by thandes of the Treasurer of the Revenues of Thaugmentations in the xxxii yeres of our sayd Sovereigne Lord the Kinges Highnes reigne amountith to the some of ... ..	141,888 9 10	74,709 3 10	—	152,350 9 0½	225,401 19 2½	163,378 18 5½	143,826 11 5½	* Totals not summed up in the ledgers.
					Totals copied from the ledgers.			

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## NOTTINGHAM

## BALANCE

*Dr.*

1871.

**Nov. 13. To Members' Tickets—**

Printed, . 2480

„ „ In hand, . 325

2155

Free, . 4

" " Suspense, 2

6

..	..	Sold at 5s.,	2149	£537	5	0
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To Associates' Tickets—

Sold at 2s. 6d., 606 75 15 0

„ To Evening Tickets—

Sold at ls.,	429	21	9	0
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.. To Working-Men's Tickets—

Sold at ls., . 197 9 17 0

**£644 6 0**

„ To Guarantors, . . . . £52 10 0

To Donors,	.	.	.	.	7 13 0
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**60 - 3 0**

„ To Rentals—

Jones and Willis, . . . £12 10 0

Walker, Samuel A.	.	.	10	0	0
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Bandinel, Rev. James,	.	.	1	1	0
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Nunn, William H.,	.	.	1	1	0
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24 12 0

.. To Cash at Doors—

Per Rev. H. Wright and W. V.

Jackson. . . . . £1 12 6

Programmes.	.	.	.	0	15	9
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2 8 3

To Guarantors Unclaimed . . . . .

..	To Sundries, Postages	.	.	.
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**£736 11 11**

..	To Balance,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	357 14 8
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**£357 14 8**

<b>To Creditors,</b>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	<b>77 4 2</b>
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To Balance, Net, . . . . .	280 10 6
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THOMAS T. PONSONBY, *Act. Secy.*—13th Nov. 1871.

NOTE.—We have this day audited the above account, which is correct; the Cash liability on account of Congress Committee, £77, 4s. 2d., leaving an available balance to

NOTTINGHAM, Nov. 14, 1871.

S. G. JOHNSON,  
WILLIAM VICKERS, JUN., }

## CHURCH CONGRESS, 1871.

## SHEET.

1871.				Cr.
Nov. 13.	By Stationery, . . . . .	£93	3	1
„	By Advertising and Newspapers, . . . . .	28	7	5
„	By Postages, . . . . .	27	18	6
				£149 9 0
„	By Incidentals—			
	Musical Illustrations, . . . . .	£15	15	6
	Hire of Furniture, . . . . .	10	15	0
	Joiners' Work, . . . . .	3	1	6
	Car Hire, . . . . .	6	3	0
	Travelling Expenses, . . . . .	5	5	0
	Congress Reports, . . . . .	10	0	0
	Cleaning Premises, . . . . .	2	5	0
	Keeper Corn Exchange, . . . . .	1	0	0
	Coals, . . . . .	0	17	6
	Gasfitter, . . . . .	0	7	4
	Sundries, Office, . . . . .	2	10	9
				58 0 7
„	By Salaries—			
	Doorkeeper's Hall, . . . . .	£5	12	0
	Extra Clerks, . . . . .	11	16	8
	Mr Goodyer, . . . . .	7	7	0
	Acting Secretary, . . . . .	44	2	0
				68 17 8
„	By Guarantors, . . . . .			52 10 0
„	By Rent—			
	Mechanics' Hall, . . . . .	£30	0	0
	Offices, Week-day Cross, . . . . .	20	0	0
				50 0 0
„	By Balance, . . . . .			£378 17 3
				357 14 8
				£736 11 11
„	By Creditors, per Schedule, . . . . .			77 4 2
„	By Balance, Net, . . . . .			280 10 6
				£357 14 8

Balance in hand at date being £357, 14s. 8d., from which must be deducted as further be disposed of by vote of the Committee, £280, 10s. 6d.

*Honorary Secretaries of the Finance and Reception Committee,  
appointed to audit this account of the Acting Secretary by the  
Reception Committee at their meeting of 24th October 1871.*

## GUARANTORS.

10 per cent. to be paid down.

The Bishop Suffragan, . . . . .	£10 0 0	Brought forward, . . . . .	£345 0 0
The Mayor, . . . . .	10 0 0	Parry, Capt., . . . . .	5 0 0
Lee, J. H., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Bangor, Bishop of, . . . . .	5 5 0
Morse, The Rev. Prebendary, . . . . .	10 0 0	Dickenson, Edward, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Watson, John, jun., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Earwaker, Richard, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Allen, Mr Richard, . . . . .	10 0 0	Ackroyd, Henry, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Went, Rev. J., . . . . .	10 0 0	Charlwood, Rev. Thomas, . . . . .	5 0 0
Johnson, S. G., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Milnes, Mr T. F., . . . . .	5 0 0
Tebbutt, Rev. H., . . . . .	10 0 0	Foljambe, F. J. S., Esq., M.P., . . . . .	10 0 0
Wright, Rev. H., . . . . .	10 0 0	Manvers, Earl, . . . . .	20 0 0
Holden, Colonel, . . . . .	10 0 0	Belper, Lord, . . . . .	10 0 0
Forester, Hon. and Rev., . . . . .	10 0 0	Cross, Thomas, . . . . .	10 0 0
Bradshaw, Job, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Hildyard, Thos. B., Esq., M.P., . . . . .	10 0 0
Miles, Rev. R., . . . . .	10 0 0	Barrow, W. H., Esq., M.P., . . . . .	10 0 0
Butler, Rev. J., . . . . .	10 0 0	Wright, F., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Rodgers, Rev. E., . . . . .	10 0 0	Marsh, Rev. John W., . . . . .	5 0 0
Hutton, Rev. V. W., . . . . .	10 0 0	Wright, C. I., . . . . .	10 0 0
Clarke, Rev. J. E., . . . . .	10 0 0	Edge, James T., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Dixon, Rev. R., . . . . .	10 0 0	Seely, Charles, jun., Esq., M.P., . . . . .	10 0 0
Starey, —, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Elliott, Mr J., . . . . .	1 0 0
Valpy, Rev. J. M., . . . . .	10 0 0	Carter, H. H., Esq., . . . . .	5 0 0
Hambly, Mr C. H. Burbidge, . . . . .	10 0 0	Grundy, Mr Richard, . . . . .	5 0 0
Thorpe, James, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Hall, Thomas Dickenson, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Furley, Mr S. B., . . . . .	10 0 0	Flamstead, Rev. A. R. D., . . . . .	5 0 0
Neville, Prebendary, . . . . .	10 0 0	Wright, H. Smith, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Trollope, Ven. Archdeacon, . . . . .	10 0 0	Mundella, A. J., Esq., M.P., . . . . .	10 0 0
Bradshaw, Dr., . . . . .	10 0 0	Taylor, John, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Gee, H., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Pyper, Rev. Thomas, . . . . .	10 0 0
Smith, H. A., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0	Sherbrooke, Henry, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Yeld, Rev. C., . . . . .	5 0 0	Hudson, Rev. C. W., . . . . .	5 0 0
White, Joseph, Esq., . . . . .	5 0 0	Smith, F. C., M.P., . . . . .	10 0 0
Borough, Mr J. (Derby), . . . . .	5 0 0	Marshall, George, jun., Esq., . . . . .	5 0 0
Baderman, Mr A. (Derby), . . . . .	5 0 0	Tate, Dr., . . . . .	5 0 0
Wallis, Mr H. (Mansfield), . . . . .	5 0 0	Jackson, F., . . . . .	5 0 0
Burnie, Mr F. (Nottingham), . . . . .	5 0 0	Robinson, Thomas, Esq., . . . . .	5 0 0
Farmer, Mr J., . . . . .	5 0 0	Windley, William, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Gray, Rev. Canon, . . . . .	5 0 0	Musters, J. C., Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Martin, Rev. H. A., . . . . .	5 0 0	Close, Thomas, Esq., . . . . .	10 0 0
Jackson, Rev. W. V., . . . . .	5 0 0	Herringham, Rev. W. W., . . . . .	10 0 0
Carried forward, . . . . .	£345 0 0		£660 5 0

NOTE.—The Finance Committee requested the payment of 10 per cent. from the Guarantors to form a fund for the commencement of operations, but as these progressed, and funds came in freely, they abstained from asking for amounts not already paid. Hence, the difference between £66, 0s. 6d. and £52, 10s. 0d.—the former being 10 per cent. upon the whole fund, the latter that actually paid.

14th November 1871.

THOS. T. PONSONBY,  
Acting Secy.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

Those whose names are printed in *Italics* were readers or speakers.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>Abbott, Rev. W., St John's, Holloway, near London.</p> <p>Abdy, Rev. A. C., Hillingdon, Uxbridge.</p> <p>Abney, Rev. E. H., St Alkmund's Vicarage, Derby.</p> <p>Abraham, Rev. T. E., Risby, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.</p> <p>Ackroyd, Henry, Esq., The Hall, Wollaton, near Nottingham.</p> <p>Ackroyd, Mrs, with party of eight, do.</p> <p>Acton, Rev. J., Iwerne Minster, Blandford.</p> <p>Acton, Rev. J., Iwerne Minster, Shaftesbury.</p> <p>Acton, J. L., Esq., Newcastle Drive, The Park, Nottingham.</p> <p>Acton, Mrs, do. do.</p> <p>Adams, Rev. A. C., Toft, Knutsford, Cheshire.</p> <p>Adams, Mrs, do. do.</p> <p>Adams, Mrs, Lenton Firs, Nottingham.</p> <p>Adams, The Rev. S. T., Great Horwood Rectory, Winslow, Bucks.</p> <p>Adams, Mrs E., Lenton Firs, Nottingham.</p> <p>Adams, Miss, do. do.</p> <p>Adams, John, Esq., Pelham Crescent, The Park, Nottingham.</p> <p>Adams, Rev. D. C., Anstead Parsonage, Coventry.</p> <p>Adamson, Rev. W., Winster, Windermere.</p> <p>Adcock, Miss, Newcastle Drive, The Park, Nottingham.</p> <p>Adderton, Miss, 14 Cumberland Place, Nottingham.</p> <p>Adderton, Miss M., do. do.</p> <p>Adderton, Robert, Esq., Park Street, Nottingham.</p> <p>Addison, Rev. Leonard, St Luke's, Leicester.</p> <p>Adlington, Miss, Manchester.</p> <p><i>Ady, Archdeacon</i>, Little Baddow Rectory, Chelmsford, Essex.</p> <p>Ainger, Rev. A., 18 Westbourne Square, London.</p> <p>Allcock, Miss, 6 Regent Street, Nottingham.</p> <p>Allcock, Miss Helen, do. do.</p> | <p>Alderson, Rev. J. C., Holdenby Rectory, Northampton.</p> <p>Aldrid, Mr A., Eastwood, near Nottingham.</p> <p>Alington, Rev. C. A., Muckton Rectory, Louth, Lincolnshire.</p> <p>Allen, Richard, Albert Villas, The Park, Nottingham.</p> <p>Allen, Miss, do. do.</p> <p>Allen, Miss M. A., do. do.</p> <p>Allen, Rev. R., Gypsey Hill, Norwood, near London.</p> <p>Allen, Rev. G. S., 47 York Street, Cheetham, Manchester.</p> <p>Allen, Miss C., Western Terrace, The Park, Nottingham.</p> <p>Allen, Mr T., Thurmaston, Leicestershire.</p> <p>Allen, Mr E., Park Drive, Nottingham.</p> <p>Allen, Mrs E., do. do.</p> <p>Allison, Thos. F., Esq., Solicitor, Louth, Lincolnshire.</p> <p>Alliott, J. B., Esq., Western Terrace, The Park, Nottingham.</p> <p>Allsopp, Mrs, and party of nine, Arboretum Street, Nottingham.</p> <p>Anderson, Rev. D., 23 Oxford Terrace, London, W.</p> <p>Anderson, Sir C.</p> <p><i>Andrew, Rev. S.</i>, Tideswell Vicarage, Derbyshire.</p> <p>Andrews, Rev. S. N., Claxby Rectory, Market Rasen, Lincolnshire.</p> <p>Anson, Ven. Archdeacon, St Michael's, Handsworth, Birmingham.</p> <p>Anson, Rev. Fred., The Rectory, Sudbury, Derby.</p> <p>Anson, Mrs, do. do.</p> <p>Anson, Miss, do. do.</p> <p>Apthorp, Rev. C. P., The Vicar's Court, Lincoln.</p> <p>Armstrong, Miss, Ropewalk Street, Nottingham.</p> <p>Arnold, Mrs T. B., Oldbury Rectory, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.</p> <p>Arnold, Miss, Fox How, Ambleside, Westmoreland.</p> <p>Ashfield, Rev. E. W., Felmersham Vicarage, Bedford.</p> |
|--|---|

- Ashington, Rev. H., Anwick, Sleaford, Lincolnshire.  
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 Aashe, Rev. C., Holbeach, Lincolnshire.  
 Atherton, Mr T. H., Long Row, Nottingham.  
 Atherton, Rev. C. J., Pensnett Vicarage, Dudley.  
 Atherton, Mrs, do. do.  
 Atherton, Mrs, Long Row, Nottingham.  
 Atkinson, Rev. F., Long Eaton Vicarage, Nottingham.  
 Atkinson, Mrs, do. do.  
 Atkinson, Rev. A., Audlem Vicarage, Nantwich, Cheshire.  
 Atkinson, Rev. J. A., Longsight Rectory, Manchester.  
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 Bailey, Rev. E., St John's Vicarage, Paddington.  
 Baker, Rev. F. J., Yoxall Rectory, Burton-on-Trent.  
 Baker, Rev. C. H. C., Stathern, near Melton Mowbray.  
 Bakewell, Mr, Elm House, Beeston, Notts.  
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 Bandinell, Rev. James, Elmley Rectory, Wakefield.  
 Barber, Rev. A. A., East Bridgford Rectory, Notts.  
 Barclay, Dr, Woodhall, Hethersett, Wyndham, Norfolk.  
 Bardsley, Rev. R. W., St John's Parsonage, Bootle, Liverpool.  
 Bardsley, Rev. James, Manchester.  
 Barker, Mr J., Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham.  
 Barker, Mrs A., Nottingham.  
 Barker, Rev. W., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Forest of Dean, Gloucester.  
 Barker, Miss, Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham.  
 Barker, Miss M., do. do.  
 Barker, Rev. Jno., Rushden Rectory, Higham Ferrers, Northampton.  
 Barker, Rev. Thomas, Rivesley Parsonage, Horncastle, Lincolnshire.  
 Barnardiston, Rev. A., Metheringham Vicarage, Sleaford.  
 Barnes, Captain, Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire.  
 Barnes, Rev. W., Hasland Rectory, near Chesterfield.  
 Barnett, Miss, Regent Street, Nottingham.  
 Barrett, Rev. T. M., The Vicarage, St Peter in Eastgate, Castle Hill, Lincoln.  
 Barrett, Mrs, do. do.  
 Barrow, W. H., Esq., M.P., Southwell, Notts.  
 Barry, Rev. Dr, King's College, London.  
 Bartlett, Rev. J., St John's Vicarage, Mansfield, Notts.  
 Bartlett, Mrs, and Family, do.  
 Basilio, Miss, Hampden Street, Nottingham.  
 Bassett, Mrs, Mapperley Road, Nottingham.  
 Basset, Miss, do. do.  
 Bassett, Mrs, Addison Street, Nottingham.  
 Bassett, Miss, Baker Street, Nottingham.  
 Bateman, J. J., Esq., Breadsall Mount, Derby.  
 Bateman, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bateman, Rev. J., South Lopham Rectory, Norfolk.  
 Bateman, Miss, do. do.  
 Bateman, Rev. J. J., West Leake Rectory, near Loughborough.  
 Bather, Rev. H., Brace Meole, near Shrewsbury.  
 Bather, Mrs, do. do.  
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 Bayley, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bayley, Mr, Nottingham.  
 Baynes, Rev. R. H., St Michael's, Coventry.  
 Beaufort, Rev. D. A., Warburton Rectory, Warrington, Cheshire.  
 Beaufort, Mrs, do. do.  
 Beckett, Miss, Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham.  
 Beckett, Miss E., do. do.  
 Beedham, Rev. H., Morton Grange, Newark.  
 Beddard, Dr, Park Row, Nottingham.  
 Beddard, Mrs, do. do.  
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 Bell, Mrs, Nottingham.  
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 Bell, Mr T., Nottingham.  
 Bell, Miss, Navenby Rectory, Grantham.



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 Bell, Rev. H., St James's, Nottingham.  
 Belk, Mrs G., 6 High Pavement, Nottingham.  
 Belper, Lord, Kingston Hall, Derby.  
 Belper, Lady, do. do.  
 Bemrose, H. H., Esq., Irongate, Derby.  
 Bennett, Mr J. M., Manchester.  
 Bennett, Rev. H. L., The Vicarage, Mansfield, Notts.  
*Bennett, Rev. Theophilus*, Toller Fratrum Vicarage, Dorchester.  
 Bennett, Mrs H. L., The Vicarage, Mansfield.  
*Bennie, Rev. J. M.*, Leicester.  
*Benson, Rev. Dr.*, Wellington College, Wokingham.  
 Benson, Rev. M. E., Ringwood, Dover.  
 Benson, Mrs, Nottingham.  
 Benson, Rev. Percy G., Vicar of New Bolingbroke, Boston, Lincoln.  
 Benyman, Rev. J. W., Tydd, St Giles' Rectory, Wixbech.  
*Bernard, Rev. T. D.*, Liberty, Wells.  
 Berry, Rev. S. M., Belgrave Vicarage, Leicester.  
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*Bickersteth, Rev. E. H.*, Christchurch Vicarage, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Bicknell, Miss, Breadsall Mount, Derby.  
 Bidcock, Miss, Bramcote, near Nottingham.  
 Bidcock, Miss H., do. do.  
 Bigland, Rev. J. E., Thorney Vicarage, Newark.  
 Bigland, Mrs, do. do.  
 Billiald, R., Esq., The Park, Nottingham.  
*Billing, Rev. R. D.*, Louth.  
 Billing, Mrs R. C., 78 Addison Street, Forest Road, Nottingham.  
 Billing, Rev. R. C., Holy Trinity, Louth.  
 Birch, Rev. H. M., Prestwich, Manchester.  
 Birch, Mrs, do. do.  
 Birch, Rev. G. T., 11 Addison Villas, Nottingham.  
 Bird, Rev. Godfrey J., Illington, Larlingford, Norfolk.  
 Birkin, Mr J., 199 North Sherwood Street, Nottingham.  
 Birtwhistle, Rev. Canon, Minster Vicarage, Beverley, Yorkshire.  
 Birtwhistle, Rev. R., do. do.  
 Blackett, Rev. W. R., St John's, Walthamstow, Essex.  
*Blackwood, S. A., Esq.*, Manor House, Crayford, Kent.  
 Blake, Miss, Corporation Oaks, Nottingham.  
*Blakeney, Rev. R. P.*, Oxtou, Birkenhead, Cheshire.  
 Blakiston, Mrs, 5 Short Hill, Nottingham.  
 Blakiston, Rev. R., 5 Short Hill, Nottingham.  
 Bland, Rev. E. D., Kippax Vicarage, Woodlesford, Yorkshire.  
 Blandy, Henry, Esq., 24 Low Pavement, Nottingham.  
 Blandy, Mrs, do. do.

Blenkin, Rev. G. B., The Vicarage, Boston, Lincolnshire.  
 Blenkin, Mrs, do. do.  
 Blenkinsopp, Rev. R. G. S., Shadforth Rectory, Durham.  
 Blomefield, Rev. J., St George's Vicarage, Leeds.  
 Blomefield, Rev. A., 9 Regent Street, Nottingham.  
 Bodington, Miss, Rocksall, Sutton Coldfield, Notts.  
 Bodington, Rev. A., Marchington Vicarage, Uttoxeter, Staffordshire.  
 Body, Rev. G., Misperton, Yorkshire.  
 Bolland, Rev. H., St James's, Wolverhampton.  
 Bolland, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bolton, Miss, 22 Park Row, Nottingham.  
 Bolton, Mrs, Bolton Hall, Basford, Nottingham.  
 Bolton, Rev. K. K., Rector of Newbold, Chesterfield.  
 Bond, Miss, Upper Talbot Street, Nottingham.  
 Bond, Miss L., do. do.  
 Bond, Rev. C. W., Hanley Parsonage, Stoke-on-Trent.  
 Bonner, Rev. J. T., Dembleby Vicarage, Folkingham, Lincolnshire.  
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 Borough, Jno., Esq., Derby.  
*Borthwick, Rev. R. B.*, The Grange, Keswick, Cumberland.  
 Boucher, Rev. J. S., Training College, Carnarvon, North Wales.  
*Boulbee, Dr.*, St John's Hall, Highbury Park, London.  
 Bourne, Rev. J. G., Vicarage, Castle Donington, Derby.  
 Bowker, Rev. H. C., Retford, Notts.  
 Bowker, H. F., Esq., 12 Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, London.  
 Bowley, Mrs, 33 Upper Talbot Street, Nottingham.  
 Bowley, Miss, do. do.  
 Bowman, Mrs, Colville Street, Nottingham.  
 Bowmer, George, Esq., 3 Spaniel Row, Nottingham.  
 Boyd, Rev. Canon, Arncliffe Vicarage, Skipton, Yorkshire.  
 Bradley, Mrs, The Park, Nottingham.  
 Bradley, Mr F. G., do. do.  
 Bradley, A., Esq., The Park, Nottingham.  
 Bradshaw, Dr, Pepper Street, Nottingham.  
 Bradshaw, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bradshaw, Miss, do. do.  
 Bradshaw, Rev. Henry, The Vicarage, Lockington, Derby.  
 Bradshaw, Rev. J., Granley Vicarage, Elton, Notts.  
 Bradshaw, W., Esq., Nottingham.  
 Bradshaw, Job, Esq., Standard Hill, Nottingham.  
 Bradshaw, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bradshaw, Miss, do. do.

- Bradstock, Rev. E. W., Birmingham.  
*Brady, Sir Antonio*, Maryland Point, Stratford, London.  
*Brameld, Rev. G. W.*, East Markham, Tuxford, Notts.  
 Brasher, Rev. J. B., St Paul's Vicarage, Derby.  
 Bredney, Miss, Belbie Street, Nottingham.  
 Brent, Rev. R., Trinity Parsonage, Southwell, Notts.  
 Brett, Rev. F. H., Carsington Rectory, Wirksworth, Derbyshire.  
 Brewill, R. W., Esq., The Park, Nottingham.  
 Brewster, Rev. H. C., South Kelsey Rectory, Caistor, Lincolnshire.  
 Briginshaw, J., Esq., Finchett's Green, Maidenhead.  
 Brittain, James, sen., 10 Bath Street, Nottingham.  
 Broad, Rev. John S., St George's, New-castle-under-Lyme.  
 Broadhurst, Rev. F., Gawber, Barnaley, Yorkshire.  
 Bromehead, Rev. W. C., Royal Chaplain (India), on furlough.  
 Bromehead, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bromley, Sir H., Stoke, Newark, Notts.  
 Bromley, Lady, do. do.  
 Bromley, Miss, do. do.  
 Bromley, Rev. Francis, St Ann's, New-castle-on-Tyne.  
 Bromley, Mr W. F., Nottingham.  
 Brooke, Rev. Ingham, Thornhill Rectory, Dewsbury.  
 Brooke, Mrs, do. do.  
 Brooke, Rev. Joshua, Colston Bassett, Bingham, Notts.  
 Brooke, Mrs, do. do.  
 Brooke, Rev. J., Wistaston, Nantwich, Cheshire.  
 Brookes, Mr, Nottingham.  
 Brook, Rev. A., The Vicarage, Holbeach.  
 Brook, Mrs, do. do.  
 Brooks, Rev. J. W., Great Ponton Rectory, Grantham.  
 Browne, Rev. J. E., Dagnall Parsonage, Hemel, Hempstead.  
 Browne, Mrs, do. do.  
 Browne, Rev. Geo., The Vicarage, Lenton, Notts.  
 Browne, Rev. J. H., The Vicarage, Lowdham, near Nottingham.  
 Browne, Mrs, do. do.  
 Browne, Rev. F., Regent Street, Nottingham.  
 Browne, Rev. S. B., Framsdon, Stonham, Norwich.  
 Browne, Rev. O., Lenton Rectory, Lenton.  
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 Brown, Rev. T. W., Stoke by Nayland, Colchester, Essex.  
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 Brown, Miss E., do. do.  
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 Brown, Miss, 33 Upper Talbot Street, Nottingham.  
 Brown, Mrs, The George Hotel, Nottingham.  
 Brown, Rev. G., Wortley, near Sheffield.  
 Brown, E. M., Esq., Northampton.  
 Brown, Rev. T., The Vicarage, St Asaph, North Wales.  
 Brown, Mr, Pelham Street, Nottingham.  
 Brown, T. H., Esq., Sherwood Rise, Nottingham.  
 Brown, Miss, Welbeck Terrace, Mansfield.  
 Brownsword, Mr J. H., Ayr Villa, Burns Street, Nottingham.  
 Brownsword, Mrs, do. do.  
 Bruce, Rev. T. R., Chaplain of Carlton, Yeadon, Leeds.  
 Bruce, Rev. J. A., King's Sutton Vicarage, Banbury.  
 Bruce, Rev. Lloyd S., Barton-in-Fabis, Nottingham.  
 Buchanan, Alexander, Esq., Derby.  
 Buckle, Rev. G., Tiverton Vicarage, Bath.  
 Buckwell, Rev. W. B., Littleover Parsonage, Derby.  
 Bullock, Rev. J. G., Bovey Tracey, Newton Abbott, Devon.  
 Bullock, Rev. M., The Rectory, Barrow-on-Humber, Lincoln.  
 Bullock, Rev. J. F. W., Radwinter Rectory, Saffron Walden, Essex.  
 Burgess, Rev. R., Ratcliffe-on-Trent.  
 Burke, Rev. T. W., Babeary, Somerton, Somersetshire.  
 Burke, Rev. J. T. Babeary Rectory, Somerton, Somerset.  
 Burleigh, Rev. J. S., Sudbrooke Rectory, Lincolnshire.  
 Burnaby, Mr A. F., Newark, Notts.  
 Burnaby, Mr T. F., South Collingham, Newark, Notts.  
 Burnaby, Rev. W., Langford Hall, Newark.  
 Burney, Rev. H. B., Vicar of Norton, St Philip's, near Bath.  
 Burnside, Rev. William, The Rectory, Plumpton, Notts.  
 Burnside, Mrs, do. do.  
 Burnside, Miss, Lamcote House, Ratcliffe-on-Trent, Notts.  
 Burnside, Miss Mary, do. do.  
 Burnside, Miss T. E., do. do.  
 Burr, Edward, Esq., Leamington, Warwickshire.  
*Burrows, Major-General*, Lewisham, Kent.  
 Burton, Mrs F., Southampton.  
 Burton, Rev. A. B., Holy Trinity Vicarage, Southampton.  
 Burton, Mr, Smithy Row, Nottingham.  
 Bury, Rev. T. W., Bramcote Vicarage, near Nottingham.  
 Bury, Rev. W., Pimperne Rectory, Blandford.  
 Butler, Rev. T., Langar Rectory, Elton, Notts.  
 Butler, Miss, do. do.  
 Butler, Rev. J. M. B., Langton, Speldhurst, Kent.  
 Butler, Rev. A., Markham, near Leicester.  
 Butler, Rev. C., Porchester, Fareham, Hants.

- Butler, Rev. W., Newborough Vicarage, Peterborough.  
 Butt, Mrs B., The Vicarage, Skegby, Mansfield.  
 Byron, Rev. John, Killingholme, Ulceby, Lincolnshire.  
 Byron, Lady, Thrumpton Hall, near Nottingham.  
 Cade, Mrs, Spondon, near Derby.  
 Cade, Miss, do. do.  
 Catman, Rev. W., St Mary-le-bone, London.  
 Caine, Rev. W., Ducie Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester.  
 Calvert, Mr, Thornthwaite.  
 Calvert, Rev. W. B., Huddersfield.  
 Calvert, Rev. J. B., Thornthwaite, Darley, Ripley, Yorkshire.  
 Calvert, Miss, Nottingham.  
 Campbell, Rev. —, Aston Rectory, Rotherham, Yorkshire.  
 Campbell, Mrs, do. do.  
 Campbell, Rev. J. W., Bourn, Lincolnshire.  
 Campbell, Rev. T. R., Abinger Rectory, Dorking, Surrey.  
 Cane, Rev. J. B., Weston Rectory, Newark.  
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 Cann, Mrs, do. do.  
 Cann, Miss, do. do.  
 Canterbury, Dean of, Christ Church, Oxford, and Ewelme Rectory, Wallingford.  
 Cantrell, Rev. W. H., The Rectory, Bulwell, Nottingham.  
 Capel, Rev. W. F., Cranleigh, Guildford.  
 Carey, Miss M. E., Ropewalk Street, Nottingham.  
 Carey, Miss, The Park, Nottingham.  
 Cargill, Rev. E., South Bank, Middlesborough, Yorkshire.  
 Cargill, Rev. J. R., Boston-under-Needwood, Burton-on-Trent.  
 Carlile, James W., Thickollins, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire.  
 Carlile, Mrs, do. do.  
 Carlile, Miss, do. do.  
 Carpenter, Rev. W. B., 2 Oxford Villas, Lee, Kent.  
 Carpenter, Mrs, Highbury, London, N.W.  
 Carr, Rev. J., Nottingham.  
 Carter, H., Esq., Park Valley, Nottingham.  
 Carter, Mrs, do. do.  
 Carter, J. S., Hampden St., Nottingham.  
 Carter, Miss, do. do.  
 Carter, Miss E. A., do. do.  
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 Cartpr, Rev. W., Mills, Alfreton, near Derby.  
 Carter, A., Esq., Nottingham.  
 Cartwright, D. W., Esq., 4 Lyndhurst Terrace, Nottingham.  
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 Cattley, Rev. R., Surrogate, Worcester.  
 Cautley, Rev. E. H., Kildale Rectory, Northallerton.  
 Cavan, Rev. S., Ogthorpe, Lincolnshire.  
 Cayley, Rev. E., South Liverton Vicarage, Retford, Notts.  
 Cayley, Mrs, do. do.  
 Chadwick, Rev. J. W., Prince's Park Road, Liverpool.  
 Chamberlain, Rev. J. S. H., Westhoughton, Bolton, Lancashire.  
 Chamberlain, Rev. F. C., Saundby Rectory, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.  
 Chambers, J. H., Esq., 26 Notintone Place, Sneinton, Notts.  
 Chambers, Rev. W. H., Wray Crescent, Tollington Park, London.  
 Chambers, Mrs, do. do.  
 Chambers, Rev. W. F., North Kelsey Vicarage, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire.  
 Chancellor, Rev. James, St John's, Derby.  
 Chapman, W., Esq., Roehampton, near Wimbledon, Surrey.  
 Chapman, Mrs, do. do.  
 Chapman, Miss, do. do.  
 Chapman, Mrs, Park Ravine, Lenton Road.  
 Chatfield, Rev. R., Woodford, Wilts.  
 Chatfield, Mrs, do. do.  
 Chatwin, T., Esq., Peter's Sq., Nottingham.  
 Chatwin, Mrs, do. do.  
 Cheese, Rev. John, Bosbury Rectory, Ledbury, Herefordshire.  
 Cheese, Mrs, do. do.  
 Cheetham, H., Esq., Woodthorpe, near Nottingham.  
 Cheetham, Mrs, do. do.  
 Chell, Rev. G. R., Lydbrook Vicarage, Ross, Herefordshire.  
 Cheltenham, Miss, Nottingham.  
 Chomley, Rev. Preby., Rectory, Loughall, Armagh.  
 Chomley, Mrs, do. do.  
 Christmas, Mrs, Nottingham.  
 Churchward, Rev. J. M. D., Bideford, Northampton.  
 Clabon, John M., Esq., 21 Great George Street, Westminster, London.  
 Clabon, Mrs, do. do.  
 Clark, Rev. J., Kegworth Rectory, Derby.  
 Clark, Mrs, do. do.  
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 Clark, Rev. Alured, Elvington Grange.  
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*The Annual Report will be forwarded on application to the Secretary.*







the 1990s, the number of people with a mental health problem has increased by 50% (Mental Health Foundation 1999). The prevalence of mental health problems has increased in the general population, and the incidence of mental health problems has increased in the prison population.

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the mental health needs of prisoners. The Department of Health (1999) has published a strategy for mental health services, which includes a commitment to improve the mental health of prisoners. The Department of Health (1999) has also published a strategy for mental health services, which includes a commitment to improve the mental health of prisoners. The Department of Health (1999) has also published a strategy for mental health services, which includes a commitment to improve the mental health of prisoners.

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